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CORPUS INSCRIPTIONUM INDICARUM

VOL. IV

INSCRIPTIONS
OF THE
KALACHURI-CHEDI ERA

EDITED BY

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IN TWO PARTS

PART I



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WITH 3 MAPS AND 61 PLATES

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1955

DEPARTMENT OF ARCHAEOLOGY, INDIA

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INSCRIPTIONS
OF THE
KALACHURI-CHEDI ERA

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PREFACE

8. 11. 55
The work of editing Volume IV of the Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum entitled Inscriptions of the Kalachuri-Chēdi Era was offered to me by the Director General of Archæology in India in his letter of the 7th March 1935. As I was already interested in the study of these records for a long time and had also edited some of them, I gladly accepted the offer, though not without some diffidence; for my official duties as Professor of Sanskrit at the Morris College, Nagpur, left me little leisure, and I knew full well 'how easy it is to glean a few straws, and how laborious to mow a whole field.' After spending most of my spare time during nine years on this work, I made over the typescript of it to the Director General of Archæology on the 6th March 1944. Its printing could not, however, be taken up immediately on account of war conditions then prevailing. The delay was not without an advantage; for it enabled me to include in the present Volume some important records which were discovered subsequently, and to shed some more light on the epoch of the Kalachuri era. At last, the work of printing commenced in June 1949. It was again delayed for some time for want of matrices with the necessary diacritical marks, but was ultimately completed in December 1954.

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The present Volume has been planned to contain all inscriptions of the Kalachuri-Chēdi era, by whatever dynasty they may have been issued. It therefore includes, *inter alia*, records of the Abhiras and their feudatories, the Traikūṭakas, the Early Gurjaras, the Sēndrakas and the Early Chālukyas of Gujarat, the Hariśchandṛīyas as well as the Kalachuris of Māhishmatī, Tripurī and Ratanpur, and their feudatories. For completing the sources of the history of the Kalachuris it was found desirable to include a few more records of the rulers of Tripurī, Sarayūpāra, Ratanpur and Raipur, though they are dated in other eras. The inscriptions of the Kalachuris of Kalyāṇa have, however, been excluded as none of them are dated in the Kalachuri era. The records have been arranged dynasty-wise in the chronological order, and named uniformly after the reigning kings. Some more inscriptions, because of their being spurious, or for not mentioning the name of any particular king, or due to some other reasons, have been grouped under the heading Miscellaneous Inscriptions and, for convenience of reference, have been inserted in three places where they were chronologically and territorially connected. As the Volume was going through the press, some more records, either dated in the Kalachuri era or allied to those already included, came to light. They have been inserted at the end under the heading Additional Inscriptions. All these inscriptions have been edited from their originals or mechanical ink impressions. In the case of a few other inscriptions, however, the original stones or copper-plates have since been lost and their facsimiles have not been published. Their texts, where possible, have therefore been given from previous editions or notices, with translations added, in an Appendix under the heading Supplementary Inscriptions. As this matter was being composed, one of these records which had been very briefly noticed before and had long been given up for lost, *viz.*, the Gōpālpur stone inscription of Vijayasīmha, was rediscovered at Jabalpur. I was consequently able to include its text from an excellent inked estampage kindly supplied by Dr. Chhabra, though it was too late to have its plate prepared for the present Volume.

From

The Introduction discusses first the important question of the epoch of the Kalachuri-Chēdi era which has been at issue among scholars for nearly a hundred years. When Dr. Kielhorn attempted to fix it in 1888, he had only fourteen dated records with the necessary details available to him, on which he based his conclusion. Since then twenty-six more dated inscriptions containing details necessary for computation have come to light, which have enabled me to fix the epoch of the era more accurately. The Introduction next gives the political history of the dynasties that used the era, and an account of the administration as well as the religious, social and economic conditions of the times as gleaned from the inscriptions. The next two sections deal with the literature of the age and the coins of the Traikūṭakas and the Kalachuris.

In my editions of inscriptions I usually give their texts in the Nāgarī characters. The same method is followed here. As the book is printed in monotype, some of the conjunct letters could not be displayed exactly as in the original records. As regards diacritical marks, I have used them in all ancient names, whether of persons or of places, and also in some modern place-names which were not sufficiently well-known. They were not considered necessary in the case of such well-known modern place-names as Nasik, Banaras or Allahabad.

The Volume became too bulky to be issued in one part. It has therefore been divided into two parts: the first part containing the Introduction, early inscriptions of the Kalachuri era and inscriptions of the Kalachuris of Tripurī, and the second, the remaining records of the era, additional and supplementary inscriptions and the Index to both the parts.

For some years past I have been suffering from a recurring eye-disease which makes reading difficult and painful. At one time it was even apprehended that I might lose my eye-sight altogether. Though this has, fortunately, not come to pass, my sight is still far from normal. The first 374 pages of the Texts and Translations, which were rushed through the press during 1950-51, when the disease was very troublesome, contain a considerable number of typographical and other errors, for which I crave the indulgence of the reader. The Additions and Corrections are inserted at the beginning of both the parts, which the reader is requested to notice.

I gratefully acknowledge my indebtedness to the distinguished scholars who previously edited many of the records included here, though I have had occasion to differ from them in some places. For the verification of dates I have used throughout S. K. Pillai's indispensable *Indian Ephemeris*. With the help of the tables given in that work I have myself calculated some early dates, the equivalents of which in the Christian era have not been given therein. To the late Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshit, Director General of Archæology, who first turned my attention to the editing of epigraphic records, encouraged and helped me in various ways, I owe a deep debt of gratitude which I cannot adequately express in words. I am obliged to Mr. Amalanand Ghosh, the present Director General of Archæology, for kind consideration and help. My thanks are also due to Dr. N. P. Chakravarti and Dr. B. Ch. Chhabra, who, as Government Epigraphists, supplied excellent ink impressions of several records and got illustrative plates prepared for the Volume. Dr. Chhabra, Dr. G. S. Gai, Prof. M. N. Mitra, and Prof. N. R. Navalekar went through parts of my typescript and made some useful suggestions, for which I feel very grateful. I must also thank Mr. G. S. Ramanathan of the Office of the Government Epigraphist for India for the help he rendered me in the correction of proofs when my eye-sight became very defective. I am obliged to Dr. S. S. Patwardhan, Curator of the

Central Museum, Nagpur, who supplied casts of the gold coins of the Kalachuris from the cabinet of the Museum, and to Pandit L. P. Pandeya, who placed at my disposal the copper coins of the Kalachuris from the cabinet of the Mahakoshal Historical Society. Mr. N. H. Kulkarni, Artist of the Social Welfare Department, Madhya Pradesh, kindly drew the three maps showing places mentioned in the inscriptions, for which my thanks are due to him. I am also obliged to Mr. L. R. Kulkarni, Mr. V. P. Rode, Mr. J. K. Abhyankar and several other friends for the help they rendered me in various ways. Finally, I thank the Director, Eastern Circle, Survey of India, for the excellent plates which illustrate the records, and the Manager, Allahabad Law Journal Co., Ltd., for the consideration he showed to me while the work was going through the press.

NAGPUR :

The 22nd December, 1954.

V. V. MIRASHI.

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ABBREVIATIONS

- A. B. I. A.* —Annual Bibliography of Indian Archæology (Leiden).
A. B. O. R. I.—Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute.
A. C. A. I.—Allan, Coins of Ancient India.
A. C. S.—Antiquities of the Chambā State.
A. H. D.—Jouveau-Dubreuil, Ancient History of the Daccan.
AK.—Amarakōśa.
A. R.—Asiatic Researches.
A. R. A. D. G. S.—Annual Report of the Archæological Department of the Gwalior State.
A. R. A. S. I.—Annual Report of the Archæological Survey of India.
A. R. A. S. M.—Annual Report of the Archæological Survey of Mysore.
A. R. B. I. S. M.—Annual Report of the Bhārata Itihāsa Samśōdhaka Maṇḍala.
A. R. S. I. E.—Annual Report of South Indian Epigraphy.
A. S. W. I.—Archæological Survey of Western India.
BK.—Bhārata-Kaumudī (Studies in Indology in honour of Dr. Radhakumud Mookerji), Part I.
Bom. Gaz.—Bombay Gazetteer.
B. R. W. W.—Beal, Buddhist Records of the Western World.
BS.—Bṛhatsamhitā.
B. V.—D. R. Bhandarkar Volume.
C. A. D.—Rapson, Catalogue of Coins of the Andhra Dynasty, the Western Kshatrapas, the Traikūṭaka Dynasty and the Bōdhi Dynasty.
C. A. I.—Cunningham, Coins of Ancient India.
C. A. S. I. R.—Cunningham, Archæological Survey of India Reports.
C. H. I.—Cambridge History of India, Vol. I.
C. I. I.—Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum.
C. I. M.—Cunningham, Coins of Mediæval India.
C. T. I.—Burgess, Cave Temples of India.
C. W. B.—Collected Works of Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar (published by the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute).
D. H. N. I.—H. C. Ray, Dynastic History of Northern India.
DK.—Hēmachandra, Dvyāśrayakāvya.
D. K. A.—Pargiter, Dynasties of the Kali Age.
D. K. D.—Fleet, Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts.
E. D. H. I.—Elliot and Dowson, History of India.
E. H. D.—R. G. Bhandarkar, Early History of the Deccan (Collected Works of Bhandarkar, Vol. III).
Ep. Carn. (or *E. C.*)—Epigraphia Carnatica.
Ep. Ind.—Epigraphia Indica.
G. i. L.—Winternitz, Geschichte der indischen Litteratur.
H. A. S.—Hyderabad Archæological Series.
H. C. I. P.—History and Culture of the Indian People.
H. D. L.—Kane, History of Dharmaśāstra Literature.
H. I. S. I.—Sewell, Historical Inscriptions of Southern India.

- H. P. D.*—Ganguli, History of the Paramāra Dynasty.
H. P. K.—Gopalan, History of the Pallavas of Kāñchī.
H. T. M.—R. D. Banerji, Haihayas of Tripurī and their Monuments.
HV.—Harivaṁśa (Chitraśālā Press, Poona).
I. B.—N. G. Majumdar, Inscriptions of Bengal, Vol. III.
I. C. P. B.—Hiralal, Inscriptions of the Central Provinces and Berar (Second Edition).
I. C. T. W. I.—Burgess and Bhagvanlal Indraji, Inscriptions from the Cave Temples of Western India.
I. I. B. S.—Important Inscriptions from the Baroda State.
I. M. C.—Vincent Smith, Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum.
I. N. I.—D. R. Bhandarkar, Inscriptions of Northern India.
Ind. Ant.—Indian Antiquary.
Ind. Cult.—Indian Culture.
Ind. Hist. Quart. (or *I. H. Q.*)—Indian Historical Quarterly.
I. P.—Bühler, Indian Palæography.
J. A. H. R. S.—Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society.
J. A. O. S.—Journal of the American Oriental Society.
J. A. S. B.—Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.
J. B. B. R. A. S.—Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.
J. B. O. R. S.—Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society.
J. B. T. S.—Journal of the Buddhist Text Society.
J. D. L.—Journal of the Department of Letters, Calcutta University.
J. M. S. G. U.—Journal of the Maharaja Sayajirao Gaekwad University.
J. N. S. I.—Journal of the Numismatic Society of India.
J. O. R.—Journal of Oriental Research.
J. R. A. S. (N. S.)—Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society (New Series).
J. R. A. S. B.—Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal.
KM.—Rājasēkhara, Kāvyaṁimāṁsā (Gaekwad's Oriental Series).
K. AS.—Kauṭilya, Arthaśāstra.
K. D. G.—Khandesh District Gazetteer.
KVS.—Kavindravachanasamuchchaya ed. by F. W. Thomas.
M. A. S. B.—Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.
M. A. S. I.—Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India.
MBH. Cr. Ed.—Mahābhārata (Critical Edition) published by the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute.
MSM.—Manusmṛiti (Nirṇayasāgar Press edition).
MP.—Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa.
M. S.—Marshall, Foucher and Majumdar, Monuments of Sāñchī.
M. W.—Monier-Williams, Sanskrit-English Dictionary.
N. H. I. P.—A New History of the Indian People.
N. I. A.—New Indian Antiquary.
NSCH.—Navasāhasāñkacharita (Bombay Sanskrit Series).
NVA.—Sōmadēva, Nītivākyāmrīta ed. by Nathuram Premi.
O. Y. C.—Watters, On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India.
PCH.—Merutuṅga, Prabandhachintāmaṇi, ed. by Jinavijaya Muni.
PCHU.—Kṛishṇamiśra, Prabōdhachandrōdaya (Nirṇayasāgar Press edition).
P. H. A. I.—Raychaudhuri, Political History of Ancient India.
P. I. H. C.—Proceedings of the Indian History Congress.
P. R. A. S. W. I.—Progress Report of the Archaeological Survey, Western India.

- P. T. A. I. O. C.*—Proceedings and Transactions of the All-India Oriental Conference.
P. V. O. C.—Proceedings of the Vienna Oriental Congress, Arian Section.
Q. B. I. S. M.—Quarterly of the Bhārata Itihāsa Saṁśōdhaka Maṇḍala.
RCH.—Sandhyākaranandin, Rāmācharita (published by the Varendra Research Museum).
RM.—Rāsamālā ed. by H. G. Rawlinson.
SA.—Vallabhadēva, Subhāshitāvali (Bombay Sanskrit Series).
SHC.—Siddhahēmachandra.
S. I.—Sircar, Select Inscriptions, Vol. I.
S. I. I.—South Indian Inscriptions.
S. I. M. H.—Hodivala, Studies in Indo-Muslim History.
SKM.—Vallabhadēva, Saduktikarṇāmr̥ita ed. by H. D. Sharma.
SKM.—Jalhaṇa, Sūktimuktāvali (Gaekwad's Oriental Series).
S. M. H. D.—Khare, Sources of the Mediæval History of the Daccan (Marathi).
SNS.—Sukranītisāra edited by Jivananda Vidyasagar.
VDCH.—Bilhaṇa, Vikramāṅkadēvācharita edited by Bühler (Bombay Sanskrit Series).
VP.—Vāyu Purāṇa.
VSHP.—Viṣṇu Purāṇa.
W. C. V.—Woolner Commemoration Volume.
Y. S.—Yājñavalkya Smṛiti.

ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS

INTRODUCTION

- Page ii, para. 2, line 3—For the same read the same.
- „ iii, para. 2, line 12 — For 423 read 443.
- „ v, para. 1, last line —For *pārṇimānta* read *pārṇimānta*.
- „ xxvii, para. 1, line 1—For 709-10 A. C. read 710-11 A. C.
- „ xxxiv, para. 3, line 3—Mr. G. H. Khare takes *Gōpaka-pālaka*, mentioned in the Tāsgaon plates, over whom Kēśava obtained a victory, in the sense of 'the king of Goa'.
- „ xxxvii, line 2—Recently silver coins of Kalachuri Kṛishṇarāja (circa 550-575 A. C.) have been found at Nandurbār in Khandesh.
- „ xli, para. 1, last line—For rules read rule.
- „ xlvi and xlvii—For Kṛishṇarāja wherever it occurs read Kṛishṇarāja.
- „ xlvi, para. 2, line 12—Recently a silver coin of Kalachuri Kṛishṇarāja has been found at Bhērā-Ghāt near Tewar in the Jabalpur District. *J. N. S. I.*, Vol. XVI, pp. 107 ff.
- „ xlvii, para. 3, line 2 from the bottom—For Śaṅkaragaṇa read Śaṅkaragaṇa.
- „ lvi, para. 2, line 4—For 740 A. C. read the 21st October 739 A. C.
- „ lviii, f. n. 2—The Nāgaḍ and Kāsārē plates have since been edited by Mr. G. H. Khare in *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 195 ff. He takes Nikumbhāśakti to mean Allaśakti of Nikumbha, and apparently understands Nikumbha as a family name. The Kāsārē plates show, however, that Nikumbha was another name of Bhānuśakti, the founder of the family. It was used by his descendants as a *biruda*. Their family name was Sēndraka.
- „ lix, f. n. 2—The facsimile of the Mundakhēḍē plates has since been noticed in a subsequent issue of the same Marathi journal *Prabhāta* (Vol. II). I have edited the plates in *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXIX from that facsimile.
- „ lxiv, line 10—For 740 A. C. read 739 A. C.
- „ lxv, para. 2, line 3—For *Anivartakānivartayitṛi* read *Anivartakanivartayitṛi*.
- „ lxxi, para. 2, line 1—One more record of the reign of this Śaṅkaragaṇa has recently been discovered at Muriā, 3½ miles from Bōriā on the Jabalpur-Saugor road. It is fragmentary and records the construction of some meritorious work (*kṛti*) by one Bhartikaradēva during the reign of the illustrious Śaṅkaragaṇa. I have edited the record with a facsimile in *A. B. O. R. I.*, Vol. XXXV, pp. 20 ff.
- „ lxxii, para. 4, line 3—For *Vallabharāja* read *Vallabharāja*.
- „ lxxv, para. 2, lines 9 and 13 —For *Kāliyā* read *Kāliya*.
- „ lxxxvi, para. 4, line 3—For *Sōmēśvara* read *Sōmasvāmin*.
- „ lxxxvi, para. 3, line 1—Recently a fragmentary stone inscription of Śaṅkaragaṇa III has come to notice at Jabalpur. It opens with a verse in praise of Chakrapāṇi (Vishṇu). Line 8 of the inscription states that Śaṅkaragaṇa defeated with ease a Gurjara king. The latter was probably the Pratihāra king Vijayapāla whose Rājōrgaḍh inscription is dated V. 1016 (959 A. C.). The inscription has been edited by me with a facsimile in *A. B. O. R. I.*, Vol. XXXV, pp. 23 ff.
- „ lxxxvii, line 6—Mr. M. Venkataramayya has recently discussed the identification of Vāchaspati, the minister of Kṛishṇa, mentioned in the Bhilsā inscription. *J. O. R.*, Vol. XXII, pp. 56 ff. He identifies this Kṛishṇa with the Rāshtrakūṭa king Kṛishṇa III and thinks that his minister Vāchaspati defeated the Chēdi king Lakshmaṇarāja II, as the latter had set at nought the authority of the Rāshtrakūṭas over Malwa and Lāṭa in marching across those territories as far as Sōmanāth Pāṭan. He further says that these raids of Lakshmaṇarāja were undertaken at the instigation of the Gurjara-Pratihāras. This view does not appear to be correct. There is no basis for the supposition that the Rāshtrakūṭas and the Kalachuris, who had been matrimonially connected for several generations, became hostile to each other during the reign of Lakshmaṇarāja II. Far from assisting the Gurjara-Pratihāras by his raids in Gujarat and Saurashtra, Lakshmaṇarāja II is known to have fought with them. His son Śaṅkaragaṇa III continued the hostilities as stated in the preceding note.

- Page lxxxvii, line 8—The Māsēr inscription has since been edited by Mr. M. Venkataramayya in *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXIX, pp. 18 ff. He thinks that Narasimha of the Śulki family, who fought with the Kalachuris, held sway over the Bilhāri region. He identifies the territory Viḍa-dvādaśa (Viḍa-12) which he held with the village Viḍā donated by the Kalachuri queen Nōhalā to the god Śiva. Kṛishṇarāja at whose command Narasimha fought against the Kalachuris was, according to Mr. Venkataramayya, the Rāshtrakūṭa king Kṛishṇa III. It is difficult to accept these identifications. Viḍa-12 was probably a fairly large territory. It must have been situated somewhere outside the Kalachuri dominion, and cannot therefore be identified with the small village Viḍā near Bilhāri. Again, the Māsēr inscription shows that Narasimha not only fought with the Kalachuris but killed a Kalachuri king; for he is said to have initiated the wives of a Kalachuri king into widowhood. Kṛishṇarāja at whose command he did this is not likely to have been the Rāshtrakūṭa Kṛishṇa III, who is known to have married a Kalachuri princess.
- „ xci, para. 1, line 7—For Mahipāla read Mahipāla.
- „ xcv, f. n. 10, line 3—For the conqueror read to the conqueror.
- „ xcvi, para. 1, line 14—For Kārṇa read Kārṇa.
- „ xcvi, para. 2, line 2—Two earlier dates of the reign of Kirtivarman are also known, *viz.*, V. 1132 (1073 A. C.) of the Darbat image inscription (*Ind. Hist. Quart.*, Vol. XXX, pp. 183 ff.) and V. 1147 (1090 A. C.) of the Kālāñjar stone inscription (*A. R. A. S. I.* for 1936-37, pp. 92 ff.).
- „ ci, lines 3-6—In the Kudlur plates of Mārasimha II the Rāshtrakūṭa king Kṛishṇa III is called *Narapati* (lord of men). So the reference to *Narapati* in Kārṇa's title may signify his victory over the Later Chālukya king Sōmēśvara I—Āhavamalla. As stated before (p. xcvi), an Apabhraṁśa verse mentions Kārṇa's defeat of Sōmēśvara I's son Vikramāditya VI.
- „ cviii, para. 1, line 2—For *Mahārājakumāra* read *Mahākumāra*.
- „ cxiii, line 6—For reign read reigns.
- „ cxiii, last line—For Sāmantas read Sāvantas.
- „ cxxvi, f. n. 8—For त्रिय read त्रिये.
- „ clv, line 10 from the bottom—For the Māsēr inscription, see *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXIX, pp. 18 ff. For an examination of the identification of Kṛishṇarāja mentioned in this inscription with the Rāshtrakūṭa Kṛishṇa III proposed by the editor, see above, *add.* to page lxxxvii, line 8.
- „ clix, para. 2, line 2—For bigotted read bigoted.
- „ clxi, para. 1, line 3—The complete name of the work is *Aśṭasāhasrikāprajñāpāramitā*.
- „ clxxi, para. 1, line 19—For absolutely read absolutely.
- „ clxxiii, para. 1, line 4—Since these remarks were drafted, Dr. Raghavan of the Madras University has kindly informed me that he has discovered a MS. of the *Uddattarāghava*. From the extracts of its *Prastāvanā* and *Bharatavākya*, which Dr. Raghavan has favoured me with, it appears that its author was identical with that of the Sanskrit play *Tāpasavatsarāja*. Like the latter work, this MS. gives his name as Mātrarāja *alias* Anaṅgaharsha, the son of Narēndravardhana. How Mātrarāja came to be known as Māyurāja is not known. If Rājasēkhara's statement that he belonged to the Kalachuri family is correct, we have two more names in the Kalachuri genealogy, *viz.*, Narēndravardhana and his son Mātrarāja *alias* Anaṅgaharsha.
- „ clxxiii, f. n. 3—For बालिवधो read बालिवधो.
- „ clxxiv, line 1—Another work of Bhīmaṭa named *Manōramā-Vatsarāja* is cited in the *Nāṭyadarpaṇa*, p. 14.
- „ clxxx, line 16 from the bottom—Some Trailkūṭaka coins have also been found in the excavations at Maski in the Hyderabad State. See *J. N. S. I.*, Vol. XVI, pp. 107 ff.
- „ clxxxii, line 2—Coins of Kṛishṇarāja have recently been found also at Nandurbār in Khandesh and Bherā-Ghāt near Tewar. See *J. N. S. I.*, Vol. XVI, pp. 107 ff.
- „ clxxxv, f. n. 2—For a detailed examination of Mr. Nath's view about the attribution of these coins, see my article in *J. N. S. I.*, Vol. XV, pp. 208 ff.

TEXTS AND TRANSLATIONS

- „ 17, para. 4, line 7—For Bhāradvāja read Bharadvāja.
- „ 17, para. 6, lines 6 and 9—For Daśārṇa read Daśapura.
- „ 18, para. 2, line 7—For Sejwānik read Sējwāni.
- „ 18, Text-line 2, —For —यक्तका— read —य(यु)क्तका—
- „ 20, Text-line 1—For (1*) substitute [1*].
- „ 20, Text-line 2—For (स्वान ?) read [स्वान ?].

- Page 20, Text-line 12—For (1*) substitute [1*], and for आच्छता read आच्छ (च्छे) ता.
- „ 21, Translation, para. 1, line 1—For Māhushmatī read Māhishmatī.
- „ 21, Translation, para. 2, line 4—After offerings insert for (the worship of) the divine Buddha.
- „ 21, Translation, para. 2, line 8—For constructed read made.
- „ 21, f. n. 2 line 2—For Guriaras read Gurjaras.
- „ 21, f. n. 6, line 1—For udraṅga read udraṅga.
- „ 21, f. n. 6, line 4—For s-ōdraṅga read s-ōdraṅga.
- „ 22, Title of the record—For PLATE read PLATES.
- „ 22, para. 6, line 5—The word *Vākāṅka* should be in the Roman type.
- „ 24, f. n. 2—Insert Vol. XVI after J. B. B. R. A. S.
- „ 25, f. n. 1, line 2—For n. 12 read n. 9.
- „ 27, f. n. 11—For -परिहीणाग्रहार- read -परिहीणाग्रहार-.
- „ 31, Page-title—For 246 read 245.
- „ 31, f. n. 7, lines 2-3—For *Suprabhāyāḥ* read *Suprabhāyāḥ*.
- „ 31, f. n. 10, line 2—For diety read deity.
- „ 32, Translation, line 6—Enclose and in round brackets.
- „ 34, line 2—Delete the comma after *dātaka*, and for *Rēvaḍhyaka* read *Rēvaḍhyaka*.
- „ 35, f. n. 9—For पोण्डि read पोण्डि.
- „ 36, f. n. 2, lines 4-5—For Yaśōvarman read Yaśōdharman.
- „ 36, f. n. 4, line 1—For councillor read minister.
- „ 36, f. n. 6, line 1—For *Nāgarika* read *Nāgaraka*.
- „ 37, line 2, from bottom —For 30 read 90.
- „ 38, para. 3, line 3—For au read ā.
- „ 39, para. 1, line 4—Insert a comma after was.
- „ 39, f. n. 2, line 2—For rūp- read rūpa-.
- „ 39, f. n. 3, line 2—For *salī-lāsvādita-* read *salī-lāsvādita-*.
- „ 39, f. n. 3, line 7—Insert pillar after stone.
- „ 39, f. n. 4, line 6—For *prātibhādikā* read *prātibhādikā*.
- „ 40, para. 3, line 8—For A. D. read A. C.
- „ 40, f. n. 3, line 4—For A. D. 247-48 read 247-48 A. C.
- „ 41, f. n. 12—For -चिचीपुमि- read -चिचीपुमि-.
- „ 43, f. n. 9, line 5—For *varjja(m)* read *-varjja[m]*.
- „ 43, f. n. 10, line 1—For proprietary read proprietary.
- „ 44, line 3—For *sākhā* read *sākhā*.
- „ 44, line 16—Delete the comma after lunar.
- „ 44, line 17—For *Mahāpīlupatī* read *Mahāpīlupatī*.
- „ 45, para. 1, line 8, and para. 4, line 7—It seems better to take the name of the village as *Śrīparṇakā* in stead of *Śrī-Parnakā*, as suggested by Dr. Chhabra. J. O. R., Vol. XIX, pp. 39 f.
- „ 46, Text-line 4 —For -म्भोगिक- read -म्भोगिक-.
- „ 46, Text-line 5—For -स्तह्व(द्व)ला- read -स्तह्व(द्व)ला-.
- „ 46, Translation, line 14—For *Śrī-Parnakā* read *Śrīparṇakā*.
- „ 46, f. n. 15,—Insert Read before मद्रूपतिभिः.
- „ 47, line 12 from the bottom—For *i* read *i*.
- „ 48, f. n. 1, line 2—For Pillay read Pillai.
- „ 48, f. n. 1, line 5—For Epoch des read Epoche der.
- „ 49, line 2—For (*vāṭaka* ?) read (*vāṭaka* ?).
- „ 49, Text-line 14—Put a hyphen after -सकल.
- „ 50, Text-line 30—For महि महीमतां read. महि(ही) महीम(म)तां.
- „ 50, f. n. 6—For स्वादिति read -स्वादिति.
- „ 51, line 11—Delete the note-reference 1.
- „ 51, line 21—Insert *agnihotra* after *saiśvadīva*.
- „ 51, line 2 from the bottom—For well-done read well done.
- „ 53, line 8—Close the bracket after District.
- „ 54, Text-line 6—For -वड्श⁴भिना- read -वड्श⁴भिना.
- „ 55, line 6 from the bottom —For *Bṛhannārikā* read *Bṛhannārikā*.
- „ 55, f. n. 6,—For -संयुक्तः read -संयुक्तः.
- „ 56, line 2—Insert *agnihotra* after *vaiśvadīva*.

- Page 39, line 6—For 248-49, A. C. read 248-49 A. C.,
 „ 39, f. n. 3—Delete the comma after lines.
 „ 61, Text-line 23—For प्रभुत्व read प्रभुवं(त्वं).
 „ 62, Text-line 47—For वरक read नरके.
 „ 64, f. n. 2—For (kalā) read kalā.
 „ 65, para. 2, line 3, and f. n. 6, lines 3-4—For Chāturvēdins read Chaturvēdins.
 „ 66, para. 1, line 3—For lovely a read lovely as.
 „ 66, f. n. 1, line 1—For charaṇaṣ read charaṇas.
 „ 66, f. n. 1, line 2—For gōrra read gōtra.
 „ 66, f. n. 1, line 3—For Kauthum read Kauthuma.
 „ 66, f. n. 2, line 1—For Iśvara read Iśvara.
 „ 67, para. 2, line 1—Insert a comma after plates.
 „ 67, para. 3, line 7—For rūp-ānurūpam read rūp-ānurūpaṁ.
 „ 67, para. 3, line 14—For jibvāmūliya read jibvāmūliya.
 „ 70, f. n. 10—For चतुस्त्रिंशद्भूयो— read -चतुस्त्रिंशद्भूयो—
 „ 71, Text-line 49—Delete the visarga after [वृ:].
 „ 71, line 12 from the bottom—For udranga read udraṅga.
 „ 71, f. n. 1 For वित्त(भ)वा— read -न्वित्त(भ)वा—
 „ 72, line 19—Insert a comma after District.
 „ 73, para. 3, line 14—For Mātribhaṭa read Mātribhaṭa.
 „ 73, line 3—Insert (and) 1 after 90.
 „ 73, line 14—Insert a comma after District.
 „ 76, para. 4, line 1—Insert a comma after Nāndīpura.
 „ 76, para. 4, line 3—For Malwā read Malwa.
 „ 77, f. n. 8—For Read. अन्यैर्वागामि— read Read -रन्वैर्वागामि—
 „ 78, Translation, line 9—After Suvarṇārapalli insert and the junction with (the boundary of) the village Aṭavīpāṭaka.
 „ 78, Translation, line 16—For Dāśapura read Daśapura.
 „ 80, f. n. 10, line 1 —Insert a comma after which.
 „ 80, f. n. 12—For विभवा— read -न्विभवा—
 „ 81, Translation, para. 1, line 6—For Sāka read Śāka.
 „ 81, Translation, para. 1, line 7—For Sālmali read Śālmali.
 „ 82, para. 2, line 1—Insert a comma after copper-plates.
 „ 82, para. 2, line 9—Delete the comma after seal.
 „ 82, para. 3, line 9—Insert a before curve.
 „ 82, para. 3, lines 13—14—For Nāgari read Nāgari.
 „ 83, para. 4, line 2—For great-grand-father read great-grandfather.
 „ 84 f. n. 2, lines 4 and 6—For A. D. read A. C.
 „ 84, f. n. 8, line 2—For in 'Kārwan read 'in Kārwan.
 „ 85, Text-line 7—For -वृण्डित— read -वृण्डित— and add a hyphen after -स्तस्यात्.
 „ 87, f. n. 2—For square read rectangular.
 „ 88, para. 3, line 4—For full-moon read full moon.
 „ 88, para. 3, line 11—For the Mabattaras and read and the Mabattaras of.
 „ 89, line 14—Enclose now in round brackets.
 „ 89, line 13—For Chāturvēdins read Chaturvēdins.
 „ 90, para. 2, line 1—Insert a comma after copper-plates.
 „ 92, line 1—Insert a comma after 460.
 „ 92, para. 1, line 7—Insert the before Karjan.
 „ 94, Text-line 23—Delete the visarga after करिल्लिणी.
 „ 94, Text-line 31—Insert a visarga after कपयत्.
 „ 95, line 7 from the bottom—For definđ read defined.
 „ 96, line 1—For Brāhamaga read Brāhmaṇa.
 „ 97, para. 2, line 6—For krishna— read krishna—
 „ 99, Text-line 7 —For -रजित्त(न)— read -रजित्त(त)—
 „ 99, f. n. 7—Add a hyphen after -स्तात्.
 „ 100, Text-line 17—For व्यापेचे read व्यापे(से)चे.
 „ 100, Text-line 24—For तुष्टये read चतुष्टय.

- Page 101, Translation, para. 1, line 8—*Close the bracket after night.*
 „ 101, Translation, para. 4, line 5—*For king read kings.*
 „ 101, f. n. 1—*For titbi read titbi.*
 „ 106, Text-line 26—*For -शिवर read -शिवरः.*
 „ 107, Text-line 41—*For भुजतः read भुजतः.*
 „ 107, Text-line 50—*For संभवत् read संभव(व)त्.*
 „ 110, f. n. 1—*For Mediana read Mediana.*
 „ 111, para. 1, line 9—*For new moon read new-moon.*
 „ 111, f. n. 2—*For chakshu-bhūta read chakshu-bhūta.*
 „ 111, f. n. 6, line 4—*For No. 19 read No. 29.*
 „ 111, f. n. 6, line 11—*For n. 41 read n. 4.*
 „ 111, f. n. 7—I have recently noticed that a facsimile of the record was published in Vol. II of the same monthly *Prabhāta*. I have edited the record in the *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXIX from that facsimile.
 „ 112, para. 2, line 11—*For Vikarma read Vikrama, and for as with often as read as often as.*
 „ 113, Text-line 18—*For निकुमाललक्षित read निकुमाललक्षित.*
 „ 114, Text-line 21—*For [प]ण्णवदि(दी) read [प]ण्णवदि(दी).*
 „ 115, Page-title—*For YEAR 204 read YEAR 404.*
 „ 115, f. n. 6, line 1—*For Sōtā's read Sītā's.*
 „ 116, line 4—*Delete the bracket after worshipped and insert it after gods.*
 „ 116, para. 1, line 2—*Enclose his in round brackets.*
 „ 117, para. 3, line 19—*For -dhikarik- read -dhikārik-.*
 „ 117, para. 3, line 20—*For -kārik-ādīn read -kārik-ādīn.*
 „ 119, f. n. 7—*For सेन्द्रकराजान- read सेन्द्रकराजाना-.*
 „ 120, Text-line 15—*For यथा स(सं)बध्य- read यथास(सं)बध्य-.*
 „ 120, Text-line 18—*For ट[टा]युक्तक- read ट(टा)युक्तक-.*
 „ 122, line 2—*Substitute a semicolon for the comma after intellect.*
 „ 122, para. 1, line 2—*For full moon read full-moon.*
 „ 124, para. 2, line 6—*For 429 read 421.*
 „ 127, line 17—*Insert a comma after Nasik.*
 „ 129, f. n. 3—*For occurring read occurring.*
 „ 131, f. n. 1, line 1—*For Allasakti read Allaśakti.*
 „ 133, para. 4, line 1—*For ll. 36-3 read ll. 36-37.*
 „ 135, Text-line 28—*For चैवव्याणि read चैवव्याणि.*
 „ 136, line 8—*Insert Satyāśraya before Pulakēśivallabha (II).*
 „ 137, Translation of line 36—*For forty three read forty-three.*
 „ 138, line 14—*Delete the semicolon after in.*
 „ 138, line 16—*For Prthivi read Pṛithivī.*
 „ 139, para. 1, line 7—*For 737 A. C. read 739 A. C.*
 „ 139, para. 2, line 4—*For the Brāhmaṇa Govindaḥ Kāñchaḥ read the Dvīṇḍa Brāhmaṇa Kāñchaḥ, the son of the Brāhmaṇa Govindaḥ.*
 „ 141, Text-line 33—*Add a hyphen after विष.*
 „ 143, para. 5, line 6—*For whole-world read whole world.*
 „ 144, line 5—*Delete the note reference 2.*
 „ 144, line 20—*For the note reference 1 read 2.*
 „ 144, para. 2, line 3—*For Mahākārtikī read Mahākārtikī. After Mahākārtikī, insert for the performance of bali, charu, vaiśvadeva, agnikōtra and other rites.*
 „ 144, f. n. 2—*For p. 143 read line 1.*
 „ 147, para. 2, lines 6-7—*For Simhavarmarāja read Simhavarmarāja.*
 „ 147, f. n. 2—*For are read is.*
 „ 148, para. 1, line 3—*For Vikramāditya read Vikramāditya, and for grand-father read grandfather.*
 „ 148, f. n. 2, line 3—*Insert) after pp. 304 ff.*
 „ 148, f. n. 2, line 5—*For Durgādēvi read Durgādēvi.*
 „ 149, line 2—*Insert a comma after Trikūṭa and the Traikūṭakas.*
 „ 149, line 8—*Insert a comma after Mairikā.*
 „ 151, Text-line 39—*Insert [*] after इत्तं १००, and delete that after -विषये.*
 „ 151, Text-line 39—*For स्व(म्न): read स्व(म्न):.*
 „ 152, f. n. 2—*Insert a comma after at first.*

- Page 153, line 17—Delete the comma after (*and*).
- .. 153, f. n. 4—*Kōvāra* may be the fee of registration. See Introduction, p. cxlii.
- .. 154, Translation of line 54—*After sixty-one insert 400 (and) 60 (and) 1.*
- .. 154, Translation of lines 56 ff., line 6—*For rupees read rūpakas.*
- .. 155, para. 3, line 6—*For Siriharāja read Sirihavarmarāja.*
- .. 156, f. n. 3, line 1—*For kumārī- read kumārī-.*
- .. 157, Text-line 9—*For -सहस्र- read -सहस्र-.*
- .. 158, Text-line 35—*For द्वाविंशति- read -द्वाविंशति(२)-.*
- .. 158, Translation of line 28, line 1—*For Bhōgaśakti read Bhōgaśakti.*
- .. 158, Translation of line 29, line 3—*For Ambēyapallikā read Ambayapallikā.*
- .. 158, f. n. 11—*Umura-bhāda* in Text-line 33 is probably identical with *umura-bhāda* which occurs in the expression उन्मरभेदो न करणीयो राजपुरुषेण in the grant of Vishnushēṇa, dated V. 649. See P. T. A. I. O. C., Vol. XV, p. 272. It probably means the forcible breaking of a house-door. *Umura* is probably the same as Marathi *umbarā* meaning a threshold. The intended meaning seems to be that the royal officers were forbidden to break open the doors of houses for the recovery of stolen property in the resettled village.
- .. 162, para. 1, line 7—*For Kalpanmam read Kalpalamam.*
- .. 163, line 1—*For G. 403 (724-25 A. C.) read G. 403 (723-24 A. C.).*
- .. 163, line 7—*For Māṅkaṇi plates read Māṅkaṇikā grant.*
- .. 163, Text-line 1—*For -निषष्ट- read -निषष्ट-.*
- .. 164, f. n. 14—*For पट्चत्वारिंश- read पट्चत्वारिंश-.*
- .. 167, para. 1, line 12—*Insert a comma after issued.*
- .. 168, para. 1, line 17—*Insert a comma after is.*
- .. 168, f. n. 1—*For Ibid. read Bom. Gaz.*
- .. 169, Text-line 9—*For -विषयान्तर्गत सन्धियर- read -विषयान्तर्गतसन्धियर-.*
- .. 172, para. 1, line 12—*For Iśvara read Iśvara.*
- .. 172, para. 1, line 23—*For Narman read Narman.*
- .. 174, para. 3, line 4—*For stone inscription read stone pillar inscription.*
- .. 174, f. n. 6, line 2—*For Vāmorājādēva read Vāmarājādēva.*
- .. 175, line 8—*Insert a comma after Dēuka and delete that after king.*
- .. 175, Translation, para. 2, line 1—*Insert a comma after Dēuka.*
- .. 176, Title of the Inscription—*Insert PILLAR after STONE.*
- .. 176, para. 1, line 8—*Insert a comma after remarked and for what read What.*
- .. 176, f. n. 4—*For pp. 17 ff. read pp. 170 ff.*
- .. 177, Page-title—*For SANKARGANA read SANKARAGANA I.*
- .. 178, line 6 from the bottom—*Delete the comma after Lakshmaṇarāja II.*
- .. 179, line 4—*For right hand-side read tight-hand side.*
- .. 179, para. 3, line 10—*For someone read some one.*
- .. 180, line 25—*For grand-father read grandfather.*
- .. 181, f. n. 4—*For Archaeological read Archæological.*
- .. 182, Translation of lines 11-12—*For Śrutis read Śruti.*
- .. 184, Translation, line 3—*For was read is.*
- .. 185, Translation, line 6—*For (Lines 6-7) read (Lines 7-8).*
- .. 185, line 18—*After No. 41 add (No Plate).*
- .. 185, para. 2 from the bottom, line 1—*Insert a comma after alphabet and delete that after closely.*
- .. 187, para. 1, line 6—*For jibvāmūliya read jibvāmūliyo.*
- .. 189, Text-line 8—*For त्रैविंशिके read त्रैविंशिके.*
- .. 189, Text-line 11—*For वशिभिर्दुःकरं read वशिभिर्दुःकरं.*
- .. 190, f. n. 2—*Delete the comma after admitted.*
- .. 193, Translation of v. 19, line 4—*For straight-forward read straightforward.*
- .. 193, Translation of v. 20, line 2—*Insert a comma after front.*
- .. 193, Translation of v. 20, line 3—*For gods read demons.*
- .. 193, f. n. 1—*After a sacrificial ladle in general, insert including juhū made of palāśa, spahlyit of aśvatthā and dbruvā of vikankata.*
- .. 195, Translation of v. 39, line 2—*For karsha read karshas.*
- .. 195, line 2 from the bottom—*For consits read consists.*
- .. 196, line 4 from the bottom—*For Kēsari read Kēsarin.*

- Page 196, line 11—For *brahma-stamba* read *brahma-stamva*.
- 196, line 8 from the bottom—The Māser inscription has since been edited by Mr. Venkataramayya in *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXIX, pp. 18 ff. For an examination of the identification of Kṛishṇa mentioned in that record with Rāshṭrakūṭa Kṛishṇa III proposed by him, see above, *add.* to p. lxxxvii.
- 196, line 5 from the bottom—For Kalachuri kings read a Kalachuri king.
- 196, f. n. 1, line 1—For *śimbābhayam* read *Śimbābhayam*.
- 198, line 2—For Siva read Śiva.
- 199, para. 4, line 5—Insert a comma after ruins.
- 201, Text-line 25—For ततस्त्वमरिकोदरे read ततस्त्वमरिकोदरे.
- 202, f. n. line 3—For *dikā-bhāsu* read *dikā-bhāsu*.
- 204, line 14—For (V. 19) read (V. 20).
- 204, line 35—Delete the mark of interjection after letters.
- 206, para. 2, line 5—For *Vikramānka* read *Vikramānka*.
- 206, para. 2, line 13—For Simhavarman read Śimhavarman.
- 206, para. 4, line 7—For king of Avanti read king Avanti.
- 206, para. 4, line 8—For Śabdaśiva in two places read Śaddśiva.
- 208, f. n. 1, line 2—For Lakṣhmaṇasēna read Lakṣhmaṇasēna.
- 209, Text-line 1—For य[स्मि]ल्लेल read य[स्मि]ल्लेल.
- 209, Text-line 4—For सोमाभिधानतिस्तलकयति read सोमाभिधानतिस्तलकयति. Insert a hyphen after प्रोच्छल्यवा-
(ज्जवा).
- 210, Text-line 7—Insert a hyphen after प्रणयिसै and after कालाह (द्व).
- 211, Text-line 13—Delete the visarga after कोपः.
- 211, Text-line 14—For -दधौद्वतयिया- read -दधौद्वतयिया.
- 212, Text-line 15—For यन्तु read यन्तु.
- 212, Text-line 16—For भर्तुः [३७॥*] read [३७॥*] भर्तुः; and for मरुद्गणानां read मरुद्गणानां.
- 212, Text-line 18—For -स्तस्याभूद्- read -स्तस्याभूद्.
- 213, f. n. 3—For तत्त्व read तत्त्व.
- 216, f. n. 2, line 1—For *avyāhat-eccham* read *avyāhat-eccham*.
- 217, Translation of v. 18, line 2—Insert more before exalted.
- 217, f. n. 1, line 3—For killed read conquered.
- 218, Translation of v. 24—For polity read policy.
- 218, Translation of v. 28, line 2—Insert a comma after rage.
- 218, f. n. 3, line 1—For good conduct read prudent behaviour.
- 220, Translation of v. 46, line 2—For Lakṣhmaṇarāja read Lakṣhmaṇarāja.
- 223, Translation of v. 80, line 2—For by every measurer read on every measure.
- 223, f. n. 2, line 2—For pavillion read pavilion.
- 223, f. n. 7, line 3—For *Yājñavalkya-smṛiti*, II, 221 read *Yājñavalkya-smṛiti*, II, 121.
- 223, f. n. 9, line 2—For *Pātaka* read *Pātaka*.
- 224, Translation of v. 85—*Pūrvā* in this verse may have the sense of *prafasti* as suggested by Dr. Chhabra. *Sarūpa-Bhārati*, p. 22. He translates the second half of this verse as follows:—"May this composition—this fame, this eulogy—endure as long as the creation." I do not agree with Dr. Chhabra that all the three words *kṛiti*, *kīrti* and *pūrvā* in this verse refer to the eulogy. *Kṛiti* probably refers to the composition of Śrūka, *kīrti* to the temple of Nōhalēśvara, and *pūrvā* to the eulogy of the Kalachuri princes.
- 225, para. 1, line 9—For *samadhayō* read *samādhayō*.
- 225, f. n. 4, line 2—For from read form.
- 226, para. 2, line 10—For **Poṇḍik** read **Pōṇḍikā**.
- 226, para. 2, line 20—Insert a comma after mentioned and Prabhōdhaśiva.
- 227, f. n. 9—For tw overers read two verses.
- 228, Text-line 15—For -बैला[लो]क्य- read -बैला[लो]क्य-.
- 229, Text-line 38—For य[वल्लित] read य[ल्लित]-.
- 233, Translation of vv. 36-37—Insert a comma after Sārasaḍōllaka.
- 233, Translation of vv. 38-40, line 3—For *Śiddhāntas* read *Siddhāntas*.
- 233, Translation of v. 42—For the Śiva read (the god) Śiva.
- 233, Translation of v. 44, line 1—For Madu read Madhu.
- 233, Translation of v. 46—For artist read artisan.
- 236, para. 3, line 1—Insert a comma after Wilford.

- Page 237, para. 2, line 12—For *i* read *i*.
- „ 237, para. 2, line 21—For *kim*=*aparṇa* read *kim*=*aparṇa*.
- „ 238, line 10—On further consideration I think it more likely that this Śrī-Harsha is the Guhila prince of that name who was a contemporary of the Pratihāra Bhōja I. See Introduction, p. lxxv.
- „ 241, line 2—Insert a comma after Banaras.
- „ 242, Text-line 14—Delete the *visarga* after (हर्षः).
- „ 242, f. n. 9—For *are* read *is*.
- „ 242, Text-line 19—For जनना read जनता.
- „ 243, Text-line 23—Insert a hyphen after ज (य).
- „ 243, Text-line 24—For कुलधेनरपतिमि भ read कुलधेनरपतिमियंभ.
- „ 243, f. n. 9—For *daṇḍa* read *daṇḍa*.
- „ 244, Text-line 39—For प्रन (ण) वे read प्रन (ण) ज्वे.
- „ 245, Text-line 41—For विश्वाय read विधाय.
- „ 245, Text-line 47—For वा प्रतिमानि read वान्तप्रतिमानि.
- „ 245, f. n. contd. from last page—For प्रतिसावत्सरिकश्चाद्वा read प्रतिसावत्सरिकश्चाद्वा.
- „ 248, Translation of v. 25, line 1—For Gāṅgēyadēva read Gāṅgēyadēva.
- „ 248, Translation of v. 25, line 2—Substitute a semicolon for the comma after Kōkalladēva (II).
- „ 248, f. n. 1, line 1—Insert a semicolon after here.
- „ 249, para. 3, line 3—Substitute a comma for the full point after place.
- „ 249, f. n. 20—For Audāla read Audala.
- „ 251, Page-title—Insert PILLAR after STONE.
- „ 251, Text-line 5—For न्या[ये]* read न्या[वे*].
- „ 251, f. n. 8, line 1—For भक्त्याय read भक्त्याय.
- „ 251, f. n. 16, line 2—For *ta* read *tā* and for प्रसादात् read प्रसादात्.
- „ 253, line 4—For *chb* read *chba*.
- „ 253, para. 1, line 12—For grāmaṇi read grāmaṇi.
- „ 253, para. 1, line 18—For pūtkara read pūtkāra.
- „ 254, para. 3, line 8—For full moon tithi read full-moon tithi.
- „ 254, f. n. 5—Insert a comma after 1030 A. C.
- „ 256, Text-line 16—For योगमाजां read योगमाजां.
- „ 256, Text-line 17—For स्फुटित read स्फुटितं.
- „ 257, Text-line 21—For -मेक व्याजेन- read -मेकव्याजेन.
- „ 258, Text-line 31—For स्फुरद्धोषणाः read स्फुरद्धोषणाः.
- „ 258, Text-line 34—Delete पति after माहेस्वर.
- „ 260, Translation of v. 14, line 4—For of Indra read to Indra.
- „ 261, Translation of v. 17, line 2—Insert a comma after Aṅga.
- „ 262, Translation of v. 27, line 3—For enemy's read enemy's.
- „ 262, Translation of Line 33, line 11—Insert in before the village.
- „ 264, f. n. 3, line 2—For Kācharaiya read -kīmkaraiya.
- „ 268, f. n. 1, line 3—For note worthy read noteworthy.
- „ 268, f. n. 2, line 1—For Śrāvasti read Śrāvastī.
- „ 269, Text-line 9—For आक्रमा- read -आक्रम-.
- „ 270, f. n. 11, line 1—For यस्मिन्मुखकप्रभवे read यस्मिन्मुखकप्रभवे.
- „ 274, Translation of v. 38, line 2—For Kēyastha read Kāyastha.
- „ 277, f. n. 12—For -गुप्तावासीवाद read -गुप्तावासीवाद-.
- „ 280, para. 3, line 6—For Gujocrat read Gujarat.
- „ 280, f. n. 3—For also read above.
- „ 282, Text-line 16—For (सान्त): read (सान्तः).
- „ 282, f. n. 3—Omit Read स्वयं.
- „ 283, f. n. 2—For Upajāti read Upajāti.
- „ 284, Translation of v. 8, line 2—Insert a comma after father.
- „ 286, Text-line 5—For (त्तौ) read (त्तौ).
- „ 287, Text-line 11—For प्रता[वे]नावि- read प्रता[वे]नारि-.
- „ 287, Text-line 19—For स्तधुना read स्तदधुना.
- „ 288, line 18—Insert a comma after inscription.
- „ 289, 291, 293, 295, and 297, Page-title—For PLATE read PLATES.

- Page 289, last para., line 5—For *ṣi* read *ṣṛi*.
 „ 289, last para., line 6—For *kṛipta* read *kṛipta*.
 „ 290, f. n. 3—For *Kāṣi* read *Kāṣī*.
 „ 291, para. 2, line 1—For *Yaśaḥkaraṇa* read *Yaśaḥkarṇa*.
 „ 292, f. n. 3, line 2—Insert a comma after *however*.
 „ 292, f. n. 3, line 3—Insert a comma after *Gāṅgā*.
 „ 293, f. n. 6, line 3—For *—विपरायः* read *—विप्रवरायः*.
 „ 298, Translation of v. 15, line 1—Insert the before *Kalachuris*.
 „ 298, f. n. 9, line 2—For *Kāśyapa* read *Kāśyapā*.
 „ 301, para. 3, line 4—Insert to before 1078-79 A. C.
 „ 302, para. 2, line 3 from the bottom—Delete the note reference 5.
 „ 302, f. n. 5, line 1—For *हेमाद्रि-* read *हेमाद्रि-*.
 „ 304, f. n. 6—For *danda* read *danḍa*.
 „ 304, f. n. 15, line 3—For p. 19 read l. 19.
 „ 307, f. n. 10—For *Sālini* read *Sālinī*.
 „ 308, f. n. 5, line 1—For *matrī* read *matrī*.
 „ 310, line 7—For the *Chandrakara Āchārya* read the *Āchārya Chandrakara*.
 „ 311, Translation of C, para. 4, line 3—For the holy *Chandrakara Āchārya* read the holy *Āchārya Chandrakara*.
 „ 311, Text-line 5—For *संजक* read *संजक-*.
 „ 311, Translation of C, para. 3, line 1—For *Śrēṣṭhī* read *Śrēṣṭhī*, and for *thim* read *him*.
 „ 311, f. n. 4—Insert a comma after *akṣaras*.
 „ 311, f. n. 8—For n. 3 read n. 2.
 „ 311, f. n. 9—Add n. 3 after *Loc. cit.*
 „ 312, para. 2, line 3 from the bottom—For *ṣaṣṭa* read *ṣaṣṭā*.
 „ 313, para. 2, line 3—For *Gāṅgēyadēva* read *Gāṅgēyadēva*.
 „ 313, f. n. 2—For *Mahīdhara* read *Dharaṇīdhara*.
 „ 314, para. 1, line 4—For *Godavari* read *Gōdāvari*.
 „ 315, Text-line 5—For *पुंसो* read *पुंसो*.
 „ 316, Text-line 21—For *व(ब)न्धुप-* read *व(ब)न्धुर-*.
 „ 318, f. n. 5—For *Brahmāṇḍa* read *Brahmāṇḍa*.
 „ 322, Text-line 8—For *श्रीव(ब)ललाल-* read *श्रीव(ब)ललाल-*.
 „ 323, para. 4, line 4—For 28 miles read 36 miles.
 „ 323, f. n. 2—For *Bhāgīratī* read *Bhāgīratī*.
 „ 324, f. n. 3—For *तटादिम्बका-* read *तटादिम्बका-*.
 „ 326, line 3 from the bottom—For *date* read *day*.
 „ 326, f. n. 3—For *des* read *der*.
 „ 326, f. n. 4—For *Prithvidēva* read *Prithvidēva II*.
 „ 327, Text-line 6—For *पुंसि* read *पुंसि*.
 „ 330, Translation of L. 25, line 3—Insert at *Tripurī* after in the *Rēvā*.
 „ 333, para. 1, line 6—Insert a comma after *Jayasimha*.
 „ 333, para. 2, line 4—For *Nannadēva* read *Nāmadēva*.
 „ 334, Text-line 8—For *—स्तीर्थे* read *—स्तीर्थे*.
 „ 336, Text-line 24—For *समकरोल्लेका-* read *समकरोल्लोका-*.
 „ 341, line 2—For *sons'* read *son's*.
 „ 343, Text-line 12—For *—मापयन्त-* read *—मापयन्त-*.
 „ 343—For the text-line number 81 read 18.
 „ 343, para. 5, line 1—For *Sikhā* read *Sūkhā*.
 „ 346, Translation, line 2 from the bottom—For *Kēśava* read *Kēśava*.
 „ 346, line 5 from the bottom—For *ṣi* read *ṣṛi* and for *prakṛipta* read *prakṛipta*.
 „ 346, f. n. 4, line 2—Delete p. 295.
 „ 347, line 14—For *darṣanānt* read *darṣanān*.
 „ 347, line 19—For *gīrām* read *gīrām*.
 „ 347, line 20—For *Vijayasimhadēva* read *Vijayasimhadēva*.
 „ 347, f. n. 3, line 3—For *Chandrasimbh* read *Chandrasimbhā*.
 „ 348, para. 1, line 6—For *tanakakas* read *paṇkakakas*.
 „ 348, para. 3, lines 6-7—For *councillor* read *counsellor*.

- Page 348, line 2 from the bottom—For inscriptions read inscription.
 „ 349, line 1—For numerical symbols read numerical figures.
 „ 349, para. 2, line 8—For Vikarma read Vikrama.
 „ 350, f. n. 2, line 2—For *Yājñavalkya-smṛiti* read *Yājñavalkya-smṛiti*.
 „ 350, f. n. 14—For चित्त्य read चित्त्यं.
 „ 351, Text-line 11—For विलसितुं read विलसितुं.
 „ 353, Text-line 25—For मूर्द्धनि read मूर्द्धनि.
 „ 355, Translation of verse 20, line 4—Delete the comma after confidence and insert it after prowess.
 „ 356, Translation of v. 29, line 1—For Rāmasimha read Raṇasimha.
 „ 359, line 17—Delete the comma after consonants.
 „ 360, para. 1, line 4—For *paravaras* read *pravaras*.
 „ 360, para. 2, line 1—Insert of after the date.
 „ 362, Translation of L. 2, line 5—For Vāmādēva read Vāmadēva.
 „ 362, f. n. 13—For also occurs read occurs also.
 „ 362, f. n. 15, line 1—Insert a comma after Bhārati.
 „ 363, Translation, para 2, line 2—For *mahāśabala* read *mahāśabala*.
 „ 364, f. n. 9—For or one of her sons read her son or grandson.
 „ 365, line 5 from the bottom—For the semicolon after predecessors substitute a comma.
 „ 366, f. n. 11—For कोट्टपाल read महाकोट्टपाल.
 „ 367, Text-line 17—Insert the note reference 2 after [१*][६][x] and delete that after [म*].
 „ 368, para. 3, line 5—Insert a comma after Cunningham.
 „ 369, line 11 from the bottom—Insert a comma after Rewa.
 „ 370, para. 2, line 2—For Alaura read Alaurā.
 „ 371, Text-line 5—Insert a hyphen after विराजमान.
 „ 372, f. n. 10—For बाबाद्धरण्यं read बाबद्धरण्यं.
 „ 374, f. n. 2—For Alaura read Alaurā.

PLATES

- Plate XXVIII, Title—For Spurious Plates read Spurious Kaira Plates.
 „ XXIX B, Title—For Stone Inscription read Stone Pillar Inscription.
 For Bargaon Temple Inscription of Sabara, Plate XXXII, read Bargaon Stone Inscription of Sabara, Plate XXXIII.

INTRODUCTION

THE KALACHURI-CHEDI ERA

ALTHOUGH some of the inscriptions dated in the Kalachuri-Chēdi era were discovered in the early decades of the nineteenth century, it was not suspected till about half a century later that their dates must be referred to an era different from the Vikrama and Saka eras which were then current in different parts of India, or from the Gupta era which had become known from inscriptions. For instance, the date of the Banaras plates of Kaṇṇa discovered in 1801, which was evidently misread by Captain Wilford, was taken by him to correspond to 192 A. C.¹ The date *Samvat* 932 of the Kumbhī plates published in 1839² was referred by the editors of the grant to the Vikrama *Samvat* and taken to be equivalent to 876 A. C.³ The Kaṇḥēri plate was discovered by Dr. Bird in 1839, but the earliest attempt to date it approximately was that of Pandit Bhagvanlal Indraji, who, on considerations of palæography, referred the inscription to about the sixth century A. C.⁴ But he then made no conjecture about the era to which its date 245 should be referred, beyond stating that it could not be the same as that employed by the Kshatrapas, as the characters on their coins are of a much earlier type, and that it could not be the Gupta era in the absence of such expressions as *Gupta-kāla*, *Guptasya kāla*, *Gupta-nṛpa-rājya-bhukti* or *Sanī*. Dr. Burgess, however, in a note on Bhagvanlal's article observed as follows: "From the form of the characters, I incline to think that this inscription may be dated in the Gupta era; the Trikuṭakas, like the Valabhi Sēnāpatis, may have continued to use the Gupta era on assuming independence; or it may have been adopted from Gujarat."⁵ The first and approximately correct conjecture about the epoch of the era was made in 1859 by Prof. Fitz-Edward Hall in his article on the Bhērā-Ghāt inscription of Alhaṇadēvi, dated *Samvat* 907, and the Tewar inscription of Jayasimhadēva, dated *Samvat* 928.⁶ Finding that Alhaṇadēvi was mentioned in the former inscription as the grand-daughter of Udayāditya, Dr. Hall conjectured that she might have been born about 1100 A. C., as her grandfather Udayāditya, who reigned between Bhōja (*circa* 1050 A. C.) and Naravarman (1104 A. C.), might have flourished about 1075 A. C. Now, Alhaṇadēvi's sons, Narasimha and Jayasimha, were reigning in the years 907 and 928 respectively, and her great-grandson was a minor⁷ in the year 932 of an unspecified era. Dr. Hall, therefore, thought that her birth might have taken place about the year 850 of the era to which the aforementioned dates

¹ *A. R.*, Vol. IX, p. 108. On this General Cunningham remarked, "I suspect that the date was read by Wilford as 193; and that he afterwards forgot that he had obtained it from the plate, as he states, 'the grant is dated in the second year of his new era, and also of his reign, answering to the Christian year 192'." *C. A. S. I. R.* Vol. IX, p. 82.

² *J. A. S. B.*, Vol. VIII, pp. 481 ff.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 482.

⁴ *I. C. T. W. I.* (A. S. W. I., No. 10), p. 59.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 59, n. 2.

⁶ *J. A. O. S.*, Vol. VI (1860), p. 501. The article was presented to the Society on October 26, 1859.

⁷ The Kumbhī plates, dated K. 932 (Appendix, No. 4), record a grant made by Gōsaladēvi, mother of Vijayasimha, not his wife as Hall wrongly stated. Again, the grant was made by Gōsaladēvi during the reign of her son Vijayasimha and with his consent as explicitly stated therein. It was not made by her for her minor son Ajayasimha as Hall thought. Among the persons to whom the royal order is addressed is mentioned *Mahākumāra* Ajayasimha. He had not ascended the throne then, but there is nothing to show that he was a minor at the time.

refer. He thus suggested that the unspecified era used in the Kalachuri records might have commenced about 250 A. C. He had no doubt that the numbers did not refer either to the era of Śālivāhana or to that of Vikramāditya. But he left it an open question whether the era was that of Valabhī with some epoch other than 319 A. C., or some other era till then unknown.

In 1878, Cunningham announced in the Introduction (p. vi) to his *Reports of the Archaeological Survey of India*, Vol. VII, that he had found, among the inscriptions collected by his assistant Beglar in the eastern part of the Central Provinces in 1873-74, two¹ which were actually dated in the *Chēdi Saṁvat*, and two others² in the *Kalachuri Saṁvat*. He identified the two eras, as 'the princes of Chēdi were of the Kalachuri branch of the Haihaya tribe.' He further stated that he had examined some eight verifiable dates of the era and had found by calculation that the era began in 249 A. C., the year 250 A. C. being the year 1 of the Chēdi Saṁvat.

In his *Reports of the Archaeological Survey of India*, Vol. IX (A tour in the Central Provinces in 1873-74 and 1874-75), pp. 111 ff., Cunningham reiterated his conclusion that 249 A. C. was the initial point of the Chēdi or Kalachuri Saṁvat, the year 250 being the year 1 of the era, 'the Hindu reckoning being invariably recorded in complete or expired years, in the same way as a person's age is reckoned.' He then gave details of the aforementioned eight dates together with the corresponding week-days obtained by calculation in the following form³ :—

Chēdi Saṁvat	A. C.	Month and day	Calculated Weekday
793	1042	Phālguna vadi 9, Monday	.. Sunday
896	1145	Māgha sudi 8, Wednesday	.. *Wednesday
898	1147	Āśvina sudi 7, Monday	.. Saturday
902	1151	Āshāḍha sudi 1, Sunday	.. *Sunday
907	1156	Mārgaśīras sudi 11, Sunday	.. *Sunday
909	1158	Śrāvaṇa sudi 5, Wednesday	.. Thursday
928	1177	Śrāvaṇa sudi 6, Sunday	.. Monday
928	1177	Māgha vadi 10, Monday	.. *Monday

Cunningham's calculations did not yield quite satisfactory results, as only in four out of the above eight cases⁴ the dates were found to be regular. In three other cases, the dates agreed within one day—an amount of deviation which, he thought, was not uncommon in Hindu dates. Cunningham's calculations are not, however, found to be correct in all cases⁵. Even with his epoch, the first date regularly corresponds to Monday, the 18th January, 1042 A. C., and the sixth, for intercalary Śrāvaṇa, to Wednesday, the 2nd July, 1158 A. C.⁶ Secondly, in order to get the corresponding year of the Christian era, he added

¹ These were Nos. 98 and 100.

² See Nos. 87 and 88.

³ I give the names of months *etc.* in this table as we should spell them now.

⁴ They are starred in the table given above.

⁵ On p. 86 of the same Volume (IX) Cunningham, says, "By calculation, also, I find that in the year 1041 A. D. or 793 of the Chēdi Saṁvat, according to this reckoning, the 9th day of *Phālgun badi* was a Monday."

⁶ Cunningham seems to have taken the month to be *nija* Śrāvaṇa; for, the 5th *tithi* of the bright fortnight of *nija* Śrāvaṇa commenced 5 h. 20 m. on Thursday.

249 to the Chēdi date in all cases, whether the latter fell in Ashāḍha or in Phālguna, as if the Chēdi year completely coincided with the Christian year. Thirdly, he took all dates without exception to be in expired years. As regards the general correctness of Cunningham's epoch, however, there was no doubt; for, the dates he assigned to the Kalachuri kings on its basis were generally corroborated by the synchronisms known from the inscriptions of the Kalachuri, Rāshtrakūṭa, Chālukya, Paramāra and Pratihāra dynasties.¹ In the Introduction (pp. vii-viii) to the same volume, Cunningham adduced further evidence to support his conclusion about the epoch of the era. He pointed out that Abū Rihān,² writing about 1030-31 A. C., referred to Gāṅgēya as a contemporary king of Dāhala and that from his *Vikramāṅkacarita* Bilhaṇa seemed to have resided at the court of Rājā Kaṇa of Dāhala from 1070 A. C. to 1075 A. C. These dates, he showed, agreed with the approximate periods which he had assigned to the Kalachuri kings by the genealogical reckoning of his chronology.

In the meanwhile, some inscriptions of the Gurjara dynasty were discovered in Western India. The dates *Samvat* 380 and 385 of two of them, *viḥ.*, the two sets of Kairā plates of Dadda II,³ were at first referred to the Vikrama era; but after the discovery of a third grant, *viḥ.*, the Ilao plates of Dadda-Prasāntarāga⁴, which was explicitly dated in the year 417 of the Śaka era, the dates of the aforementioned two Kairā grants and also the date 486 of the odd Kāvī plate⁵ of Jayabhāṭa subsequently discovered, in all of which the era was unspecified, were referred to the Śaka era.

In 1884, Dr. Bhagvanlal Indraji published the Navsāri grant of Jayabhāṭa (III),⁶ dated Monday or Tuesday, the full-moon day of Māgha, *Samvat* 456, on the occasion of an eclipse of the moon. This grant mentions in connection with Dadda, the great-grandfather of the donor Jayabhāṭa, that he protected a prince of Valabhī against the Emperor (*Paramēśvara*) Śrī-Harshadēva. Dr. Bhagvanlal naturally identified the latter with Harshavardhana of Thānēśvar and Kanauj, who ruled from 606 A. C. to 648 A. C. As Dadda, the first prince mentioned in the Navsāri grant, was thus proved to have flourished in the first half of the seventh century A. C., it was clear that the date 456 of the Navsāri grant of that Dadda's great-grandson Jayabhāṭa could not be referred to the Śaka era. Dr. Bhagvanlal had again obtained four other grants of the Chālukya dynasty discovered in Gujarat, two of which, made by Sryāśraya-Śilāditya, were found to be dated in *Samvat* 421 and 423, the third, made by Maṅgalarāja, in *Śaka* 653, and the fourth, by Pulakēśivallabha Janāśraya, in *Samvat* 490. From the genealogical portions of these grants it was clear that all these princes were sons of Jayasīmhavarman, who was himself a son of Pulakēśin II, the famous king of the Early Chālukya Dynasty. From these data Dr. Bhagvanlal concluded that the dates 456 and 486 of the Gurjara grants and 421, 443 and 490 of the Chālukya grants referred to an era, different from the Śaka era, which was used in Gujarat in the seventh and eighth centuries A. C. He conjecturally fixed 244-45 A. C. as the initial year and 245-46 A. C. as the year 1 of that era, and identified it with

¹ *C. A. S. I. R.*, Vol. IX, pp. 84-87; 100-111.

² He is more widely known by his name Albērūnī.

³ These were discovered about 1827 A. C. They were first published by J. Prinsep in *J. A. S. B.*, Vol. VII, pp. 908 ff. and subsequently by Dowson in *J. R. A. S.*, (N. S.), Vol. I, pp. 247 ff. and by Fleet in *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIII, pp. 81 ff.

⁴ Ed. by Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar, *J. B. B. R. A. S.*, Vol. X, pp. 19 ff. and, with facsimiles, by Fleet in *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIII, pp. 116 ff.

⁵ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. V, pp. 109 ff.

⁶ *Ibid.*, Vol. XIII, pp. 70 ff.

'the era of the Trikūṭakas, of which the two hundred and forty-fifth year is mentioned in Dr. Bird's Kanḥēri plate.'¹

The nearness of the epoch 244-45 A. C. suggested by Bhagvanlal to the epoch of the Chēdi era (249 A. C.) led General Cunningham to suspect that the two eras might be identical. Calculating on this supposition, he found that the date of the Navsāri grant, 'Monday or Tuesday, the 15th day of the bright fortnight of Māgha of *Samvat* 456, on the occasion of an eclipse of the moon,' corresponded to the 2nd February 706 A. C., which was a Tuesday and on which occurred an eclipse of the moon. He also found that the date of the Kāvī plate 'Sunday, the 10th day of the bright fortnight of the month Ashāḍha of *Samvat* 486' regularly corresponded to Sunday, the 24th June 736 A. C.² In both these cases the corresponding Christian year was obtained by adding 250 to the (Chēdi) year showing clearly that the epoch of the Chēdi era was not 249 A. C., but 249-50 A. C.

In 1884, in his article on the Pārḍī plates of Dahrasēna, published in the *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* (Vol. XVI, p. 346), Dr. Bhagvanlal Indraji accepted the view that the era used by the Gurjaras and the Chālukyas of Gujarat commenced in 249 A. C., but he pointed out that it was distinctly called the era of the Traikūṭakas in Dr. Bird's Kanḥēri plate. He referred the date 207 of the Pārḍī plates of the Traikūṭaka king Dahrasēna to the same era and observed that the grant afforded indisputable corroboration of the existence of the Traikūṭaka dynasty which he had deduced from Dr. Bird's plate.

In the same year, Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar published his *Early History of the Deccan* (first ed.), in which he questioned the correctness of Dr. Bhagvanlal's view that the date 421 of Śrīyāśraya Śilāditya's grant is in an era with 250 A. C. as its initial date, on the ground that the interval between the two brothers—Maṅgalarāja and Śrīyāśraya—becomes 60 years, which unquestionably is too long.³ He further suggested that the date was in the Gupta era 'which was one of those in ordinary use in Gujarat.'

In 1886, Dr. Bhagvanlal contributed a paper entitled 'Two New Grants of the Chālukya Dynasty' to the International Oriental Congress, Vienna, in which he pointed out that Dr. Bhandarkar's view—that the grants of the Gujarat Chālukyas are dated in the Gupta era—would lead to the conclusion that Śrīyāśraya reigned as *Yuvarāja* from 10 to 32 years later than his younger brother Maṅgalarāja who was a 'king'—which was clearly impossible. He further made some ingenious conjectures about the circumstances which led to the foundation of the era. The founder of the era, according to him, was king Īśvaradatta who interrupted the rule of the Western Kshatrapas and whose coins, dated in the first and second years of his reign, show that he assumed the titles *Rājan* and *Kshatrapa*. "Other kings", he proceeded to state, "bearing names which end in *datta*, have left their records in the caves of Nasik, and state that they are Ābhīras by caste. This circumstance permits us to infer that they belong to the Ābhīra dynasty which, probably coming by sea from Sindh, conquered the western coast and made Trikūṭa its capital. Īśvaradatta whom I consider to belong to it probably attacked and obtained a victory over the Kshatrapas. After he had consolidated his power, he issued his own coins, copying the Kshatrapa currency of the district. His coins particularly resemble those of the Kshatrapa Vīradāman and his brother Vijayasēna. The end of the reign of the latter falls, as the coins show, in the year 170 of the Kshatrapa era. If we take this to be the Saka era, the time of

¹ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIII, p. 76.

² See Fleet's note on Pandit Bhagvanlal's article on the Navsāri plates of Jayabhaṭa III. *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIII, pp. 76-77.

³ *E. H. D.*, (first ed.), p. 102.

Īśvaradatta's conquest will fall just about the same time as the foundation of the Traikūṭaka or Kalachuri era. This agreement induces me to consider Īśvardatta as its founder. It seems further that the reign of the Traikūṭakas did not last long, as Viradāman's son Rudrasēna appears to have regained power and to have driven his foe out of the country. The Traikūṭakas then probably retired to the Central Provinces and there assumed the name Haihaya and Kalachuri. Afterwards the kings of this dynasty appear to have taken possession of their former capital Trikūṭa at the time of the final destruction of the Kshattrapa power. Dahrasēna must have ascended the throne just about this time which was the year 207+170 or 377 of the Śaka era."¹

Till 1887, scholars were engaged in pointing out in a general way the epoch of the Chēdi or Traikūṭaka era. A definite suggestion about the month and the *tithi* of its actual commencement was first made by Prof. Kielhorn,² who, in his letters published in the *Academy* of December 10 and 24, 1887, and January 14, 1888,³ announced that his calculations of numerous week-days of later Chēdi inscriptions showed that the Chēdi era began not in 249, but in 248 A. C. Later on, in an article published in the *Nachrichten der Ges. d. Wissenschaften*, Göttingen (1888), pp. 31-41 and another in the *Indian Antiquary* (Vol. XVII, pp. 215 ff.) of August 1888, Dr. Kielhorn showed, from an examination of twelve dates of the Kalachuris and their feudatories and two of the Gurjaras, that the only equation which yields correct week-days for those Chēdi inscriptions in which the week-day is mentioned is Chēdi Saṃvat 0=248-49 A. C. and Chēdi Saṃvat 1=249-50 A. C., and that, if we wish to work out the dates by a uniform process, we must take the Chēdi year to commence with the month Bhādrapada, and must, accordingly, start from July 28, 249 A. C.=Bhādrapada śu. di. 1 of the northern Vikrama year 307 current, as the first day of the first current year of the Chēdi era. In a note Kielhorn remarked that a year beginning with the month Āśvina would suit the dates examined by him as well as one beginning with Bhādrapada, and if the dates were to be worked out by a uniform process, the former would appear to be even more suitable than the latter. He preferred, however, the *Bhādrapadādi* year because 'Albērūnī does mention a year beginning with *Bhādrapada*'.⁴ As regards the arrangement of the fortnights, Kielhorn showed from three dates that it was the *puṇyīmānta* one in which the dark half of a month precedes the bright half.

Kielhorn's calculations, made on the basis of the epoch of 248-49 A. C., showed that of the fourteen dates examined by him, in none of which the year is specified either as current or as expired, eleven were found recorded in current years, two in expired years and one in a year which may be taken as current if the Chēdi year was *Āśvinādi*, and expired if it was *Bhādrapadādi*.

This proportion of the current and expired years of the Chēdi era was, however, the reverse of what Kielhorn himself found in the case of other eras such as the Vikrama, Śaka and Nēwār eras. It was pointed out by Dr. Bhandarkar⁵ and others in connection

¹ See *P. V. O. C.* (1886), p. 221-22.

² Sh. B. Dikshit had earlier come to the conclusion that nearly all of the ten Kalachuri or Chēdi dates, given by General Cunningham, would work out correctly with the epoch of 248-49 A.C., but his results were not published for the reasons stated by Fleet in the Introduction to *C. I. I.*, Vol. III, p. 9 (published in 1888). The dates of the grants of the Uchchakalpa kings, which Fleet referred to the Kalachuri era (*ibid.*, introduction, pp. 8 ff.), are probably recorded in the Gupta era. See my article on the subject in *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXIII, pp. 171 ff.

³ See *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVII, p. 187, n. 14.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Vol. XVII, p. 215, n. 5.

⁵ See his article 'The Epoch of the Gupta Era' (1889), pub. in the *J. B. B. R. A. S.*, Vol. XVII, Part II (1887-1889), pp. 80 ff.

with the question of the epoch of the Gupta-Valabhī era that the Hindu's usual, though not invariable, way of expressing a date was not 'in the year so and so', but 'after so many years had elapsed since such and such an event had taken place'. The case of the Chēdi era, which seemed to be an exception to the general rule, was cited by Dr. Fleet¹ in support of his view that the years of the Gupta era which are not qualified either as current or as expired should be taken as current. This controversy about the general custom of the Hindus in dating their records during the middle ages led Kielhorn to revise his conclusions about the epoch of the Chēdi era. In his article 'Die Epoche der Cedi Aera' in the *Festgruss an Roth* and in another on the Bhērā-Ghāt inscription of Alhanadēvi in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. II, both of which were published in 1893,² Kielhorn expressed his opinion that in conformity with the common usage observed in the case of other eras, the epoch of the Chēdi era should be fixed in such a way that all or at least a great majority of the available verifiable dates would be in expired years. He, therefore, proposed 247-48 A. C. as the epoch of the era. As regards the beginning of the year, he drew attention to the following remark in Colebrooke's letter written at Nagpur on the 30th October, 1799— "The new year begins here with the light fortnight of Āśvina, but opening in the midst of Durgā's festival, New Year's Day is celebrated on the 10th lunar day." Kielhorn thought that the *Āśvinādi* year which was current down to Colebrooke's time in a part of the country previously included in the Chēdi kingdom might be reminiscent of the Chēdi year, and as such a year suited all the twelve Chēdi dates known till then, he fixed the 31st September (Āśvina śu. di. 1) 248 A. C. as the first day of the first current year, and the 26th August (Āśvina śu. di. 1) 249 A. C. as the first day of the first expired year of the Chēdi era. He next showed that all the twelve verifiable dates of the Later Kalachuris which were known till then were, without exception, in expired years.³ The two dates of the Navsārī and Kāvī plates of Jayabhata III, however, presented difficulties which Kielhorn acknowledged in the foot-notes to his *List of Northern Inscriptions*, published in 1898-99 as an Appendix to the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. V.⁴

Three more Chēdi dates containing sufficient data for verification, which were discovered subsequently, were calculated by Kielhorn before his death, viz., (1) the Sarnāth fragmentary Buddhist stone inscription of the time of Kaṇva, dated 'samva[tsarē] 8] 10 *Asvina* (*Āśvina*) *sudī* 15 *Ravan* (corresponding, for the expired Kalachuri year 810, to Sunday the 4th October 1058 A. C.⁵), (2) Tahankāpār (first plate) of Pamparāja, dated *Samvata*(r) 965, *Bhādrapadē vadi* 10 *Mṛiga-ri(rī)kshē So[ma]-dinē* (corresponding, for the current year 965, to Monday, the 12th August 1213 A. C.⁶) and (3) Tahankāpār (second plate) of Pamparāja dated *Samvat* 966 . . . *Isva(śva)ra-samvatsarē Kārti(tti)ka-māsē Chitrā-ri(rī)kshē Ravi-dinē Sūry-ōpa-rāgē* (corresponding, for the expired Chēdi year 966, to Sunday, the 31st October 1214 A. C.⁷). Besides, he found it necessary to change his reading and the corresponding Christian date in the case of one of the previously known twelve Chēdi dates, viz., (4) that of the Shēorinārāyaṇ image inscription, which he now read as *Kalachuri-samvatsarē* 1189811 *Asvina-sudī* 7 *Sōma-dinē* from a photograph supplied by Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar, and which he found by calculation to correspond, for the current Chēdi year 898, to Monday, the 24th September 1145 A. C.⁸

¹ See his article 'The Gupta-Valabhī Era' in *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XX (1891), p. 387.

² Kielhorn first expressed his view briefly in an article published in the *Transactions of the Ninth International Congress of Orientalists*, Vol. I (1893), p. 428. The Congress was held in London from the 31st to the 12th September 1892.

³ *Festgruss an Roth*, pp. 33-36.

⁴ See p. 57, nn. 6 and 7.

⁵ *A. R. A. S. I.* (1906-1907), p. 100.

⁶ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IX, p. 129.

⁷ *Ibid.*, Vol. IX, pp. 129-30.

⁸ *Ibid.*, Vol. IX, p. 130.

Kielhorn's final view that the epoch of the Chēdi era is 247-48 A. C. was confirmed by these new dates; for, while two of them (*viz.*, 1 and 3) might have been taken as current years with the epoch of 248-49 A. C., the other two (*viz.*, 2 and 4) would have appeared irregular according to that epoch. The latter dates again showed that 'Kalachuri years, occasionally and exceptionally, are quoted as current years'.

Since 1893, scholars have generally accepted Kielhorn's conclusion that the Chēdi era commenced on Āśvina śu. di. 1 (corresponding to the 31st September) in 248 A. C. Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit alone, differing from Kielhorn, suggested that the Chēdi year might have commenced on the first *tithi* of the dark fortnight of the *pūrṇimānta* Āśvina.¹

Pandit Bhagvanlal's theory—that the Chēdi era owed its origin to the dynasty of the Traikūṭakas and was actually founded by a king named Īśvaradatta whom the Pandit considered to be an Ābhīra, and who, as shown by his coins, reigned sometime about 248-49 A. C. in Saurashtra—held the field for a long time. But in 1905, in his article 'Trikūṭa and the so-called Kalachuri or Chēdi era',² Dr. Fleet pointed out that all the early dates of the era came from Gujarat and the Thana District in Bombay and none from Saurashtra and that there was nothing to stamp the era as the Traikūṭaka era; for, the expression in Dr. Bird's Kaṇhēri plate on which Pandit Bhagvanlal relied might, in accordance with the early Hindu method of expressing dates, just as well mean 'during the augmenting sovereignty of the Traikūṭakas and in the year 245 of (an unspecified era).' Dr. Fleet proposed to identify the founder of the era with the Ābhīra Īśvarasēna (not to be confused with, or identified with, the Īśvaradatta mentioned above) or with his father, the Ābhīra Śivadatta, if he did reign.

In 1908, in his *Catalogue of the Coins of the Andhra Dynasty, the Western Kshatrapas, the Traikūṭaka Dynasty, etc.*, Prof. Rapson considered the question of the Traikūṭaka era in connection with the coins of the Western Kshatrapas and the Traikūṭakas. He pointed out that the dates assigned by Pandit Bhagvanlal Indrajī to the coins of Īśvaradatta rested on a mistaken observation, that the dates from 171 to 176 were quite continuous on the coins of the Western Kshatrapas, and that the evidence of coins and coin-legends showed that the only interval to which the coins of Īśvaradatta could be assigned was that between 158, the last recorded date of *Mahākshatrapa* Dāmasēna, and 161, the year in which his son Yaśōdāman I appears as *Mahākshatrapa*, *i.e.*, between 236 and 239 A. C.³ He further drew attention to the fact that the Ābhīra Śivadatta bears no royal title in the Nāsik inscription of his son Īśvarasēna, which seems to indicate that the latter was the founder of the dynasty and presumably preceded Īśvaradatta. He thus placed both Īśvarasēna and Īśvaradatta before 249 A. C. As regards the circumstances which led to the foundation of the era, he observed, "It is of course quite possible that the establishment of the era may mark the consolidation of the Ābhīra kingdom during the reign of one of their successors. There can be no doubt that the political conditions which admitted of the growth of a strong power in this part of India were due to the decline and fall of the Andhra Empire; but the foundation of an era must be held to denote the successful establishment of the new power rather than its first beginnings or the downfall of the Andhras."⁴

In 1911, a large hoard of Kshatrapa coins was discovered at Sarvāṇīā in the former Bānswārā State of Rajputana. In his detailed account of it published in the *Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India for 1913-14*, pp. 227 ff., Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar examined

¹ See his *History of Indian Astronomy* (in Marāṭhī) (first published in 1896), second edition, p. 375.

² *J. R. A. S.* (1905), pp. 366 ff.

³ *C. A. D.*, pp. cxxxv-vi.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. clxii.

Prof. Rapson's view that Īśvaradatta flourished in the gap between the years 158 and 161. He pointed out that the Sarvāṇīā hoard contained a coin of Yaśōdāman dated in the year 160. This date lessens the gap between Yaśōdāman and his predecessor by one year. "It is still not impossible", wrote Dr. Bhandarkar, "to adjust the two years of Īśvaradatta's reign even in this lessened gap, viz., between 158 and 160, but just as the gap between 171 and 176, which was imagined by Bhagvanlal, no longer exists, a day will, no doubt, come when with the further find of coins the gap between 158 and 160, now existing, will also be completely filled."¹ Dr. Bhandarkar placed the rise of Īśvaradatta in the period 110-112 (188-190 A. C.) when the *Mahākshatrapa* Rudrasimha suffered a diminution of power and was reduced to the rank of *Kshatrapa*. He pointed out that the Ābhīras had acquired great predominance about this time; for, the Nāsik inscription of the Ābhīra Īśvarasēna can, on the evidence of palaeography, be referred to about the year 100 and the Gunda inscription² shows that in the year 103 and during the regime as *Kshatrapa* of Rudrasimha himself the post of *Sēnāpati* or Commander-in-Chief was held by an Ābhīra called Rudrabhūti.

In 1920, in an article entitled 'the Kushāṇa Chronology' published in the *Journal of the Department of Letters* (Calcutta University), Vol. I, pp. 65 ff., Dr. R. C. Majumdar, after detailed examination of the evidence afforded by the Chinese works *Heou Han Chou* of Fan-Ye and *Wei-lie* of Yu Houan, came to the conclusion that the dates ranging from 72 to 136, found in the inscriptions of the Northern Satraps, Gondophares, Kujula Kadphises and Wema Kadphises, must be referred to the Śaka era beginning in 78 A. C. Kanishka who flourished after Wema Kadphises must, therefore, be placed after 214 A. C. Following the principle that 'we should, whenever practicable, avoid the assumption of a brand-new era for the existence of which there is no evidence at all', Dr. Majumdar put forward the view that Kanishka founded the so-called Kalachuri era of 248-49 A. C. He referred to Prof. Rapson's conclusion based on a critical examination of Kshatrapa coinage that from the year 167 or 168 (245-46 A. C.) the Western Kshatrapas had to face troublous times and that their dominions were probably subject to some foreign invasion. Dr. Majumdar attributed this to the establishment, by the Kushāṇa Emperor, of a rival dynasty in the south to hold in check the power of the Western Kshatrapas, and suggested that this ultimately became instrumental in preserving the era of the Kushāṇas long after it had become extinct in the province of its origin.

The main objection to Dr. Majumdar's theory is that there is no evidence of the establishment, by the Kushāṇas, of such a rival dynasty in the south, which curtailed the power of the Western Kshatrapas. Again, Prof. Jouveau-Dubreuil has pointed out that the reign of Vāsudēva, the last of the Kushāṇas, came to an end 100 years after the beginning of the reign of Kanishka. Numerous inscriptions prove that Vāsudēva reigned at Mathurā. It is certain that this country, over which extended the empire of Vāsudēva, was occupied about 350 A. C. by the Yaudhēyas and the Nāgas, and it is probable that they reigned in this place nearly one century before they were subjugated by Samudragupta. The capitals of the Nāgas were Mathurā, Kāntipura and Padmāvati (or Pawāyā, at the confluence of the Sindhu and the Pārā).³ The finds of Nāga coins as well as scattered references in Sanskrit literature indicate that the Nāgas, not the Kushāṇas, were powerful in Central India before the rise of the Guptas.⁴

In 1928, in his article entitled 'The Kalachuris of Tripuri', published in the *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute*, Vol. IX, pp. 281 ff., Rai Bahadur Dr. Hiralal

¹ *A. R. A. S. I.* for 1913-14, p. 229.

² *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. X, p. 157. See also *J. R. A. S.*, 1840, p. 650.

³ *A. H. D.*, p. 31.

⁴ For other objections, see *P. H. A. I.*, pp. 468-69.

tried to revive Pandit Bhagvanlal's theory that the era owed its origin to the dynasty of the Traikūṭakas, by identifying the Traikūṭakas with the Kalachuris. He suggested that Trikūṭa from which the dynasty derived its name was the Vindhya mountain which was so called because of its three peaks—Āmrakūṭa or Amarakāṇṭak, the Sālakūṭa or Sālēṭekri in the Balaghat District and the Madhukūṭa or Mōhtur in the Chhindwara district. But the fact that all the early dates of the era are found in Western India—in Southern Gujarat and Western Maharashtra—is fatal to Dr. Hiralal's theory. Besides, there is no evidence to show that the Vindhya mountain was called Trikūṭa in ancient times. On the other hand, Kālidāsa clearly indicates in the *Raghuvamśa* that the mountain is situated in the Aparānta or North Konkan,¹ and this is corroborated by the discovery of the Anjaneri plates of Prithivīchandra Bhōgaśakti of the (Chēdi) year 461, in which a Trikūṭa *viśaya* is mentioned as situated in the kingdom of Purī-Koṅkaṇa (*i. e.*, North Konkan).²

In 1933, in his *History of India, 130 A. D. to 350 A. D.*, Dr. K. P. Jayaswal attempted to prove that the Chēdi era was started by the Vākāṭakas. "The Purāṇas," he observed, "after the fall of the Sātavāhanas register the rise of Vindhyaśakti as the next great power or as the imperial power succeeding the Sātavāhanas. An era will be naturally counted from the rise of a new power, whether at once or subsequently Then the second fact to take note of in this connection is that Pravarasēna I became an Emperor and the previous Emperors, *i. e.*, the Kushāṇas, had in fact an imperial era. To start an era had become a chief symbol of imperial position."³ Jayaswal, therefore, concluded that Pravarasēna I of the Vākāṭaka dynasty, who became Emperor, must have started the era, dating it from the coronation of his father. He read the dates on two coins which he ascribed to Pravarasēna I and Rudrasēna I as 76 and 100 respectively, and referred these dates together with the date 52 of the Giñjā inscription of Mahārāja Śrī-Bhīmasēna to the Chēdi era dating from the rise of the Vākāṭaka power. But Jayaswal's readings of the legends and figures on these coins are extremely doubtful.⁴ Besides, his theory that the Chēdi era was really founded by the Vākāṭakas is disproved by the fact that the Vākāṭakas themselves never used it, but dated all their records in regnal years.⁵

In 1936, while editing the Kōsam stone inscription of Mahārāja Bhīmavarman, dated in the year 130, in the *Indian Culture*, Vol. III, pp. 177 ff., Mr. A. Ghosh drew attention to certain palaeographical peculiarities noticed in the record, such as the round and narrow-headed *ś*, the unlooped *sh* and *s*, and the undeveloped curves representing medial *i*—peculiarities which are known to be characteristic of Kushāṇa rather than Gupta inscriptions. He, therefore, referred the date 130 of that inscription to the Chēdi era. Subsequently, some more inscriptions of Praushthasriya, Bhadrāmagha, Vaiśravaṇa and Bhīmavarman were found at Kōsam and Bāndhōgarh, and some of them were published in the *Epigraphia Indica* and elsewhere.⁶ These records exhibited the same palaeographic peculiarities which indicated that they belonged to the period of transition between the Kushāṇa and the Gupta age. The system of dating and the mixed nature of the language used in them were also believed to point to the same conclusion. Their dates also were, therefore, referred by some scholars to the Chēdi era. The fact that some of these records came from that part of the country which in ancient times was known as Chēdi lent colour to this view.

¹ Canto IV, vv. 58-59.

² No. 31, l. 38.

³ *History of India, 130 A. D. to 350 A. D.*, p. 111.

⁴ See *J. N. S. I.*, Vol. V, pp. 130 ff.

⁵ Mirashi, *Nagpur University Journal*, No. 3, p. 26.

⁶ See, *e.g.*, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXIII, pp. 245 ff; Vol. XXIV, pp. 146 ff. and pp. 253 ff. *etc.* Also *Jba Commemoration Volume*, pp. 101 ff.

It was, therefore, believed that these records of the Magha kings found at Giñjā, Kōsam and Bāndhōgarh supplied the early dates of the Chēdi era which had been missing till then.

This view was criticised by the present writer in an article entitled 'Dates of some Early Kings of Kauśāmbī' which, though written as early as 1941, was, on account of the Second Great War and other reasons, not published till 1952.¹ In this article it was pointed out that if the dates of the Magha records are referred to the Chēdi era, Bhādrāmāgha, Vaiśravaṇa and Bhīmavarman become contemporaries of the Gupta Emperors Chandragupta I, Samudragupta and Chandragupta II. If these rulers were ruling at Kauśāmbī, they must have acknowledged the suzerainty of the Guptas. But, strange as it may seem, none of them mentions any Gupta overlord. Besides, they issued coins in their own names, indicating their independence.² They must, therefore, have flourished before the rise of the Guptas. The dates of their records have consequently to be referred to the era of Kanishka. As for the palæographic peculiarities noticed in these records, it was pointed out that all of them can be traced in several records of the Kushāṇa age.

Till 1937, Dr. Kielhorn's view that the Chēdi year commenced on Āśvina śu. di. 1 was generally accepted. In an article entitled 'The Epoch of the Kalachuri-Chēdi Era', which the present writer read at the ninth session of the All-India Oriental Conference held at Trivandrum in 1937, he examined thirteen later dates of the era discovered since Kielhorn's time and showed that, though they verified the epoch of 247-48 A. C. fixed by Kielhorn, they clearly showed that the Chēdi year could not have commenced in Āśvina. It must have begun on some day between Āśvina śu. di. 15 and Phālguna va. di. 7. And since we do not know of any Hindu year beginning in any of the months from Mārgaśirsha to Phālguna, it appeared probable that, like the Southern Vikrama year, the Chēdi year also commenced on Kārttika śu. di. 1. As regards Colebrooke's statement on which Kielhorn relied for his view that the Chēdi year commenced on Āśvina śu. di. 1, it was pointed out that the statement in question referred to the festival of Durgā which is, to this day, celebrated with great *éclat* not only in Madhya Pradesh but in other parts of India also. Colebrooke was clearly mistaken when he thought that the festival marked the beginning of the new year. Besides, the Chēdi year could not have been current in Nagpur as that part of the country was, except in very early times, not included in the kingdom of the Kalachuris.³

In 1944, the present writer showed from an examination of the so-called Indore plates of the *Mahārājas* Svāmidāsa and Bhulūṇḍa that they originally belonged to Khandesh and that their dates and also the date 117 of the Sirpur plate of *Mahārāja* Rudradāsa should be referred to the era founded by the Ābhīra king Išvarasēna. These princes of Khandesh explicitly mention their own feudatory status in their grants. They must, therefore, have owned the suzerainty of the contemporary Ābhīra kings ruling over Northern Maharashtra.⁴

In 1945, the present writer further showed that the date 167 of the Barwāni plate of *Mahārāja* Subandhu also must be referred to the same reckoning.⁵

In 1946, the present writer, again, showed that the date of the Kānākherā stone inscription of the Śaka Śrīdhavarman, which he read as 102, also refers to the so-called Kalachuri-Chēdi era.⁶

¹ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXVI, pp. 297 f.

² *J. N. S. I.*, Vol. II, pp. 95 ff.

³ For a full discussion of this matter, see *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXIV, pp. 116 ff.

⁴ *A. B. O. R. I.*, Vol. XXV, pp. 159 ff.

⁵ *Ind. Hist. Quart.*, Vol. XXI, pp. 79 ff.

⁶ *Ibid.*, Vol. XXII, pp. 34 ff.

In 1949, in an article entitled 'New Light on the Epoch of the Kalachuri Era' published in the *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol. XXV, pp. 81 ff., the present writer showed that the date 322 of the Nagardhan plates of Svāmīrāja, which had been discovered in the preceding year, probably referred to the Kalachuri era, and that the details of the date recorded in the grant indicated a new epoch of the era, viz., 250-51 A. C.¹

We have so far seen how our knowledge about the epoch of the Kalachuri-Chēdi era has advanced step by step since 1859 when Dr. Fitz-Edward Hall first made his ingenious conjecture on the subject. We shall next examine such dates of the era as furnish details for computation in order to determine the exact epoch of the era.

Leaving aside the date of the Nagardhan plates which appears exceptional, we find that the dates of the Kalachuri era fall into two groups, viz.—(1) the earlier ones down to the year 490 which come from Gujarat and Maharashtra where, as shown below, the era had its origin, and (2) the later ones from the year 722 to the year 969 which come from Vindhya Pradesh, Uttar Pradesh and Madhya Pradesh including Chhattisgarh, where the era was introduced with the extension of the Kalachuri power. It has already been pointed out by Kielhorn² that the same epoch does not suit these two groups of dates. In regard to the first, the only equation which yields satisfactory results is Kalachuri-Saṁvat 0=248-49 A. C., while in regard to the second, the equation is Kalachuri-Saṁvat 0=247-48 A. C. In both the periods the Kalachuri year commenced on Kārttika śu. di. 1, but in the earlier period the months were generally *amānta*, while in the later one they were generally *pūrṇimānta*.

EARLY DATES OF THE KALACHURI ERA

As the epoch for these dates is 248-49 A. C., the first day of the first current year of that era is the *amānta* Kārttikā śu. di. 1 (25th September) in 249 A. C. (corresponding to the expired Saka year 171). Therefore, to convert a *current* Kalachuri year into an expired Saka year we have to add 170 when the date falls in any of the months from Kārttika to Phālguna, and 171 in all other cases. Similarly to convert an *expired* Kalachuri year into an expired Saka year we have to add 171 and 172 respectively in the same circumstances.

Among early dates of the era, there are only five which contain the details necessary for computation. Three of these are in expired years, and the remaining two, in current ones, as shown below :—

Dates in Expired Years

1. Navsāri plates of Jayabhaṭa III (No. 21, p. 82)—Lines 30-31—*Māgha-suddha-pañchadaśyām candra-ōparāgē*, 'on the 15th *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Māgha, on the occasion of a lunar eclipse.' Lines 41-42 give the year 456 (expressed in both words and numerical symbols). The plates mentioned also in l. 43 the *tithi* (now completely lost) and the week-day (which, judging from the traces left, was either Monday or Tuesday) on which the grant was recorded. Assuming that the grant was recorded on the same day on which it was made, i. e., Māgha śu. di. 15, Monday or Tuesday, we find that according to the epoch of 248-49 A. C., the corresponding Christian date for the *expired* year 456 (i. e., for the expired Saka year 456+171=627) is Tuesday, the 2nd February 706 A. C. On that day, the aforementioned *tithi* ended 16 h. 30 m. after mean sunrise, and there was a lunar eclipse as stated in the grant.

If the year 456 is applied as *current*, the *tithi* falls on the 14th January 705 A. C., which was a Wednesday (not Monday or Tuesday as required). Besides, there was no lunar

¹ The same epoch appears to be applicable in the case of the date of the Ellora plates of Dantidurga, which should be read as *Sam.* 463, not as *Sam.* 663, *J. B. B. R. A. S. (N. S.)*, Vol. XXVI, pp. 163 ff.

² *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. V, Appendix, p. 57, notes 6 and 7.

eclipse on that day. In 704 A. C. also there was no lunar eclipse on the stated *tithi*. This shows that the epoch 247-48 A. C. which suits later dates of the era is wholly inapplicable in this case.¹

2. Anjanēri plates of Jayabhāṭa III (No. 22, p. 90)—Line 30—*Āśvayujā-babul-aikādaśyām Tulā-saṅkrāntē ravau*, 'on the eleventh *tithi* of the dark fortnight of Āśvina, on the occasion of the sun's entering into the Tulā-rāśi (the zodiacal sign of Libra).' Line 39 gives the same *tithi* together with the year 460 (expressed in numerical symbols). The occurrence of the Tulā-saṅkrānti in the dark fortnight of Āśvina shows that the month was *amānta*. According to the epoch of 248-49 A. C. with the year commencing on the *amānta* Kārttika śu. di. 1, the date regularly corresponds, for the *expired* year 460 (*i. e.*, for the expired Saka year $460 + 172 = 632$), to Tuesday, the 23rd September 710 A. C. On that day the 11th *tithi* of the dark fortnight of Āśvina commenced 45 m. after mean sunrise, and ended 22 h. 45 m. after mean sunrise on the same day. Like the *tithi* of the Kāvī plate of K. 486 (No. 23) this was, therefore, a *kṣhaya-tithi*; but as the Tulā-saṅkrānti occurred 15 h. 20 m. after mean sunrise on that day while the 11th *tithi* of the dark fortnight of Āśvina was current, it is coupled with the latter.

If the year is applied as *current*, the Tulā-saṅkrānti falls on Āśvina pūrṇimā (the 23rd September 709 A. C.), not on Āśvina va. di. 11 as required. In 708 A. C. also, the Tulā-saṅkrānti did not occur on the stated *tithi*. This shows that the other epoch of 247-48 A. C. is wholly inapplicable in this case also.

3. Kāvī plate of Jayabhāṭa IV (No. 23, p. 96)—Lines 15-16—*Āshāḍha-śuddha-daśamyām Karkkaṭaka-rāśau saṅkrāntē ravau*, 'on the tenth *tithi* of the bright half of Āshāḍha on the occasion of the sun's entering into the zodiacal sign of Karkkaṭaka.' Lines 24 and 25 give the year 486, Āshāḍha śu. 12,² Sunday, as the date of the recording of the grant. According to the epoch of 248-49 A. C., the Karkkaṭa-saṅkrānti in the *expired* year 486 (*i. e.*, in the expired Saka year $486 + 172 = 658$) occurred about 8 h. after mean sunrise on the 22nd June 736 A. C. The tenth *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Āshāḍha commenced 21 m. after mean sunrise of the 22nd June and ended 1 h. 21 m. before mean sunrise of the following day. It was, therefore, a *kṣhaya-tithi*; but as the Karkkaṭa-saṅkrānti took place during the tenth *tithi*, it is coupled with it. Again the 12th *tithi* of the bright fortnight of the same lunar month fell on Sunday (the 24th June 736 A. C.) as required. The date is thus perfectly regular.

In the *current* year 486, on the other hand, the saṅkrānti occurred on Thursday, the 23rd June 735 A. C., which was the 13th of the dark fortnight of Āshāḍha (not the 10th of the bright fortnight of that month as required).

In 734 A. C. also, the saṅkrānti did not occur on Āshāḍha śu. di. 10. This shows that the other epoch of 247-48 A. C. is wholly inapplicable in this case too.

Dates in Current Years

4. Kāsārē plates of Allaśakti (No. 25, p. 110)—Lines 31-33—*Sam 404, Āshāḍha ba Ā(A)māvāsya[ni*] sūrya-grah-ōparāgē*, 'in the year 404, on the new-moon day of the dark fortnight of Āshāḍha, on the occasion of a solar eclipse'. According to the epoch of 248-49 A. C., the *amāvāsya* of the *pūrṇimānta* Āshāḍha in the *current* year 404 (*i. e.*, in the expired Saka year $404 + 171 = 575$) fell on the 1st June 653 A. C., on which day there was a solar eclipse as stated in the plates. There was no solar eclipse on the *amānta* Āshāḍha of this year.

¹ According to this epoch of 247-48 A. C., the date should fall in 704 A. C. if the year 456 was a current year, and in 703 A. C. if it was an expired one.

² As regards the reading of the number of the *tithi*, see below, p. 98.

If the year is applied as *expired*, the date would fall in 654 A. C., but there was no solar eclipse on the *pūrṇimānta* or *amānta* Āshāḍha of that year.

According to the other epoch of 247-48 A. C., the *tithi* should fall in 652 A. C. or 653 A. C., according as the year 404 was current or expired. In 652 A. C. there was no solar eclipse at all. In 653 A. C., of course, the eclipse did occur on the stated *tithi* as shown above and so the date may be said to be in an expired year according to that epoch. But if we have to explain all early dates according to a *uniform* process, this date will have to be regarded as recorded in a current year according to the epoch of 248-49 A. C. rather than in an expired year according to the epoch of 247-48 A. C.

5. Nasik plates of Dharāśraya-Jayasinhha (No. 28, p. 127)—L. 19—*Chaitra-māsa-śuddha-daśamyām Viśuvē* (*Viśuvā*), 'on the tenth *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Chaitra, on the occasion of the vernal equinox.' Line 28 gives the date *Sam* 436 *Chai* *śu* 10, i. e., the 10th *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Chaitra in the year 436. According to the epoch of 248-49 A. C., the corresponding Christian date for the *current* year 436 (i. e., the expired Saka year 436+171=607) is the 21st March 685 A. C. On that day the tenth *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Chaitra ended 12 h. 45 m. after mean sunrise. The Viśuva or Mēsha-saṅkrānti had occurred 5 h. 15 m. after mean sunrise on the previous day. The saṅkrānti did not thus take place during the 10th *tithi*, but as the *puṇya-kāla* of the Mēsha-saṅkrānti extends to as many as 15 *ghaṭikās* before and after the saṅkrānti, the *tithi* seems to be coupled with the saṅkrānti.

If the year is applied as *expired*, the *tithi* would fall on the 10th March 686 A. C., but the Mēsha-saṅkrānti took place 10 days later, on the 20th March 686 A. C.

According to the other epoch of 247-48 A. C., the date would be expected to fall in 684 A. C. if the year 436 was current, and in 685 A. C. if it was expired. But in 684 A. C. the *tithi* fell on the 3rd March, while the Mēsha-saṅkrānti occurred 16 days later on the 19th March. In 685 A. C. the saṅkrānti occurred on the same day as the mentioned *tithi*, but in view of the other early dates for which the epoch of 247-48 A. C. appears wholly inapplicable, it seems better to take this date as recorded in a current year according to the epoch of 248-49 A. C.

A careful examination of these five early dates of the Kalachuri era will show that—

- (1) All these dates can be shown to be regular according to the epoch of 248-49 A. C.; for, though the dates 4 and 5 can also be explained as dates in expired years according to the epoch of 247-48 A. C., that epoch will not at all suit the first three dates.
- (2) Date 2 shows that the month of Āśvina stood at the close of the Kalachuri year; i. e., the Kalachuri year commenced in some month later than Āśvina, probably in Kārttika.
- (3) Among the five dates there are only two (2 and 4) which fell in the dark fortnight. As shown above, one of them (2) shows that the month cited in it was *amānta*, and the other date (4) indicates that it was *pūrṇimānta*. From this, one cannot, of course, draw any definite conclusion. But it is noteworthy that the months of the Saka era, which was current in Maharashtra both before the rise and after the disappearance of the Kalachuri era, were almost invariably *amānta*.¹ Besides, the date 4 comes from Khandesh and belongs to the reign of the Sēndraka prince Allaśakti. Another date from Khandesh which occurs in a record of this same Allaśakti's son Jayaśakti mentions that the Mina-saṅkrānti in the Saka year 602 (680-81 A. C.)

¹ Among the 400 dates of the Śaka era which Prof. Kielhorn collected, there was only a single one which could confidently be said to be according to the *pūrṇimānta* scheme. *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXV, p. 272.

occurred on the 10th *tithi* of the dark fortnight of Phālguna.¹ This clearly shows that the month Phālguna was *amānta*. We may, therefore, conclude that the months of the Kalachuri year as current in Maharashtra and Gujarat were generally *amānta* and only exceptionally *pūrṇimānta*.

- (4) The proportion of expired years to current ones is 3 : 2. This is in keeping with that observed in the case of other eras. Most of the early dates of the Kalachuri era are not verifiable for want of the necessary details. Otherwise, the proportion of expired years would have been still higher.

According to the testimony of these five dates, therefore, the Kalachuri era commenced on the *amānta* Kārttika śu. di. 1 (the 25th September) in 249 A. C.

LATER DATES OF THE KALACHURI ERA

We shall next take the later dates of the Kalachuri era. As stated before, these dates come from North India and Chhattisgarh where the era was introduced by the Kalachuris. The epoch which suits these dates is that of 247-48 A. C., the year commencing on the *pūrṇimānta* Kārttika śu. di. 1. The first day of the first current year of the Kalachuri era, according to this epoch, was *pūrṇimānta* Kārttika śu. di. 1 (the 6th October) in 248 A. C. Therefore, to convert a *current* Kalachuri year into an expired Śaka year we have to add 169 when the date falls in the bright fortnight of Kārttika or in any of the months from Mārgaśīrsha to Phālguna and 170 in other cases. Similarly, to convert an *expired* Kalachuri year into an expired Śaka year we have to add 170 and 171 respectively in the same circumstances.

Dates in Expired Years

1. Banaras plates of Kaṇṇa (No. 48, p. 236)—Lines 39-40—*Srīmad-Gāṅgēyadēvasya saṁvatsarē(a)-srā(śrā)ddhē Phālguna-va(ba)hula-pakṣa-dvītyāyām Sa(śa)naischa(ścha)ra-vāsarē*, 'On the occasion of the first annual *śrāddha* of the illustrious Gāṅgēyadēva, on Saturday, the second *tithi* of the dark fortnight of Phālguna.' Line 48—*Samvat 793 Phālguna va di 9 Sōmē*, 'on Monday, the 9th *tithi* of the dark fortnight of Phālguna in the year 793.'

Of the two dates mentioned in this record, the second regularly corresponds, for the *expired* year 793 (*i.e.*, Śaka 793 + 170 = 963), to Monday, the 18th January 1042 A. C., on which day the 9th *tithi* of the dark fortnight of the *pūrṇimānta* Phālguna ended 18 h. after mean sunrise. In 1041 A. C. the *tithi* fell on a Thursday. So the year cannot be applied as *current*.

The first date is irregular; for, the second *tithi* of the dark fortnight of the *pūrṇimānta* Phālguna fell on Monday (the 11th January 1042 A. C.), not on Saturday, but the apparent irregularity can be satisfactorily explained as shown elsewhere.²

2. Goharwa plates of Kaṇṇa (No. 50, p. 252)—Line 41-42—*Srīmat-Kaṇṇa-prakāśē vyavaharāṇē saptaṁsa-saṁvatsarē Kārttikē māsi su(śu)kla-pakṣa-Kārttikē-paurṇamāsyām tithau Gura-dinē*, 'During the seventh year of administration rendered glorious by the illustrious Kaṇṇa, on Thursday, the full-moon day of Kārttika.' As shown elsewhere, Kaṇṇa came to the throne some time after Phālguna va. di. 2 in the expired Kalachuri year 792. If the Kalachuri year was *Kārttikādi*, the month Kārttika in the first year of Kaṇṇa's reign would fall in the *expired* year 793. The same month in the seventh regnal year would fall in the *expired* year 799 (*i.e.*, in the expired Śaka year 799 + 170 = 969). The full-moon *tithi* in this year ended 13 h. 30 m. after mean sunrise on Thursday, the 5th November 1047 A. C. The date is thus quite regular. It shows that the Kalachuri year commenced on some *tithi* before Kārttika *paurṇimā*.

¹ A. R. B. I. S. M. (Śaka 1834), pp. 169 ff.

² See below, pp. 239-40.

If the Kalachuri year commenced in some month later than Kārttika, the date would fall in 1046 A. C. But in that year the full-moon day of Kārttika fell on a Friday (the 17th October), not on a Thursday as required.

3. Rewa stone inscription of Kaṇa (No. 51, p. 263)—Line 31—[Kha*]ra-[nāmnā(mnī) mahā-maṅgala-saṁvatsarē] ॥800॥ 'In the very auspicious year 800, named Khara.' The date does not give any details for verification except the name of the Jovian year Khara. Now, the *expired* Kalachuri year 800 corresponded to 1048-49 A.C. The corresponding Jovian year was Khara according to the northern luni-solar system. The date is thus regular. If the year 800 had been a *current* year, the Jovian year would have been Vikṛita.
4. Rewa stone inscription of Kaṇa (No. 53, p. 278)—Line 20—*Samvatsata(ra)* 812 *śrīmat-Kaṇṇa-prakāśa(śa)-vyavaharāyā navama-saṁ(ni)vatsarē Māgha-sudī 10 Guraṇ*, 'In the year 812, the ninth year of administration rendered glorious by Kaṇa, on the tenth *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Māgha, on Thursday.' The corresponding Christian date for the *expired* year 812 (*i. e.*, for the expired Śaka year $812 + 170 = 982$) is Thursday, the 4th January 1061 A. C., when the tenth *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Māgha ended 3 h. 10 m. after mean sunrise. The date is thus regular.

In the *current* year 812, the *tithi* fell on Saturday, the 15th January 1060 A. C.

5. Ratanpur stone inscription of Jājalladēva I (No. 77, p. 409)—Line 31—*Samvat* 866 *Mārgga sudī 9 Ravaṇ*, 'In the year 866, on Sunday, the 9th *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Mārgaśīrṣa.' The date regularly corresponds, for the *expired* year 866 (*i. e.*, for the expired Śaka year $866 + 170 = 1036$), to Sunday, the 8th November 1114 A. C. On that day the 9th *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Mārgaśīrṣa ended 20 h. after mean sunrise. In the *current* year 866, the *tithi* fell on Wednesday, the 19th November 1113 A. C.
6. Shēorinārāyaṇ plates of Ratnadēva II (No. 82, p. 419)—Line 26—*Samvata(t)* 878, *Bhādra sudī 5 Ravaṇ*, 'In the year 878, on Sunday, the 5th *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Bhādrapada.' The date regularly corresponds, for the *expired* year 878 (*i. e.*, the expired Śaka year $878 + 171 = 1049$), to Sunday, the 14th August 1127 A. C. On that day, the fifth *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Bhādrapada ended 8 h. 50 m. after mean sunrise.

In the *current* year 878, the *tithi* fell on Tuesday, the 24th August 1126 A. C.

7. Sarkho plates of Ratnadēva (No. 83, p. 423)—Lines 23-24—*Tēn-āśī(śī)ty-adhik-āshṭa-vatsara-śatē jā(yā)tē dinē Gīḥpatēḥ Kārttikyām-attha Rōhiṇ-ibha-samayē rātreś-cha yāma-trayē Śrīmad-Ratna-narēśvarasya sadasi jyōtir-vvidām-agrataḥ sarvvagrāsam-anushṇagōḥ pravadatā tīrṇṇā pratijñā-nadī* ॥ 'The expired year 880, the fifteenth *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Kārttika, Thursday, with a total eclipse of the moon when she was in the constellation of Rōhiṇī.' The date regularly corresponds, for the *expired* year 880 (*i. e.*, the expired Śaka year $880 + 170 = 1050$), to Thursday, the 8th November 1128 A. C., when the moon was totally eclipsed in the third quarter of the night. The *nakṣatra* Rōhiṇī commenced 13h. 30 m. after mean sunrise on that day. The date is thus perfectly regular.

The explicit statement that the year 880 was *expired* is important. It shows that, with the epoch of 247-48 A. C. which suits all later dates, the Kalachuri year must have commenced before Kārttika *pūrṇimā*.

8. Pāragaon plates of Ratnadēva II (No. 122, p. 622)—Lines 22-23—*Rāhu-grastē Kārttikē māsi bhānau*, 'When the sun was devoured by Rāhu in the month of Kārttika'; l. 30—*Kalachuri saṁvatsarē 885 Āsvi(śvī)na sudī 1 Vn(Bu)dbē*, 'In the Kalachuri year 885, on the first *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Āśvina, on Wednesday.' This date corres-

ponds, for the *expired* year 885 (*i. e.*, for the expired Saka year $885 + 171 = 1056$), to Wednesday, the 19th September 1134 A. C. On that day the *tithi* Āśvina śu. di. 1 commenced 19 h. 40 m. after mean sunrise.

This date shows that the Kalachuri year commenced on some day after Āśvina śu. di. 1.

There was, however, no solar eclipse in the month of Kārttika (*amānta* or *pūrṇimānta*) in K. 885 or even in K. 884. Perhaps *Kārttikē māsi* in ll. 22-23 is a mistake for *Śrāvaṇē māsi*; for, there was a solar eclipse in the month of *pūrṇimānta* Śrāvaṇa in K. 885, on the 23rd July 1134 A. C.

In the *current* Kalachuri year 885, on the other hand, the *tithi* fell on Friday (the 1st September 1133 A. C.), not on Wednesday as required. As stated before, there was no solar eclipse in the month of Kārttika, *amānta* or *pūrṇimānta* in that year.

9. Daikoni plates of Prithvidēva II (No. 86, p. 443)—Line 23—*Rāhu-grastē rajani-tilakē Kārttikē pañchadasyā(tyā)ni*, 'When the ornament of the night (*i. e.*, the moon) was devoured by Rāhu on the fifteenth *tithi* of Kārttika; ll. 26-27—*Samvat* 890, *Mārgga vadi* 11 *Ravan*, 'In the year 890, on Sunday, the 11th *tithi* of the dark fortnight of *Mārggaśirsha*.' This date regularly corresponds, for the *expired* year 890 (*i. e.*, for the expired Saka year $890 + 170 = 1060$), to Sunday, the 30th October 1138 A. C. On that day the eleventh *tithi* in the dark fortnight of the *pūrṇimānta* *Mārggaśirsha* commenced 9 h. 10 m. after mean sunrise. There was a lunar eclipse on the preceding Kārttika *pūrṇimā* (the 19th October 1138 A. C.).

In the *current* Kalachuri year 890, on the other hand, the *tithi* in the *pūrṇimānta* *Mārggaśirsha* fell on Thursday (the 11th November 1137 A. C.). Besides, there was no lunar eclipse in the preceding Kārttika.

10. Rājīm stone inscription of Prithvidēva II (No. 88, p. 450)—Lines 18-19—*Kalachuri-samvat-sara(rē)* 896 *Māghē māsi su(śu)kla-pakṣhē rath-āṣṭamyāni Vn(Bu)dhā-dinē*, 'In the Kalachuri year 896, on Wednesday, the eighth *tithi* (called *Rathāṣṭami*) of the bright fortnight of the month *Māgha*.' This date regularly corresponds, for the *expired* year 896 (*i. e.*, the expired Saka year $896 + 170 = 1066$), to Wednesday, the 3rd January 1145 A. C. On that day the eighth *tithi* of the bright fortnight of *Māgha* ended 10 h. 45 m. after mean sunrise.

In the *current* year 896, on the other hand, the *tithi* fell on Saturday, the 15th January 1144 A. C.

11. Bilaigarh Plates of Prithvidēva II (No. 89, p. 458)—Line 27—*Sūrya-grahana-parvvaṇi*, 'On the occasion of a solar eclipse'; l. 36—*Samvat* 896 *Aminē* 5 (*Āśvinē* 15) 'In the year 896, on the 15th *tithi* of Āśvina'. The date does not admit of verification, but it may be noted that in the *expired* year 896 (*i. e.*, in the expired Saka year $896 + 170 = 1066$) there were two solar eclipses, one in the *pūrṇimānta* *Māgha* (on the 26th December 1144 A. C.), and the other in the *pūrṇimānta* *Āṣhāḍha* (on the 22nd June 1145 A. C.). The latter is probably intended here.

In the *current* year 896, there was no solar eclipse.

12. Pāragaon plates of Prithvidēva II (No. 123, p. 626)—Line 37—*Samvat* 897 *Phālguna* *su di* 15 *Vn(Bu)dhavārē*, 'In the year 897, on the fifteenth *tithi* of the bright fortnight of *Phālguna*, on Wednesday.' This date corresponds, for the *expired* year 897 (*i. e.*, for the expired Saka year $897 + 170 = 1067$), to Wednesday, the 27th February 1146 A. C. On that day the *tithi* *Phālguna* śu. di. 15 commenced 8 h. 25 m. after mean sunrise.

In the *current* Kalachuri year 897, on the other hand, the *tithi* fell on Friday (the 9th February 1145 A. C.), not on Wednesday as required.

13. Amōdā plates (first set) of Prithvidēva II (No. 91, p. 474)—Line 24—*Chaitrē sōma-grahē sati*; l. 32—*Samvat* 900, 'The year 900, with a lunar eclipse in the month of Chaitra.' The corresponding Christian date for the *expired* year 900 (*i. e.*, the expired Saka year $900 + 171 = 1071$) is Friday, the 25th March 1149 A. C. On that day there was a lunar eclipse visible at Ratanpur.

In the *current* year 900 (1148 A. C.), on the other hand, there was no lunar eclipse in Chaitra.

14. Tewar stone inscription of Gayākarnādēva (No. 58, p. 305)—Lines 20-22—*Navasa-(śa)ta-yugal-ābd-ādhibikya-gē Chēdi-dishta(1ē) 1 ja[na*] padam-avat=īmam śrī-Gayākarnādēva Pratipadi śuchi-māsa-śvēta-pakṣhē-rkka-vārē.. 11*, 'In the year 902 of the Chēdi era, on Sunday, the first *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Āshāḍha, during the reign of the illustrious Gayākarna.' The date regularly corresponds, for the *expired* year 902 (*i. e.*, the expired Saka year $902 + 171 = 1073$), to Sunday, the 17th June 1151 A. C., on which day the first *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Āshāḍha ended 2 h. after mean sunrise.

In the *current* year 902, on the other hand, there were two Āshāḍhas. In the *adbika* Āshāḍha, the *tithi* fell on Monday, the 29th May 1150 A. C., and in the *nija* Āshāḍha, on Tuesday, the 27th June 1150 A. C.

15. Amōdā plates (second set) of Prithvidēva II (No. 94, p. 491)—Line 35—*Mani(Sam)-vata(t) 905 Āsvi(śvi)na su di 6 Bhaumē*, 'In the year 905, on Tuesday, the 6th *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Āśvina.' The date regularly corresponds, for the *expired* year 905 (*i. e.*, Saka year $905 + 171 = 1076$), to Tuesday, the 14th September 1154 A. C. On that day the sixth *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Āśvina commenced 1 h. 15 m. after mean sunrise. If the Kalachuri era commenced on Āśvina śu. di. 1 in 248 A. C., this date should fall in 1152 A. C. if the Kalachuri year 905 is taken as current, and in 1153 A. C. if it is taken as expired. But in 1152 A. C. the *tithi* ended 7 h. 30 m. after mean sunrise on Saturday (the 6th September), and in 1153 A. C. it ended 7 h. after mean sunrise on Friday (the 25th September). In either case it would have to be regarded as irregular.

16. Bhērā-Ghāt stone inscription of Narasimha (No. 60, p. 312)—Line 29—*Samvat* 907 *Mārgga sudi 11 Ravan*, '(in) the year 907, on Sunday, the 11th *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Mārgaśirsha.' This date corresponds, for the *expired* year 907 (*i. e.*, the expired Saka year $907 + 170 = 1077$), to Sunday, the 6th November 1155 A. C., on which day the *tithi* commenced 2 h. 10 m. after mean sunrise. It ended 45 m. after mean sunrise on the next day. Though not current at sunrise, the *tithi* must have been joined to the week-day 'which was almost entirely filled by it.' In the *current* year 907, on the other hand, the *tithi* fell on Wednesday, the 17th November 1154 A. C.

17. Lāl-Pahād rock inscription of Narasimha (No. 61, p. 321)—Line 7—*[Sam]vat* 909 *Srā(Srā)vaṇa su di 5 Vuddhē (Budhē)*, 'In the year 909, on Wednesday, the 5th *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Śrāvaṇa.' In the *expired* Kalachuri year 909 (corresponding to the expired Saka year $909 + 171 = 1080$) there were two Śrāvaṇas. The first or *adbika* Śrāvaṇa is evidently meant here;¹ for, the fifth *tithi* of the bright fortnight of it ended 16 h. 20 m. after mean sunrise on Wednesday, the 2nd July 1158 A. C.

In the *current* year 909, on the other hand, the *tithi* fell on Saturday, the 13th July 1157 A. C.

18. Jabalpur plates of Jayasimha (No. 63, p. 324)—Lines 25-26—*Samvat* 918 *Āsvina su di paurṇamāsyāṁ tithau sa(śa)ni-dinē.....Sōma-grahāṇē*, 'In the year 918, on Saturday,

¹ For another instance of an intercalary month not so specified, see date 20, below.

the full-moon *tithi* of Āśvina, on the occasion of a lunar eclipse.' The date regularly corresponds, for the *expired* year 918 (*i. e.*, the expired Saka year $918+171=1089$), to Saturday, the 30th September 1167 A. C. On that day the full-moon *tithi* ended 13 h. after mean sunrise and there was a lunar eclipse. If the Kalachuri era commenced on Āśvina śu. di. 1 in 248 A. C., this date should fall in 1165 A. C. if the year was current, and in 1166 A. C. if it was expired. But in 1165 A. C. the *tithi* fell on Tuesday (the 21st September), and in 1166 A. C. it fell on Monday (the 10th October). Again, in neither year was there a lunar eclipse on the given *tithi*.

If the year 918 is applied as *current*, the *tithi* should fall in 1166 A. C., but as shown above, it would not be regular.

19. Rewa plate of Jayasimha (No. 65, p. 340)—Line 14—*Samvat* 926, *Bhādrapada-māsē śukla-pakṣbē* [*Cha*] *turthyām tithau Gura-dinē Rāṇaka-śrī-Vatsarājaśya*(*śya*) *nimittē pīṇḍ-ārchana-stbānē*, 'In the year 926, on Thursday, the fourth *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Bhādrapada at the place of worshipping the balls (*of rice*) offered in honour of the Rāṇaka, the illustrious Vatsarāja'. The date regularly corresponds, for the *expired* year 926 (*i. e.*, the expired Saka year $926+171=1097$), to Thursday, the 21st August 1175 A. C. On that day, the *tithi* commenced 9 h. 20 m. after mean sunrise. Though not current at sunrise, it is coupled with the week-day as it was current in the afternoon at the time of the performance of the *śrāddha*.

In the *current* year 926, on the other hand, the *tithi* fell on Saturday, the 3rd August 1174 A. C.

20. Tewar stone inscription of Jayasimha (No. 66, p. 344)—Line 7—*Samvat* 928 *Śrāvaṇa su di 6 Ravan Hastē*, 'In the year 928, on Sunday, the 6th *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Śrāvaṇa when the moon was in conjunction with the asterism of Hasta.' There were two Śrāvaṇas in the *expired* Kalachuri year 928 (*i. e.*, in the expired Saka year $928+171=1099$). Of these, the first or *adbika* Śrāvaṇa is intended here;¹ for, the 6th *tithi* of the bright fortnight of that month ended 7 h. 30 m. after mean sunrise on Sunday, the 3rd July 1177 A. C. and the *nakṣatra* Hasta also ended 16 h. 20 m. after mean sunrise on that day. In the *nija* Śrāvaṇa of that year, the *tithi* fell on Monday, the 1st August, and the *nakṣatra* was Chitrā.

In the *current* year 928, the *tithi* fell on Wednesday, the 14th July 1176 A. C., and the *nakṣatra* was Chitrā.

21. Sāhaspur statue inscription of Yaśōrāja (No. 115, p. 595)—Line 5—*Samvat* 934, *Kārttika su di 15 Vu*(*Bu*)*dhe*, 'In the year 934, on Wednesday, the fifteenth *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Kārttika.' The date regularly corresponds, for the *expired* year 934 (*i. e.*, the expired Saka year $934+170=1104$), to Wednesday, the 13th October 1182 A. C. On that day, the 15th *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Kārttika ended 14 h. after mean sunrise.

In the *current* year 934, on the other hand, the *tithi* fell on Saturday, the 24th October, 1181 A. C.

22. Rewa stone inscription of Vijayasimha (No. 68, p. 346)—Line 26—*Chatvāriṃśaty-adbhikē=vdē*(*bdē*) *chaturbbhir-mavamē śatē* 1 *Sukrē Sāhasamall-āṅkē Nābbasye pratbamē dinē* 11 *Samvat* 944 *Bhādrapada su di 1, Sukrē*, 'In the year 944 called *Sāhasamallāṅka*, on Friday, the first *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Bhādrapada.' This date corresponds, for the *expired* year 944 (*i. e.*, the expired Saka year $944+171=1115$), to Friday, the 30th July 1193

¹ For a similar case of an intercalary month, cited without being specified as such, see above, page xvii, date 17.

A.C. On that day, the first *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Bhādrapada ended 22 h. 20 m. after mean sunrise.

In the *current* year 944, on the other hand, the *tithi* fell on Monday, the 10th August 1192 A. C.

23. Bēsāni stone inscription (No. 71, p. 368)—Line 1—*Samvata(t)* [9]58 *prathama-Āsha(shā)-ḍbā sudi* 3—The *expired* Kalachuri year 958 corresponds to 1206-07 A. C. In 1207 A. C. there were two Āshāḍhas, of which the first or intercalary Āshāḍha lasted from the 14th May to the 11th June.

In the *current* year 957, on the other hand, there was no intercalary Āshāḍha.

24. Dhurēti plates of Trailōkyamalla (No. 72, p. 369)—Line 7—*Samma(va)t* 963 *Jyēshṭha su di* 7 *Sōmē dinan(nē)*, 'In the year 963 on Monday, the 7th *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Jyēshṭha.' The details do not work out satisfactorily; for, according to the epoch of 247-48 A. C., the *tithi* fell on Friday (the 20th May 1211 A. C.), if the year 963 was *current*, and on Wednesday (the 9th May 1212 A. C.) if it was *expired*. In view of the slovenly manner in which the record has been written throughout, it is not unlikely that *Sōmē* (Monday) is a mistake for *Saunmyē* (Wednesday), in which case the date would regularly correspond, for the *expired* year 963, to Wednesday, the 9th May 1212 A.C.

25. Pendrābandha plates of Pratāpamalla (No. 101, p. 343)—Line 26—*grāmō Makara-saṁkrāntau dattab samikalpa-pūrvakab*; l. 35—*Samvata(t)* 965 *Māgha su di* 10 *Manigala-dinē*. The details of the date are 'Makara-saṁkrānti; the year 965, Tuesday, the 10th of the bright fortnight of Māgha.' As it stands, the date is irregular; for, in none of the years 1212-1215 was the tenth *tithi* of the bright fortnight of 'Māgha connected with a Tuesday'. If, however, *sudi* is taken to be a mistake for *vadi*, the date corresponds, for the *expired* year 965 (*i. e.*, the *expired* Śaka year $965 + 170 = 1135$), regularly to Tuesday, the 7th January 1214 A. C. On that day, the 10th *tithi* of the dark fortnight of the *pūrṇimānta* Māgha ended 10 h. 45 m. after mean sunrise. The Makara-saṁkrānti had taken place about a fortnight earlier on the 25th December 1213 A. C.

In the *current* year 965, the *tithi* Māgha śu. di. 10 fell on Saturday, the 2nd February 1213 A. C.

26. Tahankāpār plate of Pamparājadēva (No. 117, p. 399)—Lines 7 and 8—*Iśva(śva)ra-samvatsarē Kārti(tti)ka-māsē Chitrā-ri(r)kshē Ravi-dinē su(sū)ry-ōparāgē*; l. 10—*Samvat* 966, 'On the occasion of a solar eclipse on Sunday in the *nakshatra* Chitrā in the month of Kārttika in the cyclic year Iśvara, in the year 966'. The date corresponds, for the *expired* year 966 (*i. e.*, the *expired* Śaka year $966 + 170 = 1136$), to Sunday, the 5th October 1214 A. C., when there was a solar eclipse visible at Kānkēr, the *tithi* being the new-moon day of the *pūrṇimānta* Kārttika, and *nakshatra* Chitrā. The cyclic year, however, does not agree. According to the southern luni-solar system it was Bhāva, and according to the northern system it was Bahudhānya. The discrepancy is evidently due to the writer's carelessness.

In the *current* year 966, on the other hand, there was no solar eclipse in the *pūrṇimānta* or *amānta* Kārttika.

27. Bilaigarh plates of Pratāpamalla (No. 102, p. 349)—Line 28—*Āshāḍhyām Sōma-parvati*; l. 38—*Samvat* 969, 'A lunar eclipse on the full-moon day of Āshāḍha; in the year 969.' This date regularly corresponds, for the *expired* year 969 (*i. e.*, the *expired* Śaka year $969 + 171 = 1140$), to the 9th July 1218 A. C. On that day the full-moon *tithi* of Āshāḍha ended 18 h. 15 m. after mean sunrise and there was also a lunar eclipse as stated in the grant.

In the *current* year 969 (corresponding to 1217 A. C.), there was no lunar eclipse on the full-moon *tithi* of Āshāḍha.

Dates in Current Years

28. Makundpur stone inscription of Gāṅgāyādēva (No. 47, p. 234)—Line 1—*Samvat* 772, *Kārttika* *su* *dī* 12 *Vu*(*Bu*)*dha-dinē*, 'on Wednesday, the 12th *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Kārttika in the year 772.'

This date, occurring in the month of Kārttika, should fall in 1019 A. C. if the year 772 was current, and in 1020 A. C. if it was expired; but in 1019 A. C., the aforementioned *tithi* ended 11 h. after mean sunrise on Tuesday (the 13th October), and in 1020 A. C., 5 h. after mean sunrise on Monday (the 31st October). In neither case was it connected with a Wednesday. But if the deviation of one day is overlooked, it may be taken to correspond to the 13th October 1019 A. C.

29. Sārnāth stone inscription of Kaṛṇa (No. 32, p. 275)—Line 6—*Samva*[*tsarē**][8*]10 *Āsvina* (*Āsvina*) [*su*] *dī* 15 *Ravan* 'In the year 810, on Sunday, the fifteenth *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Āśvina.' The date corresponds, for the *current* year 810 (*i. e.*, the expired Saka year $810 + 170 = 980$), to Sunday, the 4th October 1058 A. C. On that day the fifteenth *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Āśvina ended 15 h. 50 m. after mean sunrise.

In the *expired* year 810, on the other hand, the *tithi* fell on Friday, the 24th September 1059 A. C.

30. Raipur Plate of Prithvīdēva I (No. 75, p. 398)—Line 7—*Uttarāyaṇa-saṅkran* (*saṅkrānti*), 'On the Uttarāyaṇa-saṅkrānti'; l. 17—*Samvat* 821, *Māgha* *va* *dī* 8 *Ravan*, 'In the year 821 on Sunday, the 8th *tithi* of the dark fortnight of Māgha.' This date regularly corresponds, for the *current* year 821, to Sunday, the 18th January 1069 A. C. On that day the eighth *tithi* of the dark fortnight of the *amānta* Māgha ended at 20 h. 50 m. after mean sunrise. The Uttarāyaṇa- or Makara-saṅkrānti had occurred more than a fortnight before, on the 23rd December 1068 A. C.

According to the *pūrṇimānta* scheme, on the other hand, the *tithi* fell on Saturday, the 20th December 1068 A. C., and the Uttarāyaṇa-saṅkrānti occurred three days after, on the 23rd December.

If the year is applied as *expired*, the *tithi* in the *pūrṇimānta* Māgha fell on Thursday (the 7th January 1070 A. C.) and in the *amānta* Māgha on Saturday (the 6th February 1070 A. C.). In both the cases it would have to be regarded as irregular.

31. Amōḍā plates of Prithvīdēva I (No. 76, p. 401)—Lines 27-28—*Gba*(*Phā*)*lguna-kri* *shṇa-saptamyām* *Ravi-dinē*; l. 41—*Chēd-īsa*(*śa*)*sya* *Sam* 831, 'In the year 831, on Sunday, the seventh *tithi* of the dark fortnight of Phālguna.' This date regularly corresponds, for the *current* year 831 (*i. e.*, the expired Saka year $831 + 169 = 1000$), to Sunday, the 27th January 1079 A. C. On that day, the seventh *tithi* of the dark fortnight of the *pūrṇimānta* Phālguna ended 7 h. 30 m. after mean sunrise.

In the *expired* year 831, on the other hand, the *tithi* fell on Thursday, the 16th January 1080 A. C.

32. Shēorinārāyaṇ statue inscription (No. 110, p. 382)—Line 5—*Kalachuri-samvatsarē* 898 11 *Āsvini*(*Āśvina*) *su* *dī* 2 *Sōma-dinē*. This date regularly corresponds, for the *current* year 898 (*i. e.*, the expired Saka year $898 + 170 = 1068$), to Monday, the 9th September 1146 A. C. On that day, the second *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Āśvina ended 21 h. 50 m. after mean sunrise.

In the *expired* year 898, on the other hand, the *tithi* fell on Sunday, the 28th September 1147 A. C.

33. Kōni stone inscription of Prithvidēva II (No. 90, p. 463)—Line 25—*Rāhu-mukha-sthē bhānan*, 'When the sun was in the mouth of Rāhu'; l. 28—*Sam(ni)vat 900*, 'In the year 900.' In the *current* year 900, there was a solar eclipse in the *pūrṇimānta* Vaiśākha (on the 20th April 1148 A. C.), but none at all in the expired year.
34. Tahankāpār plate of Pamparāja (No. 116, p. 396)—Line 9—*Sanivata(r) 963 Bhādrapadē va di 10, Mṛiga-ri(r)kshē Sōdma(ma)-dinē*, 'In the year 963, on Monday, the 10th *tithi* of the dark fortnight of Bhādrapada, the *nakṣatra* being Mṛiga.' This date corresponds, for the *current* year 963 (or the expired Śaka year $963 + 170 = 1133$), to Monday, the 12th August 1213 A. C. On that day, the 10th *tithi* of the dark fortnight of the *pūrṇimānta* Bhādrapada commenced 6 h. 45 m. after mean sunrise and the *nakṣatra* Mṛiga ended 14 h. 30 m. after mean sunrise. Though the *tithi* was not current at sunrise on Monday, it is coupled with that week-day probably because it was current at the time when the transaction recorded in the plate was made.

If the year is applied as *expired*, the *tithi* would fall on Saturday (the 2nd August 1214 A. C.).

A careful examination of these 34 later dates¹ of the Kalachuri era will show that—

- (1) All of them can be shown to be regular only according to the epoch of 247-48 A. C.; for, though the first twenty-seven dates can also be explained as dates in current years with the epoch of 248-49 A. C., that epoch will not at all do for the remaining seven dates 28-34.
- (2) The dates 6, 19 and 22 clearly show that, with the epoch of 247-48 A. C., the Kalachuri year must have begun in some month later than Bhādrapada. Kielhorn's earlier view that the Kalachuri year was *Bhādrapadādi* is, therefore, wholly untenable.
- (3) The dates 8, 15 and 18 indicate that the month Āśvina stood at the close, and not in the beginning, of the Kalachuri year. Kielhorn's final view that the Kalachuri year was *Āśvinādi* is clearly disproved by these three dates.
- (4) From the date 18 it appears that the Kalachuri year commenced some time after Āśvina śu. di. 15, while the dates 2 and 7 plainly indicate that the year began before Kārttika śu. di. 15. Between these two limits the only *tithi* which suggests itself for the commencement of the Kalachuri year is Kārttika śu. di. 1. This conjecture may be said to be corroborated by the date 28, though its testimony is somewhat weakened by a slight error in the specification of the week-day.
- (5) Among the later dates examined above, there are only seven, *viz.*, 1, 9, 25, 26, 30, 31 and 34, which fell in the dark fortnight. Six of these, *viz.*, 1, 9, 25, 26, 31 and 34 work out satisfactorily only with the *pūrṇimānta* scheme of lunar months and only one, *viz.* 30, with the *amānta* scheme. We may, therefore, conclude that the months of the Kalachuri year generally ended on the full-moon day.

¹ Among these 34 dates there are only three, *viz.*, Nos. 24, 25 and 28, which are slightly irregular. The others work out quite satisfactorily with the epoch of 247-48 A. C. The following dates have been omitted for the reason stated in each case :—(1) The Khairhā plates of Yaśaḥkarna (No. 36), because the year of the date is manifestly wrong. See below, pp. 301-02. (2) The Ghoṭiā plates of Prithvidēva II (No. 92), because the numerals of the date are evidently incorrect. See below, p. 479. (3) The Amōdā plates of Jājalladēva II (No. 99), because the last figure of the date is uncertain. See below, p. 329. (4) The Jabalpur stone inscription of Jayasīṃha (No. 64), because its evidence is not conclusive; the date can be taken as recorded either in a current or in an expired year. See below, p. 332, n. 2. All these dates have, however, been fully discussed in the introductory articles of these inscriptions. I have omitted one more date, *viz.*, K. 928, Māgha-vadi 10, Monday, though it regularly corresponds, for the *expired* year 928, to Monday, the 27th December 1176 A. C.; for, it is known only from a statement of Cunningham. See his *A. S. I. R.*, Vol. IX, p. 111 and *Indian Eras*, p. 61.

(6) The proportion of expired years to current ones is 27 : 7, which is in accordance with the general usage of quoting expired years, noticed in the case of the other Indian eras.

The uniform agreement of these 34 later dates of the Kalachuri era clearly establishes that the era commenced on the pūrṇimānta Kārttika śu. di. 1 (the 6th October) in 248 A. C.

Now, this conclusion conflicts with the result already obtained from an examination of the available five early dates of the era which contained the necessary details for computation, viz., that the era commenced on the amānta Kārttika śu. di. 1 (the 25th September) in 249 A. C. It may be noted in this connection that the two types of dates do not come from the same part of the country. The earlier dates come from Gujarat and Maharashtra, while the later ones are obtained from North India and the Chhattisgarh Division of Madhya Pradesh. It seems to me that the only way in which we can reconcile these two epochs of the era is to suppose that when the era was introduced by the Kalachuris in North India, its current years were erroneously supposed to be expired ones. The commencement of the era came consequently to be antedated by one year.¹ Again, though the year continued to be *Kārttikādi*, its months became *pūrṇimānta* in accordance with the general usage prevailing in North India.

The Kalachuri-Chēdi era, therefore, originally commenced on Kārttika śu. di. 1 (the 25th September) in 249 A. C.

THE ORIGIN OF THE ERA

We shall next turn to the question, 'What historical event does this era commemorate?' For a correct answer to this question we must take the following points into consideration.

(1) Though in some later records, the years of the era are specified as *Chēdi-saṁvat* or *Chēd-īśasya saṁvat* and *Kalachuri-saṁvat*, it by no means follows that the era was known by either of these names from early times; for, in the early records of the Māhārājās of Khandesh, the Traikūṭakas, the Kalachuris, the Gurjaras, the Sēndrakas and the Chālukyas, the years of the era are introduced simply by the word *saṁvat*. The name *Chēdi-saṁvat*, *Chēdi-dishṭa* (or *Chēd-īśasya saṁvat*) and *Kalachuri-saṁvat* occur in only nine records,² eight of which come from Chhattisgarh. The earliest of them belongs to the last quarter of the eleventh century A. C. The reason why this era came to be known by these names in Chhattisgarh is not far to seek. Before the advent of the Kalachuris, the general custom prevailing in Chhattisgarh, as in several other parts of India, was to date events in the regnal years of the ruling king.³ When the Kalachuris established themselves in Chhattisgarh, they introduced there the era which they had been using in their home province of Dāhala for several centuries. It, therefore, came to be designated as *Kalachuri-saṁvat*. The other name *Chēdi-saṁvat* or *Chēd-īśasya saṁvat* was also appropriate; for, the Imperial family to which the Tummāṇa branch owed allegiance was then ruling over the Chēdi country.

¹ A mistake of the opposite type seems to have occurred in recording the date Śaka 1322 of No. 107. The correct date was *expired* Śaka 1323, but the writer seems to have taken it as *current* and so put down Śaka 1322, evidently as an expired year. Three other instances of the same type (viz., expired Śaka years erroneously regarded as current ones) were noticed by Kielhorn during his examination of the dates of the Śaka era in inscriptions. *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXV, p. 268.

² The phrase *Chēd-īśasya saṁvat* occurs in the date 831 of No. 76, *Chēdi-saṁvat* in the dates 919 and 933 of Nos. 98 and 100, and *Chēdi-dishṭa* in the date 902 of No. 38 (which is in verse). The expression *Kalachuri-saṁvatsara* is noticed in the dates 885, 893, 896, 898 and 910 of Nos. 122, 87, 88, 110 and 93 respectively. Of these, only the date 902 comes from the country, north of the Narmadā.

³ See, for instances, the dates of the records of the kings of Śarabhapura and those of the Sōmavarāṇśī dynasty. The only early record from Chhattisgarh which is dated in any era is the Āraṅg plate of Bhīmasēna. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IX, pp. 342 ff. It contains the date 182 of the Gupta era. *Ibid.*, Vol. XXVI, p. 228.

It is noteworthy in this connection that the contemporary ruler of Tripuri is invariably referred to as *Chēd-īśa*, *Chēdi-narēndra* or *Chaidya* (the lord of Chēdi) in the records from Chhattisgarh.¹ These names of the era do not, therefore, indicate that the era was started by the Kalachuris or that it originated in the Chēdi country.

The other name *Traikāṭaka*, which is sometimes used to designate the era, is due to a wrong interpretation of an expression occurring in the Kaṇhēri plate, dated K. 245, as already pointed out by Dr. Fleet.²

Like several other eras, the era of 249-50 A. C. also had no special name in the beginning. Its years were introduced by the simple word *saṁ* or *saṁvat*.

(2) The earliest records dated in this era come from Central India, Gujarat, Konkan and Maharashtra including the districts of Nagpur, Nasik and Khandesh. No certain dates of this era come from North India until the middle of the ninth century A. C., i. e., until after its introduction in the Chēdi country by the Kalachuris. We have already seen that the theories that the records of Kanishka and his successors, the so-called Kushānaputras, the Maghas of Kauśāmbī and the Uchchakalpas of Central India are dated in the so-called Kalachuri-Chēdi era are untenable.³ The era must, therefore, have originated south of the Narmadā.

These considerations point to Gujarat, Konkan and Maharashtra as the original home of the era. Let us next consider the political condition in *circa* 250 A. C. in this part of the country which led to its foundation.

The Purāṇas say that when the kingdom of the Andhras will come to an end, there will be kings belonging to the lineage of their servants.⁴ Among these latter are mentioned ten Ābhīra kings who are said to have ruled for 67 years. Scholars are not unanimous as to when the kingdom of the Andhras came to an end. The duration of the Andhra or Sātavāhana rule is variously given by the Purāṇas, viz., as 460 years by the *Matsya*, 411 by the *Vāyu* and 456 by the *Brahmāṇḍa*, the *Viṣṇu* and the *Bhāgavata*.⁵ The date of the commencement of their rule is also uncertain. Inscriptions afford, however, some basis for calculation. It is well known that there was an interruption in the Sātavāhana rule over Gujarat and Maharashtra. The Śaka Satrap Bhūmaka established himself in Gujarat and Nahapāna in Maharashtra. The Sātavāhanas, who were ousted from this part of the country, seem to have retired to Vidarbha.⁶ They attempted to reconquer their lost territory during the reign of Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi. This Sātavāhana king is said to have exterminated the Kshaharāta family to which Nahapāna belonged.⁷ The decisive battle seems to have been fought in the eighteenth year of Gautamīputra's reign; for, soon after

¹ See line 19 of No. 77, l. 5 of No. 93 and l. 18 of No. 98. Cunningham's view that Chhattisgarh was Eastern Chēdi is erroneous.

² J. R. A. S. for 1905, p. 567.

³ See above, pp. viii ff.; also *Ep. Ind.* XXIII, pp. 171 ff. As for the theory that the era was started by Vamataksha of the Kushānaputra dynasty (*Ind. Cul.*, Vol. VIII, pp. 191 ff.), it is in the first place not clear that there was such a dynasty; for, the expression *Kushānaputra* occurs only in one record, viz., that of Vamataksha himself and may simply mean 'a scion of the Kushāna family'.

⁴ Cf. *Andhrāṇām saṁsthītē rājyē teshām bhṛity-ānvayā nṛpāḥ* ; *sapt-aiv-Āndhrā bhaviṣhyanti daś-Ābhīrās-tathā nṛpāḥ* || *D. K. A.*, p. 45.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 43 and n. 33.

⁶ Gautamīputra calls himself *Bēnākāṭaka-swāmī* in his Nāsik cave inscription (Lüders' List, No. 1123). That Bēnākāṭa was a district of ancient Vidarbha is shown by the Tirōḍi plates of the Vākāṭaka Pravara-sēna II. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXII, pp. 167 ff. See also *J. N. S. I.*, Vol. II, pp. 93 ff.

⁷ See the expression *Kshaharāta-vata-niravataṣa-karata* describing Gautamīputra in l. 6 of the Nāsik cave inscription. Lüders' List, No. 1123; *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VIII, p. 60.

the victory he donated a field to the Buddhist monks living in the caves near Nasik.¹ The Kshaharāta Satrap defeated by Gautamīputra is not named, but he was probably Nahapāna himself; for we know of no successor of the latter. Besides, Gautamīputra is known to have called back and restruck Kshatrapa coins in order to proclaim the establishment of his rule. The Jogaltembhi hoard, discovered in 1906, contained hundreds of coins of this type. But among them there was not a single coin of any successor of Nahapāna, which shows that Gautamīputra came immediately after Nahapāna.²

Now, the last known date of Nahapāna is 46, which it seems best to refer to the Śaka era. It is thus equivalent to *circa* 124 A. C. Supposing that Nahapāna suffered a defeat in this very year, 124 A. C. becomes the 18th year of Gautamīputra's reign. Gautamīputra may, therefore, have come to the throne in *circa* 107 A. C. The Purāṇas name the successors of Gautamīputra and give their reign-periods as follows :—

Gautamīputra	..	21 years,	<i>circa</i>	107—127 A. C.
Puṣumāvi II	..	28 "	"	128—155 "
Sātakarṇi	..	29 "	"	156—184 "
Śivaśrī Puṣumāvi III	..	7 "	"	185—191 "
Śivaskanda	..	3 "	"	192—194 "
Yajñaśrī	..	29 "	"	195—223 "
Vijaya	..	6 "	"	224—229 "
Chandāśrī Śāntikarṇa	..	10 "	"	230—239 "
Puṣumāvi IV	..	7 "	"	240—246 "

The find of potin coins at Tarhālā in the Akola District of Berar plainly indicates that all these kings³ continued to hold Maharashtra to the end of the Sātavāhana age. The reign-periods mentioned in the Purāṇas are not, however, absolutely trustworthy. In the first place, there are many variants, and even if we take the readings supported by the best MSS., their statements are in some cases contradicted by contemporary inscriptions. The Purāṇas, for instance, assign a reign-period of only 21 years to Gautamīputra, but from a Nasik cave inscription⁴ he is known to have reigned for at least 24 years. There may, therefore, be similar discrepancies in other reign-periods also. Besides, it is not certain that the battle between Gautamīputra and Nahapāna was fought in the Śaka year 46 and not later. Notwithstanding these circumstances which render the accuracy of the dates doubtful, we may say that the Sātavāhanas continued to rule in Maharashtra till the middle of the 3rd century A. C. The Purāṇas say that the successors of the Andhras (*i. e.*, the Sātavāhanas) were the Ābhīras. And it is worthy of note that we do find an inscription of the reign of the Ābhīra king Śīvarasēna, the son of the Ābhīra Śivadatta, at Nasik.⁵ Its characters and the predominance of Sanskrit in its language suggest that Śīvarasēna flourished later than the Sātavāhanas, all of whose records are in Prakrit. Śīvarasēna's father Śivadatta bears no princely title. This indicates that Śīvarasēna was the

¹ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VIII, pp. 71 ff.

² See *P. H. A. I.* (fourth ed.), p. 490.

³ *J. N. S. I.*, Vol. II, pp. 83 ff. The hoard contained coins of Sātakarṇi (probably identical with Gautamīputra), Puṣumāvi, Śivaśrī-Puṣumāvi, Skanda (probably identical with Śivaskanda), Yajñaśrī, Vijaya, Karṇa, probably the same as Chandāśrī-Śāntikarṇa, and Puṣuhāmavi (probably identical with Puṣumāvi IV). Some of the coins with legend *Sātakarṇi* can, on palaeographic grounds, be referred to a Sātakarṇi later than Gautamīputra. They were probably issued by the (Vāsishṭhīputra) Sātakarṇi who according to a MS. of the *Vāyupurāṇa* succeeded Puṣumāvi and ruled for 29 years. *D. K. A.*, p. 42.

⁴ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VIII, p. 75.

⁵ No. 1.

founder of the Ābhīra dynasty. Perhaps, he was previously a military officer of the Sātavāhanas.¹ From the Gunda inscription² we know of another Ābhīra *Sēnāpati* named Rudrabhūti, the son of the commander Bāhaka, who was in the service of the Western Kshatrapa Rudrasimha I in 181 A. C. Īśvarasēna may have held a similar office under the last Sātavāhana king Puṣumāvi IV. In that case his military power and the influence he commanded may have helped him in usurping the throne after Puṣumāvi IV.

Several scholars identify this Īśvarasēna with Īśvaradatta whose silver coins dated in the first and second regnal years have been discovered at several places in Saurashtra and Southern Rajputana. About the exact period in which he flourished, there has, however, been a great divergence of opinion.³ Pandit Bhagvanlal placed him in the gap of the years 171-176, for which no coins of the Western Kshatrapas were available in his time. Later on, Prof. Rapson showed that the gap did not exist, as he discovered coins of the dates from 171 to 176. Rapson himself assigned him to the gap between the years 158 and 161, but Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar pointed out that that gap too was virtually non-existent, as he found a coin dated 160 in the Sarvāṇīā hoard. Īśvaradatta may, of course, have been an Ābhīra, though his coins do not say so explicitly; for, the Nasik inscription shows that the Ābhīras bore names ending in *datta* as well as in *sēna*. But it is doubtful if he was identical with Īśvarasēna, the founder of the Ābhīra dynasty; for, his coins are dated only in the first and second years of his reign⁴ and are found only in Saurashtra and Southern Rajputana.⁵ This plainly indicates that he had a meteoric rise in that part of the country, but was promptly subdued by the Western Kshatrapas. If he later on retired to Maharashtra and established himself there, his coins dated in subsequent years should have been found there; for, the Nāsik inscription shows that Īśvarasēna continued to hold Maharashtra at least till the ninth regnal year.

Prof. Rapson, who placed Īśvaradatta in the gap of Saka 159-160, suggested that the era of 249-50 A. C. might have marked the consolidation of the Ābhīra kingdom during one of the successors of Īśvardatta rather than its first beginnings.⁶ But the history of other Indian eras shows that they generally originated in an extension of regnal dates. The Kushāṇa era, for instance, owed its use to the continuation of Kanishka's regnal dates by his successors Vāsishka, Huvishka, Kanishka II and Vāsudēva. The same may have happened in the case of the era of 249-50 A. C. It seems to have commenced with the reign of the Ābhīra Īśvarasēna, and was apparently continued by his successors, of whom as many as nine reigned according to the Purāṇas. The Purāṇas unfortunately do not name these Ābhīra kings, but they state that their rule lasted for 67 years. Judging by the extent of the use of their era, their kingdom seems to have comprised parts of Central India as well as Gujarat, Konkan and Maharashtra including the districts of Nasik and Khandesh.

It has been suggested that the Ābhīras and the Traikūṭakas were identical, Ābhīra being a racial name, and Traikūṭaka, a regional one. The names of the princes belonging to these two dynasties end in either *datta* or *sēna*, which lends colour to this identification.

¹ It may be noted that the Purāṇas call the Ābhīras *Andhrabhṛityas* or servants of the Andhras (*i.e.*, of the Sātavāhanas).

² *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. X, p. 157; *J. R. A. S.* for 1890, p. 650.

³ See above, pp. vii ff.

⁴ The legend on his coins is *Rājā Mahākshatrapasa Īśvaradattasa varibh prathamē* (or *dvitīyē*).

⁵ *Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. XVI, p. 624. Sarvāṇīā, where also the coins of Īśvaradatta were found, is in the former Bānswārī State in Rajputana. The Sonpur (Chhindwara District, Madhya Pradesh) hoard apparently did not contain any coins of Īśvaradatta. *J. R. A. S. B.*, Vol. III, Num. Suppl., pp. 95 ff.

⁶ *C. A. D.*, p. cxii.

But the Chandravalli inscription of the Kadamba king Mayūrasarman,¹ which may be referred to the fourth century A.C., mentions the Ābhīras separately from the Traikūṭakas. This suggests that the two dynasties, though contemporary, were not identical. The Ābhīras, who probably had their stronghold in Khandesh,² held imperial sway, while the Traikūṭakas, who rose to power in the Nasik District, may have been a feudatory family owing allegiance to the Ābhīras. As stated before, the Purāṇas assign a period of only 67 years to the reign of ten Ābhīra kings. This is abnormally low. Perhaps the expression *sapta-shashṭi śatān-īha*,³ stating the period of Ābhīra rule, which occurs in a manuscript of the *Vāyupurāṇa*, is a mistake for *sapta-shashṭim śatān-ch-īha*.⁴ In that case the Ābhīra rule may have lasted for 167 years or till 415 A. C. After the fall of the Ābhīra dynasty the Traikūṭakas attained imperial position. As shown elsewhere, *Mahārāja* Indradatta, the first known Traikūṭaka king, seems to have flourished in the period *circa* 415—440 A. C.⁵ He and his successors continued the era started by the Ābhīra Śvarasēna, as it had by that time become 'the habitual and well-established reckoning of the country.' The history of other Indian eras shows that once an era becomes current in a part of the country and the people become accustomed to it, it continues to be used long after the founder or his family has ceased to rule. The era of Harsha, for instance, continued to be used long after him though his empire crumbled to pieces almost immediately after his death. It is, therefore, not surprising that the era of the Ābhīras also remained current in Gujarat, Konkan and Maharashtra long after the downfall of the Ābhīra dynasty.

LOCALITY OF THE ERA

The earliest date of the era is K. 9, which belongs to the reign of the founder, the Ābhīra king Śvarasēna. The next three dates, *viz.*, K. 67, 107 and 117 come from Khandesh and are furnished by the grants of a feudatory family which plainly owed allegiance to the contemporary Ābhīra Emperors. We have then the dates K. 102 and 167, the first from Kānākhērā near Sānchī and the second from the former Barwāni State, which belong to the reigns of the Śaka king Śrīdharavarman and Subandhu of Māhishmatī respectively and clearly show that the era had spread beyond the Narmadā in the North. The three following dates K. 207, 241 and 245 belong to the Traikūṭakas who succeeded the Ābhīras in Gujarat, Konkan and the Nasik District. Following upon these is the date K. 292 of No. 11. It belongs to the reign of *Mahārāja* Saṅgamasimha, who seems to have occupied Central Gujarat after the fall of the Traikūṭakas. The next date K. 322 of No. 120 comes from the Nagpur District of Madhya Pradesh, and belongs to the reign of Svāmīrāja, who was probably a feudatory of the Kalachuri Kṛishṇarāja.

Of the Kalachuris of Māhishmatī who succeeded the Traikūṭakas in Gujarat, Konkan and Maharashtra, we have the next three dates, *viz.*, K. 347, 360 and 361 of Nos. 12, 14 and 15, one of which belong to Gujarat and the other two to the Nāsik District of Maharashtra. The inscriptions of the Gurjara kings who held Gujarat north of the Kīm after the fall of the Kalachuris furnish the next eight dates, *viz.*, K. 380, 385, 391 392 (in two grants) 427, 456, 460 and 486 (in two grants) of Nos. 16-20, 121 and 21-24. Contemporaneously with these, we have two dates, *viz.*, K. 404 and 406 of Nos. 25 and 26, belonging to the

¹ *A. R. A. S. M.* (1929), p. 50.

² Ābhīra kings were ruling at Bhambhāgiri (Bhāmēr in the Pimpalner *tāluka* of West Khandesh) till the time of the Later Yādava king Siṃhapa. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXV, p. 203.

³ *D. K. A.*, p. 46, n. 37.

⁴ For a similar expression, see *pañcha varsha-śatān-īha* (*ibid.*, p. 47), which Pargiter takes as 'probably meaning 105 years'. *Ibid.*, p. 72, n. 15.

⁵ See below, p. xlii.

Sēndrakas, who held Southern Gujarat and Khandesh as feudatories of the Western Chālukyas, and four more, *viz.*, K. 421, 436, 443 and 490 of Nos. 27-30, furnished by the records of a feudatory Chālukya family which was at first ruling over the Nasik District, but later on supplanted the Sēndrakas in Southern Gujarat. Finally, the Hariśchandriyas, whom the Western Chālukyas placed in charge of Konkan and the Nasik District, furnish only one date, *viz.*, K. 461 of No. 31.

After K. 461 (709-10 A. C.) we have no dates of this era from Konkan or Maharashtra. Even before this date we find that the era was yielding ground to its rival, the Śaka era. The Western Chālukyas and their feudatories, the Sēndrakas, who came from the Kanarese country, were using the Śaka era in their home province. When they conquered and established themselves in Gujarat and Maharashtra, they continued to use the Kalachuri era evidently because it had become the habitual reckoning of that part of the country, but they gradually introduced there the Śaka era which was current in their home province. The Sēndraka prince Allaśakti, for instance, issued two charters in 656 A. C. Both of them were granted in Gujarat, but while one of them (No. 26) which records the gift of a village in Gujarāt is dated in the year 406 of the Kalachuri era, the other which registers the donation of another village situated in Khandesh bears the date 577 of the Śaka era.¹ Allaśakti's son Jayaśakti also, who was ruling over Khandesh, dates his Mundkhēḍē plates in the Śaka era.² The Gujarat branch of the Chālukyas generally used the Kalachuri era in dating their land-grants in Gujarat. But Maṅgalārāja, who succeeded Dharāśraya-Jayasimha, is known to have issued a charter, dated in the year 653 of the Śaka era.³ The charter is not forthcoming now, but in view of another record of the same prince from the Thana District⁴ it may be conjectured that it registered a grant of land in North Konkan.

In the Nasik District and Gujarat the Kalachuri era lingered a little longer. The latest date of that era from the Nasik District is K. 461 (710-11 A. C.).⁵ The Śaka era, which had already penetrated into Southern Maharashtra before 687 A. C., the date of the Jejuri plates of Vinayāditya,⁶ soon ousted the Kalachuri era from Northern Maharashtra also. In Gujarat the era was current for at least 30 years more till 740 A. C.; for, the Navsāri plates of Avanijanāśraya-Pulakēśin are dated K. 490 (740 A. C.). After Pulakēśin's death, the country to the north of the Kim was occupied by the Chāhamānas, who, coming as they did from the north, had a predilection for the Vikrama era. Their Hansot grant found in Gujarat is dated V. 814 (756 A. C.).⁷ Southern Gujarat was held by a feudatory Rāshtrakūṭa family which for the first time introduced the Śaka era in that part of the country. Their earliest grant from Gujarat is dated Śaka 679 (757 A. C.).⁸ After the middle of the 8th century A. C. we have no date of the Kalachuri era from Konkan, Gujarat and Maharashtra, the provinces where it had originated five centuries before.

When the Kalachuris migrated to Central India and shifted their capitals to Kālāñjara and Tripurī, they took with them the era which they had habitually used in their earlier

¹ See the Nāgad plates, dated Śaka 577, edited by G. H. Khare in the *Samśōdhana* (Dhulia), Vol. VIII.

² They are dated in Śaka 602. See *A. R. B. I. S. M.* (Ś. 1834), pp. 169-171.

³ *J. B. B. R. A. S.*, Vol. XVI, p. 5.

⁴ This charter is dated Ś. 613 and records the grant of some villages in the Thana District of the Bombay State. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 17 ff.

⁵ If my reading and interpretation of the date of the Ellora plates are correct, that record would furnish a later date, *viz.*, K. 463 from the Aurangabad District of the Hyderabad State.

⁶ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIX, pp. 63 ff.

⁷ *Ibid.*, Vol. XII, p. 197.

⁸ See the Antroli-Chharoli plates of Karka II, Ś. 679. *J. B. B. R. A. S.*, Vol. XVI, p. 106.

kingdom and made it current throughout their dominions.¹ Unfortunately, the earliest records of this era found at Saugor and Chhoṭi-Deori are undated. The first date of the Kalachuri era obtained from North India is K. 593 (841-42 A. C.) of No. 37, furnished by a record from Kāritalāi in the Jabalpur District. It is followed by twenty dates ranging from K. 724 to K. 963. Most of them are from the inscriptions of the Imperial Kalachuri dynasty of Tripurī. Among these, seven dates, *viz.*, K. 724, 772, 789, 800, 812, 823 (?) and 961 (or 962) of Nos. 44, 47, 1 (App.), 51, 53, 56 and 70 respectively, come from the former Rewa State in Vindhya Pradesh; two dates, *viz.*, K. 909 of No. 61 and K. 958 of No. 71, are furnished by the former States of Nāgōd and Pannā; two more dates, *viz.*, K. 793 of No. 48 and K. 810 of No. 52, are obtained from Uttar Pradesh and the remaining six, *viz.*, 529 (?), 902, 907, 918, 926 and 928 of Nos. 2 (App.), 58, 60, 63, 64 and 66 respectively, are supplied by the Jabalpur, Damoh and Saugor Districts of Madhya Pradesh. Two dates, *viz.*, K. 926 of No. 65 and K. 944 of No. 67, belong to the feudatories of the Kalachuris, *viz.*, Kirtivarman and Malayasimha, who were holding parts of the former Rewa State. The territory round Rewa passed into the possession of the Chandēlla Trailōkyamalla (or Trailōkyavarman) in *circa* K. 962. The Chandēllas were using the Vikrama era in their own records, but in the Dhureti plates which record a transaction made in the beginning of Trailōkyamalla's rule in the Chēdi country the Kalachuri era, not the Vikrama saṁvat, is used for the purpose of dating.

K. 963 (1212 A. C.) is the last date of the Kalachuri era which comes from North India. With the contraction of Kalachuri power during the reigns of the weak successors of Yaśaḥkarṇa, the era gradually lost ground to its rival, *viz.*, the Vikrama saṁvat which was current in the adjoining provinces ruled by the Paramāras, the Chandēllas and the Gāhaḍavālas. The gradual encroachment made by the Vikrama era is illustrated by two dates, V. 1216 (1159 A. C.) of No. 62 and V. 1253 (1195 A. C.) of No. 68. Both of them come from the northern parts of the Rewa State, and mention the contemporary Kalachuri Suzerains Narasimha and Vijayasimha. But instead of being dated in the era of the Imperial family, they refer themselves to the Vikrama saṁvat. With the downfall of the Kalachuris of Tripurī, the era vanished from North India.

As stated above, the earlier North-Indian dates of the era are not forthcoming, but speaking generally, in the period 750 to 1215 A. C. the era was current some time or other in that portion of India which would be bounded by straight lines drawn from Saugor to Allahabad, then to Banaras, from there through Bandhogarh to the Narmadā and then along the bank of the river to the western boundary of the Jabalpur District.

When a branch of the Kalachuri family established itself at Tummāṇa towards the close of the ninth century A. C., it introduced the era in Dakṣiṇa Kōsala. But here too, as in the other parts of India, the earlier dates of the era are not available. The first date which comes from Chhattisgarh is K. 821 (1069 A. C.) of No. 75. This is followed by 24 other dates ranging from K. 831 to K. 969. They are furnished by the inscriptions of the Kalachuris of Ratanpur and their feudatories, ruling in Chhattisgarh including the former States of Kawardhā and Kānkēr. Down to 1220 A. C. the era was current in that portion of South India which stretched from the eastern boundary of the Balaghat, Bhandara and Chanda districts in the west to that of the Raigarh District in the east and from the Narmadā in the north to the northern part of the Bastar District in the south.² After 1220

¹ The branch of the Kalachuris which established itself in the country of Sarayūpāra does not, however, appear to have used the Kalachuri era.

² Two copper-plate inscriptions, dated in the years 260 and 283 of an unspecified era, have been found at Soro in the Balasore District and Paṇḍakellā in the Cuttack District of Orissa respectively (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol.

A.C. the era began to lose ground in this part of the country also. The later records of the Kalachuris themselves came to be dated in the Vikrama *saṃvat*. The earliest of such dates is V. 1458 (1402 A.C.) of No. 107, which belongs to the reign of the later Kalachuri king Brahmadēva, who ruled at Raipur and Khalvāṭikā (modern Khalārī) in the Raipur District. As the memory of the Kalachuri era soon faded from the public mind, it was found necessary to change the Kalachuri date 900 of No. 93 to 1207 of the Vikrama *saṃvat*.

SOME DETAILS ABOUT THE CALCULATED DATES

Jovian years—Only three Kalachuri dates, *viz.*, K. 322 of No. 120, K. 800 of No. 51, and K. 966 of No. 117 cite Jupiter's years. The first of these is of the twelve-year cycle, and the other two, of the sixty-year cycle. The first date is regular, but suggests a new epoch of the era, *viz.*, 250-51 A.C. The second date works out regularly according to the northern luni-solar system; for, the cyclic year Khara was current during the Kalachuri year 800. The third date has quoted the cyclic year *Īśvara* incorrectly; for, according to the northern mean-sign system, the Jovian year had ended more than a year before the commencement of the cited Kalachuri year.¹

Intercalary months—Only one date, K. 958 of No. 71 cites an intercalary month, *viz.*, *Āshāḍha* which is specified as *prathama Āshāḍha*. It works out quite regularly. In two other cases also, *viz.*, K. 909 of No. 61 and K. 928 of No. 66, the month *Śrāvaṇa* was intercalary, though it is not so specified. Prof. Kielhorn has noticed several similar cases of the Vikrama and Saka dates in which the months were intercalary, though they were not so indicated by the wording of the dates.²

Irregular *tithis*—The only cases of irregular *tithis* noticed among the dates of the Kalachuri era which contain the necessary details for verification are five, *viz.*, K. 772 of No. 47, K. 823 of No. 56, K. 885 of No. 122, K. 963 of No. 72 and K. 965 of No. 101. The first of these shows deviation of only one day in the specification of the week-day, which is not rare in inscriptional dates. In the second case the numerals of the date have been wrongly written as appears plain from other evidence. The irregularities in the remaining three cases can be clearly attributed to the carelessness of the scribes. Besides these, there is one more date, *viz.*, K. 1000 of No. 92, in which the mistake is of the copyist who transcribed the record on the present plates from others which had probably suffered damage by corrosion.

Current *tithis*—In ten dates (*viz.*, K. 460 of No. 22, K. 436 of No. 28, K. 486 of No. 23, K. 885 of No. 122, K. 890 of No. 86, K. 897 of No. 123, K. 905 of No. 94, K. 907 of No. 60, K. 926 of No. 65 and K. 965 of No. 116) the *tithi* is joined with the week-day on which it commenced, and not, as is usual, with the week-day on which it ended. In the first and third of these cases the reason is obvious; for, they are cases of *saṅkrāntis* which occurred during the particular *tithi*, though the latter were not current at sunrise. The second case is similar to that of Saka 996 (in the Bijāpur stone inscription of the Western

(Continued from the last page.)

XXIII, pp. 197 ff., and Vol. IX, pp. 287 ff). They refer themselves to the reign of *Mahārāja Śambhuyāśas*, the ruler of Tōsalī. These dates have been referred to the Kalachuri era on the evidence of palaeography. Apart from these doubtful cases, no records of this era have been found in Orissa. On the other hand, the *Āraṅg* plates of *Bhīmasēna*, dated in the year 182, and the *Ganjām* plates of *Śaśāṅka*, dated in the year 300, expressly refer themselves to the Gupta era, which clearly shows that the Gupta era was current in *Chhattisgarh* and *Ganjām* in the sixth and seventh centuries A.C. As for the early forms of the test letters noticed in the aforementioned records, they can be satisfactorily accounted for, as these records fall in the period 580-605 A.C. if their dates are referred to the Gupta era.

¹ In two other records edited here (*viz.*, Nos. 107 and 108) the cyclic years are correctly cited according to the northern luni-solar system, but these records are dated not in the Kalachuri, but in the Vikrama and Śaka eras.

² *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XX, p. 411; Vol. XXV, p. 271.

Chālukya Sōmēśvara II) which Prof. Kielhorn has taken to be regular.¹ In the seventh and eighth cases the *tithis* which commenced within about two hours after mean sunrise have been cited probably because they were current almost throughout the day. The sixth and ninth are *śrāddha-tithis*, and it is well-known that for the performance of a *śrāddha* the particular *tithi* is required to be current in the afternoon. In the remaining cases the *tithi* may have been cited, because it was current at the time of the transaction.

Special names of *tithis*—The third *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Vaiśākha is called *akshaya-tṛitīyā* in the date K. 905 of No. 94. Several grants dated in this era were made on the full-moon *tithi* of Kārttika, but only in two records (*viz.*, Nos. 11 and 30) the *tithi* is called *Mubā-Kārttikī*. The eighth *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Māgha is called *Rath-āshṭamī* in No. 88. This *tithi* goes now by the name of *Bhīṣm-āshṭamī*, the preceding *tithi* being called *Ratha-saptamī*. The latter is correctly named in No. 121. Appendix, No. 4 mentions a *yugādi* as a holy *tithi* on which Gōsaladēvī, the mother of the king Vijaya-sirha, bathed in the Narmadā, but it is not further specified.

Nakshatras—No early record of the era mentions any *nakshatra*. The first inscription in which a *nakshatra* is referred to is No. 83. It states that the moon was in conjunction with the *nakshatra* Rōhiṇī at the time of her eclipse on the Kārttika *paurṇimā* in K. 880. *Nakshatras* are correctly quoted in three other records, *viz.*, Hasta in K. 928 of No. 66, Mṛiga in the date K. 965 of No. 116 and Chitrā in K. 966 of No. 117. There is no mention of *karaṇas*, *yōgas* or *lagnas* anywhere in the records of this era.

Eclipses—Lunar eclipses are quoted in six dates, *viz.*, K. 456 of No. 21; K. 880 of No. 83; K. 890 of No. 86; K. 900 of No. 91; K. 918 of No. 63 and K. 969 of No. 102. Of these, the lunar eclipse of K. 880 is noteworthy; for, it was predicted by an astrologer in opposition to others who held a divergent opinion at the court of Ratnadēva II. When his prediction came true, he was rewarded with the grant of a village. Solar eclipses are cited in seven dates, *viz.*, K. 322 of No. 120; K. 404 of No. 23; K. 885 of No. 122; K. 896 of No. 89; K. 900 of No. 90; K. 926 of No. 64 and K. 966 of No. 117. All these eclipses, except that in K. 885, occurred on the days and in the years mentioned and were visible in India. As regards the eclipse in K. 885, there is probably a mistake in the specification of the month in which it occurred.

Saṅkrāntis—Three early dates, *viz.*, K. 436 of No. 28, K. 460 of No. 22 and K. 486 of No. 24, mention saṅkrāntis. The first of these—the Vishuva or Mēsha-saṅkrānti—took place about seven hours before the commencement of the *tithi* with which it is coupled.² The other two saṅkrāntis, *viz.*, the Tulā and the Karkāṭaka, occurred during the respective *tithis*. Among later dates, only three, *viz.*, K. 821 of No. 75, K. 823 of No. 56, and K. 965 of No. 101, record grants made on the occasion of saṅkrāntis. In the first of these, the saṅkrānti was the Uttarāyaṇa or Makara; in the second, it is not specified, but as it is said to have occurred on the fourteenth *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Phālguna, it must have been Mīna. This saṅkrānti does not work out regularly. There is apparently some mistake in the numerals of the year which should be 827. The third saṅkrānti was again Makara, but it is not coupled with any *tithi* or week-day and, therefore, does not admit of verification.³

¹ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXV, p. 294.

² For a similar case, see the date Ś. 996. *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXIII, p. 113.

³ The Jabalpur copper-plate inscription of Yaśaḥkarna (No. 57) also recorded a grant made on the occasion of the Uttarāyaṇa-saṅkrānti, but the details of the date, which occurred on the second plate, now lost, are uncertain. For a conjectural restoration of it, see below, p. 302. No. 74 also mentions the Uttarāyaṇa-saṅkrānti which occurred during the stated *tithi*, but its date belongs not to the Kalachuri era, but to the Vikrama era.

POLITICAL HISTORY

THE ABHIRAS

The Ābhīras were an ancient race which, according to the *Mahābhārata*, *Harivaṃśa* and the Purāṇas, had spread in the western provinces of India from the Panjab in the north to Maharashtra in the south. They are, in many passages, conjoined with the Sūdras, with whom they appear to be conterminous in the north-western parts of India.¹ They spoke a language which, according to Daṇḍin's *Kāvyādarśa*², was called Apabhraṃśa. The *Mahābhārata*³ and the *Vāyupurāṇa*⁴ call them *Mlēcchhas*. This term, according to Patañjali, signifies those who could not pronounce the Āryan language correctly.⁵ Like the Sūdras, therefore, the Ābhīras were probably the aboriginal inhabitants of the country who were gradually admitted to the Hindu fold.

The *Mahābhārata* mentions three divisions of the Ābhīras dwelling in the north-west of India, *viz.*, those who lived on the bank of the Sarasvatī, fishermen and mountaineers.⁶ In another passage the epic states that the *tīrtha* Vinaśana lay in the country of the Ābhīras as the sacred river Sarasvatī disappeared at the place through hatred of the Sūdras and the Ābhīras living there.⁷ Elsewhere, Pañchanada, the land of the five rivers, is described as the stronghold of the Ābhīras.⁸ We are told that while Arjuna was encamped in that fertile country together with the women of the Vṛishṇis and the Andhakas, whom he was escorting from Dvārakā to Hastināpura after the internecine fight amongst the Yādavas, he was attacked by the Ābhīras. All these references indicate the eastern part of the Panjab between the Satlaj and the Yamunā as the original home-land of the Ābhīras. From there they appear to have spread beyond Mathura in the east and to Saurashtra, Gujarat and Maharashtra in the south. Ptolemy mentions Abiria, which was evidently the country of the Ābhīras. It was situated above Pattalene on the Sindhu and probably corresponds to the central portion of Sindh above the delta of that river.⁹ According to the *Vishṇupurāṇa*, the Sūdras and the Ābhīras inhabited the provinces of Saurāshṭra, Avanti (Western Malwa), Sūra (Mathurā), Arbuda (Aravali) and Marubhūmi (Marwad).¹⁰ The *Bṛhatsaṃhitā* of Varāhamihira mentions the Ābhīra country with Kōṅkaṇa among the *janapadas* of the south.¹¹ Parāśara, cited in the commentary of the *Bṛhatsaṃhitā*, also groups the Sūdra-Ābhīra country with Saurāshṭra, Mahārāshṭra, Sindhu-Sauvīra and other countries of the south-west.¹² The *Vāyu* and *Mārkaṇḍeya* Purāṇas mention in one passage that the Ābhīras dwelt in the north-west region, but in another passage they place them in the south together with the

¹ See MBH., Sabhāparvan, ad. 32, v. 10; Śalyaparvan, ad. 37, v. 1; Parāśara cited in BS., Vol. I, p. 288; VSHP., aṃśa II, ad. 3, v. 16.

² *Kāvyādarśa*, ch. I, v. 36. Namisādhū, a commentator of Rudraṭa's *Kāvyālaṅkāra*, also mentions Ābhīra as one of the three varieties of Apabhraṃśa. See *Kāvyālaṅkāra*, II, 12. According to Bharata's *Nāṭyaśāstra* (XVIII, 44), the language of the Ābhīras was called Śābarī.

³ MBH. Mausalaparvan, ad. 7, v. 63.

⁴ VP., ad. 37, v. 263.

⁵ *Mahābhāṣya*, (ed. by Kielhorn), Vol. I, p. 2. The Mlēcchhas were not necessarily foreigners. Pāṇini in his *Dehātupāṭha* gives √ *mlēcch* in the sense of 'indistinct speech'. The word occurs in a Brāhmaṇa passage cited in the *Mahābhāṣya*, *loc. cit.*

⁶ Sabhāparvan, ad. 32, v. 10.

⁷ Śalyaparvan, ad. 37, v. 1.

⁸ Mausalaparvan, ad. 7, vv. 45 ff. Also VSHP., aṃśa V, ad. 38, v. 12.

⁹ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIII, p. 324.

¹⁰ VSHP., aṃśa IV, ad. 24, v. 68.

¹¹ BS., Vol. I, p. 288.

¹² *Loc. cit.*

inhabitants of Mahārāshtra, Vidarbha, Āsmaka, Kuntala and others.¹ In a third passage the *Mārkaṇḍēyapurāṇa* groups the Ābhīras with the people of Bhṛigukachchha, Kōṅkaṇa, Mahārāshtra, Karṇāta, the country on the banks of the Vēṇī (Wainganga), Nāsikya and others.² These passages seem to point to the modern district of Khandesh as their stronghold in the south. Even now the Ābhīras or Ahīrs predominate in that district of the Bombay State.

From ancient times the Ābhīras have followed the profession of cowherds. Their settlement was called *ghōṣha*.³ The *Harivaṃśa* describes how Kṛishṇa, the incarnation of Viṣṇu, was brought up, since his birth, in a *ghōṣha* or settlement of cowherds.⁴ From certain similarities between the early lives of Kṛishṇa and Christ, such as the worship of the boy-god, his reputed father's knowledge that he was not his son and the massacre of innocents, Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar inferred that the Ābhīras must have brought these stories with them when they migrated to India in the first century of the Christian era.⁵ This theory has since been shown to be untenable. The *Harivaṃśa* nowhere states that the cowherds among whom Kṛishṇa was brought up belonged to the Ābhīra race. The main incident of Kṛishṇa's early life, *viz.*, his killing of Kamsa, was well-known long before the time of Patañjali (*circa* 150 B. C.); for, we learn from the *Mahābhāṣya* that it was dramatised and represented on the stage.⁶ Moreover, Patañjali specifically mentions the Ābhīras. While discussing the nature of the compound *Sūdr-Abbīram*, he mentions the *prima facie* view that Ābhīra is a sub-caste under Sūdra and ultimately states his *siddhānta* that it is an altogether different caste.⁷ The discussion makes it plain that if the Ābhīras were foreigners, they must have migrated to India long before the second century B. C., in which we find them not only admitted to the Hindu fold but given a definite place in the caste system.

The status of the Ābhīras seems to have undergone changes in the course of ages. We have seen that in the time of Patañjali they were generally associated with the Sūdras, but were relegated to a different caste. According to the *Manusmṛiti*, the son of a Brāhmaṇa from an Ambashṭha woman belongs to the Ābhīra caste.⁸ Another *smṛiti*, cited by Kaiyaṭa, states that the woman should be of the Ugra caste.⁹ These are, of course, theories of Brahmanical writers. In practical life the Ābhīras generally resembled the Sūdras. The *Kāśikā*, a well-known commentary on Pāṇini's *Aṣṭādhyāyī*, says that the Ābhīras were Mahāśūdras, *i. e.*, superior Sūdras¹⁰ and this view is adopted in the *Amarakōṣa*. As

¹ MP., ad. 57, vv. 35 and 47; VP., ad. 45, vv. 115 and 126.

² MP., ad. 58, vv. 21 ff.

³ Cf. *Ghōṣha Abbīrapalli tyāt* in AK., II, 2, 20.

⁴ Cf. HV., Viṣṇuparvan, ad. 7, vv. 28 ff.

⁵ *Vaiṣṇavism, Śaivism, etc.* pp. 37 ff.

⁶ *Mahābhāṣya*, Vol. II, p. 36.

⁷ Cf. सामान्यविशेषवाचिनोश्च द्वन्द्वो न भवतीति वक्तव्यम् ॥ यदि सामान्यविशेषवाचिनोद्वन्द्वो न भवतीत्युच्यते शूद्राभीरम्, गोबलीवर्द्धम्, तृणोलपमिति न सिध्यति । नैव दोषः । इह तावत् शूद्राभीरमिति आभीरा जाल्यन्तराणि ॥ *Mahābhāṣya*. Ind. Ant., Vol. XLVII, p. 36.

⁸ MS., ad. X, v. 15. The children of a Brāhmaṇa father and a Vaiśya mother belong to the Ambashṭha caste.

⁹ See Kaiyaṭa on the passage cited in n. 7, above. The children of a Sūdra woman from a Kshatriya belong to the Ugra caste.

¹⁰ The *Mahāśūdras* are mentioned in Kātyāyana's *Vārttika* as well as in Patañjali's *Mahābhāṣya* on Pāṇini, IV, 1, 4, but their identification with the Ābhīras is for the first time given by the *Kāśikā* on Pāṇini, IV, 1, 4. *Mahāśūdra* is mentioned in the *Kautilya-sūtra* (XVII, 16) also, in connection with the coronation of a king. A commentator explains the term as *Sūdrāṇām bal-ādhibikṛitah*, 'a commander of the Sūdra army'. The *paddhati* of Kēśava also explains *Mahāśūdra* as 'a royal officer' (*Rājakeyo mahāśūdraḥ*). J. A. O. S., Vol. XIV, pp. 46 and 317.

1

MAP SHOWING PLACES MENTIONED IN EARLY INSCRIPTIONS
OF THE
KALACHURI ERA



Scale: $\frac{1}{1,111,375}$ or 0.912 Inch to 16 Miles.
Miles 0 5 10 20 40 Miles

INDEX

- Find-spots of Copper Plates.
- ▬ Capitals.



shown below, some Ābhīras attained royal position, which seems to have raised the status of their caste. Kshīrasvāmin, a commentator of the *Amarakōśa*, remarks that an Ābhīra belongs to the Vaiśya caste.¹ This view was probably based on the fact that the Ābhīras generally followed the profession of cattle-breeding, which, from ancient times, has been regarded as the privilege of the Vaiśyas.

The *Mahābhārata* states that there were Ābhīra *gaṇas* dwelling in the north-west.² Like the Mālavas and the Kshudrakas mentioned by Alexander's historians, they also had probably a republican constitution. In the Allahabad stone pillar inscription of Samudragupta, the Ābhīras are grouped with the Mālavas, Ārjunāyanas, Yaudhēyas, Mādrakas and others who submitted and paid tribute to the great Gupta Emperor.³ These tribes are mentioned separately from the kings of Āryāvarta (*i. e.*, North India) whom Samudragupta forcibly uprooted. It is well-known that the Mālavas and the Yaudhēyas had republican organisations, as coins mentioning their *gaṇas* have been discovered.⁴ The inference, therefore, seems justifiable that like them the Ābhīras too had a republican form of government. When the Bactrian Greeks, Sakas and Kushāṇas invaded the north-western parts of India, the Ābhīras, like the Mālavas, Yaudhēyas, Śibis and others, migrated to the south and settled in Rajputana, Sindh and Maharashtra.⁵ They seem to have continued to hold their own in North India down to the Gupta age. We have, however, no further information about them as no inscriptions or coins of this tribe have been found in North India.

The Ābhīras did not exclusively follow the profession of cowherds. Some took to other callings. Even now in the states of Bombay and Madhya Pradesh there are some Ābhīra Brāhmaṇas. In Khandesh, which is still their stronghold, they have adopted various professions such as those of goldsmiths and carpenters. On their migration to the south, some Ābhīras seem to have occupied high political position under the Kshatrapa rulers of Western India. A stone inscription⁶ found at Gunda in Saurashtra mentions an Ābhīra general named Rudrabhūti, who served under the western Kshatrapa Rudrasimha. This inscription is dated Saka 102 (180 A. C.). Īśvaradatta, who seems to have ousted the Western Kshatrapas, though for a very brief period, may have been an Ābhīra as supposed by some scholars.⁷ Other Ābhīras may have held similar positions of power and vantage under the Śātavāhanas. The Purāṇas say that the Ābhīras who succeeded the Andhras (*i. e.*, the Śātavāhanas) in the Deccan were Andhrabhṛityas, *i. e.*, servants of the Andhras.⁸ One of them, Īśvarasēna, seems to have usurped power after Puṣumāvi, the last king of the Śātavāhana dynasty.

From the Nasik cave inscription, which is the only early record of the Ābhīra dynasty, we learn that this Īśvarasēna was an Ābhīra and bore the title of *Rājā*.⁹ As his father Śivadatta bears no royal title, Īśvarasēna was plainly the founder of the Ābhīra dynasty. As shown before,¹⁰ he flourished about 250 A. C. and was probably the originator

¹ Cf. *Vaiśya-bhēda* *iv* = *Ābhīrō gaṇ-ādy-upajīvī* in Kshīrasvāmin's commentary on *AK.*, II, 6, 13.

² *Śūdr-Ābhīra-gaṇāś* = *śb-aiva* in *Sabhāparvan*, ad. 32, v. 10.

³ *C. I. I.*, Vol. III, p. 8.

⁴ V. Smith, *I. M. C.*, pp. 173 and 182.

⁵ *MBH.* (*Vanaparvan*, ad. 188, vv. 35 ff.) states that the Ābhīras will rise to power in the same age as the Śakas, Yavanas and Bāhlikas.

⁶ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. X, p. 157; *Bhavnagar Inscriptions*, Pl. XVII.

⁷ Above, pp. iv. ff.

⁸ *D.K.A.* p. 45.

⁹ No. 1, ll. 1-2.

¹⁰ Above, p. xxiv.

of the so-called Kalachuri-Chēdi era. Like his predecessors, the Sātavāhanas, he also used a metronymic and called himself Māḍharīputra. This clearly indicates that he took pride in tracing his descent on the mother's side from a Vedic sage. Though the Ābhīras themselves spoke an Apabhraṃśa or corrupt language, they, unlike the Sātavāhanas, seem to have patronised Sanskrit. It is worthy of note that the Nasik cave inscription of Īśvarasēna's reign is written in a language which is predominantly Sanskrit. It is, of course, not an official document, but it clearly shows that Sanskrit was slowly asserting itself under the rule of the Ābhīras.

Judging by the extent of his era, Īśvarasēna appears to have ruled over a large territory comprising Gujarat, Konkan and Maharashtra. He was followed by nine other kings, whose names have, unfortunately, not come down to us.¹ The Ābhīras seem to have ruled for 167 years² and were supplanted by their feudatories, the Traikūṭakas, in *circa* 415 A.C.

As stated above, Khandesh was the stronghold of the Ābhīras. Petty princes of the Ābhīra dynasty appear to have continued to rule in Khandesh till the 13th century A. C. A stone inscription at Āmbē in the Hyderabad State records that Khōlēśvara, a general of the Yādava king Śimhaṇa, exterminated Lakshmīdēva, the lord of Bhambhāgiri, who belonged to the Ābhīra dynasty.³ Bhambhāgiri is probably identical with Bhāmēr, four miles south of Nizampur in the Pimpalner *tālukā* of the West Khandesh District. Near Bhāmēr is a great fortified hill which has many ruined gateways, gates, towers and also some old caves locally known as 'Rājā's houses.'⁴ This fort was probably known as Bhambhāgiri. The aforementioned Āmbē inscription describes Khōlēśvara as a very wild fire which burned the forest of the family of Lakshmīdēva, the Ābhīra king of Bhambhāgiri, and a similar statement occurs about Śimhaṇa in the Uddari stone inscription.⁵ This plainly indicates that the whole family of Lakshmīdēva was exterminated, and his kingdom was annexed by the Yādava king Śimhaṇa.

Another king named Kāmapāla, who was vanquished by Kṛishṇa, the grandson and successor of Śimhaṇa, probably belonged to the Ābhīra dynasty; for, his defeat is said to have delighted the cowherds, who may have been oppressed by him.⁶ The Tāsgaon plates of Kṛishṇa's reign intimate that Kṛishṇa's feudatory Kēśava obtained a victory over a chief of the cowherds, who may have been identical with the aforementioned Kāmapāla.⁷ He also may have been ruling in some part of Khandesh. After the thirteenth century we do not hear of the Ābhīra kings.

Judging by their names, both Īśvarasēna and his father Sivadatta were followers of the Hindu religion and devotees of Śiva. But like their predecessors, the Sātavāhanas, the Ābhīras seem to have extended their patronage to the followers of other faiths also. That Buddhism was flourishing during their rule is clearly indicated by the Nasik cave inscription of Īśvarasēna's reign. Even foreigners like the Sakas embraced it and made munificent donations for the benefit of the Buddhist monks. Several guilds were

¹ Vātsyāyana's *Kāmasūtra* mentions the Ābhīra Kōṭṭarāja, who was murdered in another's house by a washerman at the instigation of his brother. The commentator Yaśōdhara says that he was ruling at Kōṭṭa in Gujarat. Kōṭṭarāja was probably his personal name. He may have been a successor of Īśvarasēna.

² See above, p. xxvi.

³ *J. M. H. D.*, Vol. I, p. 64.

⁴ *Bom. Gaz.*, Vol. XII, pp. 434 ff.

⁵ *A. R. A. S. M.* (1929), pp. 142 ff. See also *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXV, p. 202 n. 6.

⁶ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXV, p. 210.

⁷ *Ibid.*, Vol. XXV, p. 204, n. 4. An earlier king of the same dynasty was perhaps Kṛishṇa mentioned in the Balsāṇē stone inscription, dated Ś. 1106 (1184-85 A.C.). *B. I. S. M. Q.*, Vol. XXII, p. 71.

flourishing in their kingdom, in which people invested large amounts for making permanent endowments. This indicates that peace, order and a general sense of security prevailed in the country during their rule.

FEUDATORIES OF THE ABHIRAS

Mahārājas of Valkha—Until recently we had no knowledge of any feudatories of the Ābhīras. This was due to the circumstance that certain grants¹ which originally belonged to Khandesh and were dated in the Kalachuri era were relegated to North India and were supposed to be dated in the Gupta era as they were discovered at Indore. The close similarity which these grants bear in respect of characters, phraseology and mode of dating to a fragmentary grant found at Sirpur² in the West Khandesh District leaves no doubt that they also originally came from Khandesh.³ These grants give the following genealogy :—

Mahārāja Svāmidāsa (Year 67)

Mahārāja Bhulūṇḍa (Year 107)

Mahārāja Rudradāsa (Year 117)

As these grants do not mention any royal genealogy, the relation of these princes *inter se* is not known. All of them are described as *parama-bhaṭṭāraka-pād-ānudyāta* 'meditating on the feet of the lord paramount', which clearly shows that they acknowledged the suzerainty of some other power. The dates of their grants must plainly be referred to the so-called Kalachuri-Chēdi era founded by the Ābhīra Śvarasēna. The years 67, 107 and 117 mentioned in these records correspond to 316-17, 356-57 and 366-67 A. C. respectively. These princes were, therefore, probably feudatories of the Ābhīra Emperors.

These princes ruled from Valkha which is probably identical with Vāghli, now a small village, 6 miles north by east of Chalisgaon in the East Khandesh District.⁴ Most of the places mentioned in their grants can be identified in the vicinity of Vāghli.⁵

No copper-plates or stone inscriptions of any successors of Rudradāsa have been discovered, but in an inscription in Cave XVII at Ajaṇṭā⁶ we find similar names ending in *dāsa* which may have belonged to the same dynasty. This inscription gives the following genealogy :—

(Name lost)

|
Dhṛitarāshṭra

|
Harisāmba

|
Saurisāmba

|
Upēndragupta

|
Kācha I

¹ Nos. 2 and 3.

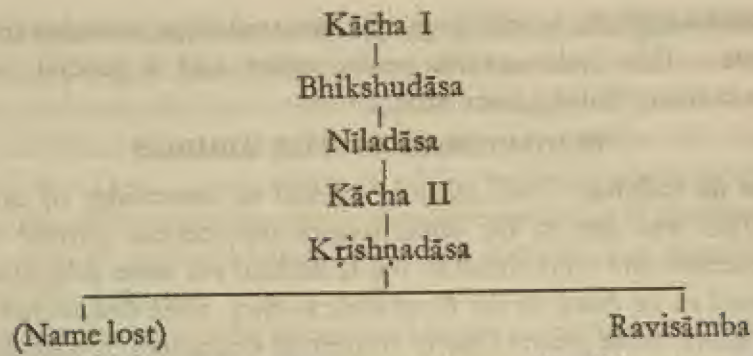
² No. 4.

³ The grants were taken to Indore by Pandit Vaman Shastri Islampurkar, who was engaged in collecting copper-plates, Sanskrit manuscripts and other antiquities.

⁴ Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshit has suggested that Valkha may be identical with Bāhaḷ in the Chalisgaon *tāluka* of East Khandesh, where a large hoard of punch-marked coins was recently discovered. *J. N. S. I.*, Vol. VIII, p. 3.

⁵ See below, pp. 7 ff.

⁶ For a fuller account of this inscription, see my edition of it in *H. A. S.* No. 15.



The elder son of Kṛishṇadāsa, whose name is now illegible, was overwhelmed with sorrow at the premature death of his younger brother Ravisāmba. He began to lead a pious life and caused several *stūpas* and *vihāras* to be constructed. He also got the Vihāra Cave XVII and the Chaitya Cave XIX at Ajaṇṭā excavated, while Harishēṇa, 'the moon among princes' (*kṣhitīndra-chandra*), was protecting the earth.

The foregoing account of the inscription in Ajaṇṭā cave XVII shows that the last of these princes was a contemporary and probably a feudatory of the Vākāṭaka Emperor Harishēṇa, who flourished from *circa* 475 A. C. to 500 A. C.¹ He was preceded by ten other princes. The first of these may, therefore, be placed in *circa* 275-300 A. C. He seems to have been placed in charge of a part of Khandesh by the contemporary Ābhīra Emperor.

Some of these princes mentioned in this Ajaṇṭā inscription were evidently contemporaries of Svāmīdāsa, Bhulūṇḍa and Rudradāsa, whose dates range from 316 A.C. to 366 A. C., but the latter names do not occur anywhere, in the genealogy of the Ajaṇṭā inscription. There were, therefore, two separate branches of the same family ruling in different parts of Khandesh. One of them was ruling at Valkha as shown above.² The capital of the other is not known.

After the fall of the Ābhīras, these princes of Khandesh seem to have transferred their allegiance to the Vākāṭakas. A fragmentary verse in the inscription in Cave XVI at Ajaṇṭā states that the Vākāṭaka Emperor Harishēṇa raided or exacted tribute from Trikūṭa³ which comprised the territory round Nasik. Khandesh, which lay between Vidarbha and Trikūṭa, must have likewise submitted to the Vākāṭakas. This is also indicated by the manner in which the Vākāṭaka Emperor Harishēṇa is mentioned in the inscription in Ajaṇṭā Cave XVII. Further, the *Daśakumāracharita* which, in its last *uchchhvāsa*, gives a narrative reflecting the last period of Vākāṭaka rule,⁴ viz., the reign of Harishēṇa's son, mentions the ruler of Ṛishika (*i. e.*, modern Khandesh)⁵ as a feudatory of the king of

¹ H. A. S., No. 14, p. 9.

² D. C. Sircar has recently objected to the view mentioned above on the ground that the *Paramabhāṭāraka* overlords of feudatory *Mahārājas* are unknown before the age of the Imperial Guptas. He would place these *Mahārājas* of Valkha in the Anūpa country and refer the dates of their grants, viz., the years 67, 107 and 117 to the Gupta era. H. C. I. P., Vol. II, p. 222, n. 3. It is difficult to accept this view. We have no other grants, made by feudatory princes of the Deccan in the pre-Gupta age, from which we could have drawn any conclusion about their titles and the manner in which they described their own feudatory status. The suggestion that these dates refer to the Gupta era is also not free from difficulties. The Guptas do not seem to have penetrated to the Anūpa country as early as G. 67 (386-87 A. C.). The earliest Gupta record found even in Eastern Malwa is dated G. 82. Anūpa, which lay farther west, could not have been included in the Gupta Empire fifteen years before. That these *Mahārājas* belonged to Khandesh is clearly indicated by the similarity of the names of two of them to those of some rulers of Khandesh, mentioned in the inscription in Ajaṇṭā cave XVII which belongs to the Vākāṭaka age.

³ H. A. S., No. 14 p. 11.

⁴ A. B. O. R. I., Vol. XXVI, pp. 20 ff.

⁵ For this identification, see *ibid.* Vol. XXV, pp. 167 ff.

Vidarbha. After the fall of the Vākātakas, this feudatory family of Khandesh was overthrown by the Kalachuris who occupied Northern Maharashtra in *circa* 550 A. C.

Īśvararāta—Another feudatory who probably owed allegiance to the Ābhīras was ruling in Central Gujarat. He is known from a fragmentary copper-plate grant discovered at Kalachhala near Chhota Udaipur in the Bombay State. Only the first plate of this grant, which originally must have consisted of two or three plates, has been found. It mentions one Īśvararāta, who meditated on the feet of a lord paramount (*Paramabhaṭṭāraka-pād-ānudhyāta*). Īśvararāta, though he bears no royal title, was plainly a feudatory of some imperial power. He appears to have ruled over a fairly extensive territory; for, among the persons to whom he addressed his order are included such high officers of the State as *Kumārāmātya* and *Uparika*.¹ The extant portion of the grant contains no date, but its palaeography and wording, which closely resemble those of the aforementioned grants from Khandesh, indicate that Īśvararāta flourished in the 4th century A. C. Like the *Mahārājas* of Valkha, he was probably a feudatory of the Ābhīras.

Īśvararāta's grant was made at Prachakāśā. This place may be identical with Prachāsha on the Tāpī in North Khandesh. The village Kupikā granted by the charter cannot now be traced, but Vañkikā, the headquarters of the territorial division in which it was situated, may be represented by the modern village Vānkaḍ, about 20 miles from Chhota Udaipur. Īśvararāta, therefore, appears to have held Central Gujarat and some portion of the Khandesh District.

No successor of Īśvararāta is known; but his family may have continued to hold Central Gujarat until it was ousted by Sarva Bhaṭṭāraka who appears to have risen to power in *circa* 400 A. C. As shown elsewhere,² the latter's coins, imitated from those of the Western Kshatrapas, are found in abundance in Central Gujarat and Saurashtra.

The Kings of Māhishmatī—The Ābhīras appear to have soon extended their rule to Anūpa (the country around Māhishmatī) and Ākarāvanti (Malwa) also. It has been noticed that the potin coins of the Western Kshatrapas, which were intended for circulation in Malwa, suddenly come to an end in 240 A. C.³ The reason for this contraction of Kshatrapa power is supposed to be the rise of the Vākātika Vindhyaśakti. We have, however, no indication of the extension of the Vākātika power north of the Narmadā in this early period,⁴ while we have evidence of the spread of the Ābhīra kingdom in the use of the Ābhīra era in the countries of Anūpa and Ākarāvanti in the fourth and fifth centuries A. C. The era must have been introduced there by the Ābhīras or their feudatories.

One of these feudatories was *Mahādandanāyaka* Śaka Śrīdharavarman, the son of Śaka Nanda, whose stone inscription,⁵ recording the excavation of a well, was found at Kānākhērā near Sānchī in the Bhopal State. Though a Śaka by extraction, Śrīdharavarman did not probably belong to the house of Chasṭana; for unlike the Western Kshatrapas, he dated his record in the era of the Ābhīras, not in that of the Sakas. The title *Mahādandanāyaka* prefixed to his name in the Kānākhērā inscription indicates that he began his career as a military officer, probably of the contemporary Ābhīra king. Later, he may

¹ For *Kumārāmātya* and *Uparika*, see below, p. 36, notes 4 and 3 respectively.

² J. N. S. I., Vol. VI, pp. 14 ff. Dr. Altekar places Sarva Bhaṭṭāraka in the period 348-378 A. C. *Ibid.*, pp. 18 ff.

³ C. A. D., Introd., p. cxxxiii; N. H. I. P., Vol. IV, p. 54.

⁴ I have shown elsewhere that the original home of the Vākātakas lay in South India. A. B. O. R. I., Vol. xxxii, pp. 1 ff. Prithivishēṇa, whose feudatory Vyāghra's inscriptions have been found at Nachna and Ganj in Vindhya Pradesh, was the second Vākātika prince of that name who flourished in c. 470-490 A. C.

⁵ No. 5, pp. 13 ff., below.

have risen to the status of a feudatory.¹ As the power of the Ābhīras declined, he appears to have declared his independence and begun to date his records in his regnal years, though he did not, for some years, discard his previous military title² or the Ābhīra era which had become well established in the country under his rule.

The Kānākhērā inscription is dated in the thirteenth year of Śrīdharavarman's reign. It contains another date at the end, the reading and interpretation of which are, unfortunately, not quite certain. As shown elsewhere,³ the correct reading of the date appears to be 102, which, being referred to the Ābhīra era, becomes equivalent to 351-52 A. C. Śrīdharavarman seems, therefore, to have declared his independence in *circa* 339 A. C.

Another inscription⁴ of Śrīdharavarman has recently come to light at Eraṇ in the Saugor District of Madhya Pradesh. In this record Śrīdharavarman is seen to have discarded his previous military title and assumed instead the titles *Rājan* and *Mahākṣatrapa* which, as in the inscriptions and coins of the Western Kshatrapas, signified complete independence. He has also omitted therein all reference to the Ābhīra era, perhaps because it recalled his previous submission to another power. The Eraṇ inscription is dated in the 27th regnal year. It seems, therefore, to have been put up in 365 A. C. Śrīdharavarman may have flourished from 339 A. C. to 368 A. C.

Neither of these two inscriptions mentions any capital of Śrīdharavarman. That he held the Vidiśā-Erikiṇa territory is certain; for, his records have been found in that part of the country. It is, however, not unlikely that his rule extended farther west to the Anūpa country also, where the Ābhīra era continued in use for at least 50 years more; for, no other ruler of his power and prestige is known to have flourished in Central India in that period. If this supposition is correct, Māhishmatī may have been his capital.⁵

The Eraṇ record is incised on a pillar, called *yashṭi*, erected by Satyanāga, the *Arakṣhika* and *Sēnāpati* of Śrīdharavarman, as a memorial to the Nāga soldiers who met with a hero's death in a battle fought at the *adhishṭhāna* of Erikiṇa (modern Eraṇ). In that record Satyanāga, who hailed from Maharashtra, expressed the hope that the *yashṭi*, raised by the Nāgas themselves, would inspire future generations of warlike people to perform similar heroic deeds; for, it was a place where friends and foes met together in a spirit of service and reverence. Unfortunately, no particulars of the battle in which these Nāga soldiers laid down their lives have been preserved in the inscription. Perhaps the enemy was the ruler of some neighbouring country like Mēkalā.

The Allahabad pillar inscription of Samudragupta mentions the Śakas and the Muruṇḍas as border chiefs who submitted to the mighty Gupta Emperor and solicited his charters confirming them in the enjoyment of their own territories.⁶ The Śaka chief is usually taken to be one of the Western Kshatrapas; but the kingdom of the Kshatrapas lay far in the west. Besides, their rule in Malwa seems to have come to an end about the middle of the third century A. C. with the rise of the Ābhīras. The Śaka king who submitted to Samudragupta must, therefore, be identified with Śrīdharavarman. He may have paid homage to the Gupta Emperor some time after 365 A. C.,

¹ It is not known whether his father held any office under the Ābhīras. No title is prefixed to his name, but as in the case of Īśvararāta, this negative evidence is not conclusive.

² Other instances of a similar type are the *Sēnāpati* Pushyamitra, the founder of the Śunga dynasty, who retained his military title even after performing two *Aśvamedhas* (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XX, p. 57), and the *Mahāsēnāpati* Śaka Māna who issued his coins mentioning the military title (*J. N. S. I.*, Vol. XII, pp. 90 ff.).

³ See below, pp. 14 ff.

⁴ No. 119, pp. 603 ff., below.

⁵ This is a tentative suggestion which may be corroborated or modified by future discoveries.

⁶ *C. I. I.*, Vol. III, p. 8.

when he heard reports of the latter's brilliant victories in North and South India. Later, Samudragupta, on some provocation, appears to have attacked the Saka king's territory and obtained a decisive victory over him in the battle of Erikiṇa. He then annexed the territory round Erikiṇa¹ which had strategic importance, and erected a monument there 'for augmenting his own fame.' He appears, however, to have allowed the Saka king to continue in possession of the rest of his kingdom as he did in the case of some republican tribes such as the Sanakānikas and the Kharaparikas.² It is well known that it was Samudragupta's son Chandragupta II, who first conquered Eastern and Western Malwa in the course of his 'conquest of the whole earth', some time in the last decade of the 4th century A. C. The earliest dated record of the Guptas found in Malwa is the Udayagiri cave inscription of Chandragupta II, dated G. 82 (401-2 A. C.)

Śrīdharavarman, though he belonged to the Saka race, was a follower of the Hindu religion. Both he and his father Nanda bear Hindu names. He was a devout worshipper of Kārttikēya and, like an orthodox Hindu, believed that he could secure permanent residence in heaven by means of charitable works like the excavation of a well. In both the records of his reign he is described as *dharmavijayin* or a righteous conqueror, which implies that he did not wage any war for self-aggrandizement. His liberal policy attracted able men from distant countries like Maharashtra. He trusted them and appointed them to important military posts. His inscriptions are written in a good Sanskrit *kāvyā* style. They show that the revival of the classical language had already commenced before the age of the Guptas. Like the Western Kshatrapas and the Ābhīras, the Sakas of Central India also appear to have given liberal patronage to Sanskrit poets at their court.

We do not know how long the Sakas continued to rule in Central India. They were probably overthrown when they suffered a defeat at the hands of Chandragupta II towards the close of the 4th century A. C. Thereafter, we have two copper-plate grants of *Mahārāja* Subandhu, both made at Māhishmatī, one of which was found somewhere in the former Barwāni State and the other in one of the famous Bāgh caves.

These grants of Subandhu bear close resemblance in respect of characters, phraseology and royal sign-manual to the aforementioned grants of the *Mahārājas* of Khandesh. All of them probably belong to the same period. The era in which they are dated must therefore be identical. The date of the Bāgh cave plate is lost, but that of the Barwāni plate which is well preserved is the year 167. If this is referred to the Ābhīra era, it becomes equivalent to 416-17 A. C. Subandhu, therefore, flourished in the first quarter of the fifth century A. C.

Unlike the *Mahārājas* of Valkha, Subandhu does not refer to any suzerain even in a general manner, which shows that he was an independent ruler. In 416-17 A. C. the Gupta power had, no doubt, reached its peak. Chandragupta II was dead at the time and was succeeded by his son Kumāragupta I; but there is no reason to suppose that the Gupta dominion

¹ Cf. *sva-bhōga-nagar-Airikiṇa-pradēśā* in the Eraṇ inscription of Samudragupta. *C. I. I.*, Vol. III, p. 20. The battle of Erikiṇa appears to have been fought towards the close of Samudragupta's reign. The inscription at Eraṇ which mentions the monument which he erected there 'for augmenting his fame' is probably posthumous; for it uses the past tense in describing the Gupta Emperor. Besides, the description it gives of him indicates that he had already won all his major victories. He is said to have been of irresistible valour and to have overthrown the whole tribe of kings upon the earth. His enemies were terrified by his prowess even in their dreams. Again, it describes his queen as one who went about in the company of sons and grandsons. The description plainly shows that Samudragupta was considerably advanced in age when the monument was erected, and may have died before the inscription was put up.

² That the Sanakānikas and the Kharaparikas belonged to Central India is shown by some inscriptions. See *C. I. I.*, Vol. III, p. 25 and *I. C. P. B.*, p. 58.

had suffered any diminution at the beginning of the latter's reign. It may, therefore, be asked how Kumāragupta allowed Subandhu to enjoy independence just on the border of the Avanti province which was undoubtedly under Gupta rule at the time. The reason is not far to seek. The Anūpa country, where Subandhu was ruling, comprised the territory along both the banks of the Narmadā, now included in the Nemad Districts of Madhya Pradesh and Madhya Bharat as well as the adjoining territory. Just about this time there was rising the powerful State of the Traikūṭakas across the Narmadā.¹ According to the Purāṇas, the Ābhīra rule lasted for 167 years. The Ābhīras were succeeded by the Traikūṭakas, who soon extended their sway to Northern Maharashtra, Konkan and Gujarat. The kingdom of Māhishmatī may, therefore, have been allowed to continue as a buffer state between the dominions of the Traikūṭakas and the Guptas.

Subandhu's descendants may have continued to rule from Māhishmatī for some years more; but when the Vākāṭaka Narēndrasēna (circa 450-470 A. C.) extended his suzerainty to Malwa, he must have annexed the intervening kingdom of Anūpa. Thereafter, the country was governed by a scion of the Vākāṭaka family. The narrative in the eighth chapter of the *Daśakumāracarita*, which appears to have a historical basis,² shows that the last Vākāṭaka Emperor (probably Harishēṇa) had placed one of his sons on the throne of Māhishmatī. Soon thereafter, the country was occupied by the Kalachuris in circa 525 A. C.

THE TRAIKUTAKAS

This royal dynasty derived its name from Trikūṭa or a three-peaked mountain or the district in which it was situated. This was evidently the home of the royal family. Several mountains named Trikūṭa situated in all the four directions of India are known from Sanskrit literature and lexicons. According to the *Vishṇu*³ and *Mārkaṇḍeya*⁴ Purāṇas, Trikūṭa was the name of the southern ridge of the mythical Mēru mountain. It was, therefore, situated in the north. Hēmachandra⁵ and Mahēśvara,⁶ who in their lexicons give Suvēla as its synonym, evidently place it in Ceylon. An ancient commentator of Bhartṛhari's *Vākyapadīya*⁷ states that Trikūṭa was the name of a mountain in the Trikalīṅga or Andhra country. Finally, Kālidāsa places Trikūṭa in Aparānta⁸ or North Konkan, and his view receives confirmation from Kēśava's *Kalpadrūkōśa*⁹ which gives it as a name of the Sahyādri range. In recent times, R. B. Hiralal, who identified the Traikūṭakas with the Kalachuris, has expressed the view that Trikūṭa is identical with the Sātpurā mountain which was so called on account of its three prominent peaks, viz., the

¹ The earliest known Traikūṭaka king was Indradatta, who must have flourished about 415 A.C. as his son Dahrasēna's Pardi grant is dated in K. 207 (456-57 A. C.). Dahrasēna is known to have performed an *Aśvamedha* sacrifice. See No. 8, l. 2.

² See my article entitled 'Historical Data in Daṇḍin's *Daśakumāracarita*' in *A. B. O. R. I.*, Vol. XXVI, pp. 20 f.

³ *VSHP.*, aṁśa II, adhyāya 2, v. 28.

⁴ *MP.*, adhyāya 55, v. 6.

⁵ *Smṛtiśāstrīyāśā* Trimukhaśāstra = *Trikūṭas = Trikakush = cha śāṣ* in *Abhidhānabintāmaṇi*, Bhūmikāṇḍa, v. 96.

⁶ *Vīṭvaprakāśa* (Chaukhamba Sanskrit Series), p. 39. According to Vālmiki's *Rāmāyaṇa* (Araṇyakāṇḍa, 2, 1) Rāvaṇa's Laṅkā was situated on Trikūṭa.

⁷ Commenting on the *kārikā*, *Parvatāt āgamaṇi labhtrā*, etc., of the *Vākyapadīya* (Kāṇḍa II, v. 489), Puṇyārāja says, *Parvatāt Trikūṭa-āikadśa-vartī-Trikalīṅga-āikadśāt*.

⁸ *Raghuvamśa*, Canto IV, vv. 58-59.

⁹ *Sahyāchalaśāstrīyāśā* Mūrdhābādrīśāstra = *Trikūṭas = Trikakush = cha śāṣ* in *Kalpadrūkōśa*, Vol. I (Gackwad's Oriental Series), p. 342, sl. 14. *Trikakush* which is given here as a synonym of *Trikūṭa* is mentioned by Pāṇini (V, 4, 147), but it cannot evidently be the Trikūṭa of North Konkan.

Āmrakūṭa or Amarakaṇṭaka in the former Rewa State, Sālakūṭa in the Balaghat District and Madhukūṭa in the Chhindwara District.¹ As shown below, the inscriptions and coins of the Traikūṭakas have been found only in South Gujarat, North Konkan and Maharashtra. Traikūṭa, from which they derived their name, cannot, therefore, be located in the north, east, south or centre of India, but must be looked for in the west. Kālidāsa's description, which, as already stated, is supported by a lexicon, clearly indicates that it was situated in Aparānta or North Konkan. Bhagvanlal Indrajī suggested its identification with Junnar, in the Poona District, which is encircled by three ranges of hills.² The matter is now placed beyond doubt by the mention of the Pūrva-Trikūṭa *viśaya* (East Trikūṭa District) in the Anjaneri plates of Bhōgaśakti,³ which shows that there was a district named after the mountain which divided it into two parts. A tax levied on the inhabitants of the eastern sub-division was assigned for the worship of the god Bhōgēśvara at Jayapura near Nasik. This clearly shows that Trikūṭa was probably the name of the range of hills that borders the Nasik District on the west.⁴ This identification squares with the provenance of Traikūṭaka inscriptions and coins.

The earliest mention of the Traikūṭakas occurs in the Chandravalli inscription of Mayūraśarman.⁵ This record includes Trēkūṭa (*i. e.*, the Traikūṭakas) among the contemporaries of Mayūraśarman, the founder of the Kadamba dynasty, which shows that the Traikūṭakas were a power of some importance in the beginning of the fourth century A. C., to which period the Chandravalli inscription can be referred on palæographic grounds. The country of Trikūṭa had previously been included in the Sātavāhana kingdom. The Traikūṭakas seem, therefore, to have risen into prominence on the decline of the Sātavāhana power in Konkan and Maharashtra. The coins of the Traikūṭakas are closely imitated from those of the Western Kshatrapas which were current in Maharashtra. On the obverse, there is the king's face to the right as on Kshatrapa coins, but without any date, while on the reverse, inside a circle of dots and a circularly written legend, appear the usual Kshatrapa symbols, the chaitya, the sun and the moon.⁶ This close resemblance suggests, as Rapson has remarked,⁷ that the coins were intended for circulation in the districts which had previously been under the rules of the Kshatrapas.

Though the Traikūṭakas rose into prominence about the middle of the third century A. C., we have no Traikūṭaka records during the first two centuries of their rule. On the other hand we find an Ābhīra record of about the middle of the third century A. C. in the Nasik District,⁸ which, as we have seen above, was the home province of the Traikūṭakas. The names of the two Ābhīras, Sivadatta and his son *Rājan* Īśvarasēna, resemble those of the later Traikūṭaka kings, which end in either *datta* or *sēna*. Pandit Bhagvanlal, therefore, first propounded the theory that the Traikūṭakas were identical with the Ābhīras.⁹ The Chandravalli inscription, however, mentions the Traikūṭas separately from the Ābhīras, thus indicating that the two royal families, though contemporary, were not identical. The

¹ A. B. O. R. I., Vol. IX, pp. 283-84.

² Bomb. Gaz., Vol. I, part i, p. 57.

³ No. 31, l. 38.

⁴ In this connection it may be noted that the Pāṇḍu Lēṇa hill near Nasik is called Triraśmi (three-rayed) in the cave inscriptions there, and that the range of hills to the south of the Nasik District is still called Trimbak hill.

⁵ A. R. A. S. M. (1929), p. 50.

⁶ C. A. D., pp. 198-99.

⁷ Ibid., Introd., p. chx.

⁸ No. 1.

⁹ P. V. O. C., p. 222.

similarity of their names suggests some sort of connection between them. The Traikūṭakas were probably at first the feudatories of the Ābhīras whose era they adopted in their records. On the decline of the Ābhīra power, they seem to have asserted their independence. None of the three Traikūṭaka kings, known from inscriptions and coins, seems to have assumed a higher title than *Mahārāja*. But two of them are known to have issued coins, while one of them, Dahrasēna, explicitly mentions in his copper-plate inscription that he had performed an *Aśvamedha* sacrifice. The later Traikūṭakas were, therefore, probably independent monarchs, though, as we shall see below, the last of them was ultimately defeated and forced to pay tribute by the Vākāṭaka king Harishēna.

The mention of Trikūṭa in the description of Raghu's *divijaya* suggests that Kālidāsa, who flourished about 400 A. C. during the reign of Chandragupta II-Vikramāditya, knew of a Traikūṭaka kingdom on the western coast. The three copper-plate inscriptions of the dynasty edited here belong to a later date. From them and from coins, we get the following genealogy of the Traikūṭakas:—

Mahārāja Indradatta

|
(son)

Mahārāja Dahrasēna (K. 207=456-57 A. C.)

|
(son)

Mahārāja Vyāghrasēna (K. 241=490-91 A. C.)

The first of these, Indradatta, is known only from the coins of his son Dahrasēna. He is therein given the title *Mahārāja*. As his son was ruling in the Kalachuri year 207 (=456-57 A. C.), he may be assigned to the period 415-440 A. C.

The second king Dahrasēna is known from his Pārdī plates and silver coins¹ found at Daman in South Gujarat,² Karhad in the Satara District,³ Kazad in the Indapur *tālukā* of the Poona District⁴ and some other places.⁵ Like his father, he calls himself *Mahārāja* both in the copper-plate inscription and coin-legends. The former supplies the additional information that he performed an *Aśvamedha* sacrifice. On his coins he called himself *paramavaishṇava*, 'a devout worshipper of Viṣṇu', and in his copper-plate inscription, *Bhagavat-pāda-karmakara*, 'a servant of the feet of Bhagavat'. The Pārdī plates were issued from the victorious royal camp at Āmrakā, and record the donation of a village in the Antarmaṇḍali *viśaya*, which, on the analogy of the Antar-Narmadā *viśaya* mentioned in inscription No. 11, seems to have comprised the territory on both the banks of the Maṇḍali or modern Miṇḍhōlā river. The places mentioned in the grant can be identified in the country between the Pūrṇā and the Miṇḍhōlā in South Gujarat. As shown elsewhere, the date of the plates, the year 207, refers to the Kalachuri era, and corresponds to 456-57 A. C. Dahrasēna may, therefore, have reigned from *circa* 440 A. C. to 465 A. C.

Vyāghrasēna, the son and successor of Dahrasēna, is known from his Surat plates and silver coins found at Kazad in the Indapur *tālukā* and other places. His coins⁶, which

¹ The coins have the legend *Maharaj-Andradatta-putra-paramavaishṇava-śrī-Maharaja-Dahrasana* representing *Mahārāj-Indradatta-putra-paramavaishṇava-śrī-Mahārāja-Dahrasēna*.

² *Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. I, part i, p. 58.

³ *J. B. B. R. A. S.*, 1862, p. 11.

⁴ *C. A. D.*, p. clx, n. 2.

⁵ 'The provenance of the coins, considerable numbers of which exist in various collections, has not been very fully recorded'. *Introd.*, *C. A. D.*, p. clx. Some Traikūṭaka coins have been recently brought to light at Kamrej near Surat. *A. B. I. A. for* 1935, p. 34.

⁶ These coins have the legend *Maharaja-Dahrasana-putra-parama-vaiṣṇava-śrī-Maharaja-Vyaghrasana* representing *Mahārāja-Dahrasēna-putra-paramavaishṇava-śrī-Mahārāja-Vyāghrasēna*. *J. R. A. S. for* 1903, pp. 806-7.

resemble those of his father, are, however, rare and of one variety only. Like his father, he calls himself *Mahārāja*, and describes himself as *paramavaishṇava* as well as *Bhagavat-pāda-karmakara*. His Surat plates were issued from the victorious Aniruddhapura. As no affix like *vāsakāt* is added to it, the place may have been the royal capital. The plates record the grant of a village in the Iksharaki *ābāra*. Iksharaki may be identical with Achchhāran, about 9 m. north of Surat. The date of the plates, the year 241, must be referred to the Kalachuri era, and corresponds to 490-91 A. C. Vyāghrasēna may, therefore, be assigned to the period from *circa* 465 A. C. to 492 A. C.

One more inscription, consisting of a single plate, was found inside a Buddhist *stūpa* at Kaṇhēri in North Konkan. It records the construction of a *chaitya* (i.e., the *stūpa* in which the inscription together with some relics was found) dedicated by a pilgrim from Sindh to the venerable Sāradvatīputra, the foremost disciple of the Buddha. The inscription mentions only the increasingly victorious reign of the Traikūṭakas, but does not name any reigning king. It is dated in the year 245 (494-95 A. C.). As a period of as many as 36 years intervenes between the date of the Pārḍī plates of Dahrasēna and that of the Surat plates of his son Vyāghrasēna, it seems that the latter were probably issued towards the close of Vyāghrasēna's reign. The Traikūṭaka king during whose reign the Kaṇhēri plate was issued may, therefore, have been the successor of Vyāghrasēna. During his reign the Trikūṭa country was invaded by Harishēṇa, the last known Vākāṭaka king who flourished in *circa* 475-500 A. C. In the inscription in the Ajaṇṭā cave XVI, Harishēṇa is credited with a victory over Trikūṭa,¹ but it is not known if he supplanted the ruling dynasty. He was possibly content with exacting a tribute from it as he must have done from the other countries mentioned in the same inscription, *viz.*, Kuntala, Avanti, Kaliṅga, Kōsala, Lāṭa and Andhra.

After the Vākāṭakas, the Kalachuris became supreme in Gujarat, North Konkan and Maharashtra. The coins of Kṛishṇarāja, the earliest known king of the Kalachuri dynasty, have been found in the islands of Bombay and Sāshtī as well as the districts of Nasik and Satara.² Copper-plate inscriptions of the Early Kalachuris recording grants of villages in South Gujarat and the Nasik District have also been discovered. In the Kalachuri inscriptions Saṅkaragaṇa, the son of Kṛishṇarāja, is described as the lord of the countries between the eastern and western seas.³ Konkan also must, therefore, have been included in the Kalachuri Empire. But no grants of land made by the Kalachuris have yet been discovered in Konkan, which seems to have been ruled by a feudatory family. For about a century after the date of the Kaṇhēri plate, however, we have no definite information about the history of Konkan.⁴ From the Aihōle inscription⁵ of Pulakēśin II we learn that his father Kīrtivarman was 'the night of destruction to the Mauryas', and that Pulakēśin himself stormed their capital Purī and probably annexed their kingdom. As the Traikūṭakas vanish from history in the beginning of the sixth century A. C. and the Mauryas come on the scene within about fifty years, it has been conjectured that the Traikūṭakas

¹ *H. A. S.*, No. 14, p. 11. The passage mentions Trikūṭa and Lāṭa separately. Does this show that the Traikūṭaka kingdom was at that time divided into two parts?

² *Bom. Gaz.*, Vol. I, part II, p. 13. The king Kṛishṇarāja is there wrongly said to be of the Rāshṭrakūṭa lineage.

³ No. 12, l. 15.

⁴ A stone inscription from Vāḍa in the north of the Thana District mentions a Maurya king named Sukētavarman ruling in Konkan. *Bom. Gaz.*, Vol. XIV, pp. 372-373.

⁵ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VI, pp. 4-5.

themselves came in course of time to be known as the Mauryas.¹ But if the Traikūṭakas were descended from the imperial family of Magadha, it looks strange that they make no mention of their proud lineage in their records. It would appear, therefore, that when the Kalachuris conquered Konkan, they supplanted the Traikūṭakas by the Mauryas, who continued as their feudatories until both the royal families were ousted by Pulakēśin II. The downfall of the Traikūṭakas may thus be dated in the first quarter of the sixth century A. C.

The Traikūṭaka kingdom at its largest extent seems to have extended from the Kim in the north to the Kṛishṇā in the south, and to have comprised South Gujarat, North Konkan, and the Nasik, Poona and Satara Districts of Maharashtra. It is interesting to note that the Traikūṭakas maintained a fleet for the protection of their maritime provinces. During their regime Trikūṭa seems to have become famous as an emporium of salt. Their capital has not yet been definitely located. As observed already, Aniruddhapura seems to have been the capital at least during the reign of Vyāghrasēna. Dr. Hultzsch, on the authority of a statement of the lexicographer Yādava, identifies Aniruddhapura with Śūrpāraka, modern Sōpārā, in the Thana District. But Yādava merely states that the Aparānta country included Śūrpāraka.² Aniruddhapura, mentioned as the place of issue in the Surat plates, is probably identical with the victorious Aniruddhapurī, a Brāhmaṇa resident of which received a grant of land in the Surat District from the Sēndraka prince Allaśakti. It would, therefore, appear that Aniruddhapura was situated somewhere in the Surat District, but its exact location cannot be fixed.

The Traikūṭakas were followers of Hinduism and devotees of the god Vishṇu. Both their copper-plate grants were made to Brāhmaṇas for the increase of religious merit of their parents and themselves. That Buddhism also flourished in their kingdom is shown by the Kaṇhēri plate which records the erection of a *chaitya* dedicated to Śāradvatīputra. The pilgrim who got it built came from the distant province of Sindh. This testifies to the peace and order which generally prevailed in the kingdom of the Traikūṭakas.

THE EARLY KALACHURIS OF MAHISHMATI

We have no definite information about the capital of the Kaṭachchuris or Early Kalachuris. All their known copper-plate grants were issued from their camps fixed at different places such as Ujjayinī and Vidiśā in Malwa and Anandapura in Gujarat. It appears probable, however, that they ruled from Māhishmatī, modern Ōṅkār Māndhātā,³ which from very early times has been famous as a holy city. Even in later times when it had ceased to be their capital, the memory of its past glory was fresh in the mind of the people; for Rājasekhara in his *Bālarāmāyaṇa*⁴ and Murāri in his *Anargharāghava*⁵ mention it as the common or family capital of the Kalachuri kings. Besides, some later princes of the Haihaya dynasty, who ruled in the south as feudatories of the Chālukyas, mention with pride their title *Māhishmatī-puravar-śvara* 'the lord of Māhishmatī, the best of towns.'⁶

¹ C. A. D., p. clx. n. 1.

² See below, p. 27.

³ For the identification, see Fleet's article 'Mahishamandala and Māhishmatī' in *J. R. A. S.* (1910), pp. 423 ff. Like Kālidāsa, Rājasekhara also describes Māhishmatī as surrounded by the Narmadā. Some identify the city with Maheshvar in the former Indore State.

⁴ See यन्मेषला भवति मेकलसैलकन्या वीतेन्धनो वसति यत्र च चित्रभानुः । तामेष पाति कुतवीर्ययशोवतंसां माहिष्मतीं कलचुरेः कुलराजधानीम् ॥ *Bālarāmāyaṇa*, III, 35.

⁵ Cf. इयं कलचुरिकुलनरेन्द्रसाधारणाग्रमहिषी माहिष्मती नाम चेदिमण्डलमण्डमाला नगरी । *Anargharāghava*, Act VII.

⁶ See e. g. the Kambhavi inscription (dated 1034 A. C.) of *Mahāmāṇḍalīśvara* Rēvarasa. *Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. I, part ii, p. 459.

The mention of the Ārjunāyanas in the list of frontier tribes who submitted to Samudragupta¹ has been taken by some² to refer to the Kalachuris who trace their descent from Arjuna, the son of Kṛitavīrya. The Ārjunāyanas were indeed an ancient tribe. Their coins bearing the tribal name in Sanskrit are known in several varieties and on the evidence of palaeography are ascribed to 100 B. C. Prof. Rapson dates their rise as a political community as early as the fourth century B. C.³ They are included in the *rājanyādi gaṇa* (mentioned in Pāṇini, IV, 2, 53), which shows that their country was called Ārjunāyanaka. Varāhamihira places them in the northern division, and the provenance of their coins indicates that their homeland lay within the triangle Delhi-Jaipur-Āgrā.⁴ This shows, however, that they were distinct from the Kalachuris who dwelt in the valley of the Narmadā. Besides, according to the *Kāśikā*⁵ on Pāṇini, II, 4, 66, the Ārjunāyanas were the descendants of Arjuna who belonged to the Bhārata clan, and were, therefore, different from the Kalachuris who claimed their descent from Arjuna, the son of Kṛitavīrya.

Though the Early Kalachuris do not call themselves Haihayas in their grants, they soon came to be referred to by that name; for we learn from some inscriptions of the Early Chālukyas that Vinayāditya, the son of Vikramāditya I (680-697 A. C.), subjugated the Haihayas,⁶ and Vikramāditya II (733-747 A. C.) married two Haihaya princesses, Lōkamahādēvī and her younger sister Trailōkyamahādēvī.⁷ The Eastern Chālukya prince Vishṇuvardhana IV (764-799 A. C.) similarly espoused a princess of the Haihaya lineage whose son Nṛiparudra is mentioned as *Dūtaka* in a grant of Vijayāditya II.⁸ These Haihayas were evidently identical with the Early Kalachuris.

It is not known whether the Early Kalachuris were descended from Mahārāja Subandhu who ruled from Māhishmatī in an earlier age; for there is a long period of nearly 150 years which separates them and for which no records have yet been discovered. The Early Kalachuris rose into prominence on the downfall of the Traikūṭaka dynasty. After the year 245 of the Kanḥērī plate⁹ incised during the sovereignty of the Traikūṭakas, the next known date of the Kalachuri era is the year 292 furnished by the Sunao Kala grant of Saṅgamasimha.¹⁰ He seems to have come to power after the Traikūṭakas; for the phraseology of the formal part of his grant bears close resemblance to that of the Traikūṭaka records, especially the Surat plates of Vyāghrasēna.¹¹ Saṅgamasimha issued the plates from Bharukachchha. Sōṇavvā, the village granted by him, is only two miles north of the Kim and 18 miles north of Surat. It is, therefore, not unlikely that Saṅgamasimha had under his sway some territory which was previously included in the Traikūṭaka kingdom. But Saṅgamasimha, though he calls himself Mahārāja, was in reality a Mahāsāmānta (i. e., a great feudatory) of some other power. The only powerful contemporary dynasty to which he may have owed allegiance was that of the Kalachuris. We have unfortunately no records of the Early Kalachuris who were the real founders of the Kalachuri Empire of the sixth century A. C. The earliest dated record of the Kalachuris is Saṅkara-

¹ C. I. I., Vol. III, p. 8.

² Ibid., Introd., p. 10.

³ C. H. I., Vol. I, p. 528.

⁴ A. C. A. I., p. lxxxii ff.

⁵ Patañjali in his *Mahābhāṣya* gives a different illustration (viz., *Auddālakāyana*) to explain the rule.

⁶ Ind. Ant., Vol. VI, pp. 91 ff. and Vol. VII, p. 302.

⁷ Ep. Ind., Vol. III, p. 5.

⁸ Ind. Ant., Vol. XX, p. 415.

⁹ No. 10.

¹⁰ No. 11.

¹¹ See below, p. 54.

gaṇa's Ābhōṇa grant of K. 347 (596-97 A. C.). As shown below, Saṅkaragaṇa's son Buddharāja was defeated by Maṅgalēśa in *circa* 601 A. C. Saṅkaragaṇa can, therefore, be referred to *circa* 575-600 A.C., and his father Krishṇarāja, to *circa* 550-575 A.C. Saṅgamasimha, who made his grant in 541 A. C., was, therefore, probably a feudatory of Krishṇarāja's father whose name¹ unfortunately has not come down to us.

This Kalachuri prince must have found a favourable opportunity for the extension of his power in the political conditions of the second quarter of the sixth century A. C. The Vākāṭaka dynasty seems to have come to an end with Harishēṇa's son. In Central India the meteoric rise of Yaśōdharman was followed by confusion and chaos. In the west the Maitrakas, who had founded a kingdom at Valabhī about half a century before, were not yet powerful enough to pursue an aggressive policy. In the south, though Pulakēśin I is said to have performed an *Aśvamēdha*, his power was probably confined to the northern Kanarese districts. Krishṇarāja's father seems to have extended his power in the east, west and south. In the west he supplanted the Traikūṭakas and divided their extensive kingdom among his feudatories. The Mauryas, as we have already seen, were placed in charge of Aparānta or North Konkan, while Gujarat or at least the central part of it was given in charge of Saṅgamasimha. We do not know whether Maharashtra including ancient Vidarbha was annexed to the Kalachuri kingdom during his reign or during that of his son Krishṇarāja.

Krishṇarāja seems to have still further extended the kingdom inherited from his father. His silver coins,² which are imitated from those of the Traikūṭakas, were at first intended for circulation in Gujarat, North Konkan and Maharashtra. Like the latter coins, they have on the obverse the bust of the king facing right, and on the reverse inside a circle of dots, runs the legend *Paramamābheśvara-mātā-pitṛi-pād-ānuḍhyāta-sri-Krishṇarājajah*. In the middle, in place of the chaitya, the sun and the moon which figure on the Kshatrapa and Traikūṭaka coins, the king, who was a devotee of Śiva, inserted the figure of the recumbent bull, Nandī, facing right. These coins, which in their weight³ and fabric, approximated to the Kshatrapa, Gupta and Traikūṭaka coins, were in circulation over a very wide country. They have been discovered in such distant parts as Rajputana⁴ and Malwa⁵ in the north, the districts of Satara⁶ and Nasik⁷ in the south, the islands of Bombay⁸ and Sāshtī⁹ in the west, and the districts Betul¹⁰ and Amaravati¹¹ of Madhya Pradesh in the east. As these coins were in circulation for at least a hundred and fifty years after the time of Krishṇarāja,¹² be-

¹ In the place of the patronymic which occurs in the legend on Traikūṭaka coins, Krishṇarāja substituted *mātā-pitṛi-pād-ānuḍhyāta* 'he who meditates on the feet of his mother and father'. So his father's name does not appear even on his coins.

² The legend on these coins was first correctly read by Fleet. See *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIV, p. 68.

³ The weight of these coins is about 30 grains.

⁴ *C. C. M. I.*, p. 8. Cunningham ascribed these coins to Krishṇarāja Rāshtrakūṭa (375-400 A.C.), but the Rāshtrakūṭas were not then in power. See Rapson, *Indian Coins*, p. 27.

⁵ Seven coins were brought to light during excavations at Besnagar. *A. R. A. S. I.* (1913-14), p. 214.

⁶ They were found near Karhad. *Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. I, part ii, p. 13.

⁷ They were discovered at Baglan near Nasik, *loc. cit.* p. 13.

⁸ *Loc. cit.*, p. 13. A hoard of 200 coins was discovered in Bombay proper. See *J. B. B. R. A. S.*, Vol. XX (Extra Number) (1900), pp. 7 and 9.

⁹ Two coins were discovered at Mulgaon near Marole in Sāshtī, *loc. cit.* p. 9.

¹⁰ Some coins of this type were discovered in 1937 at Paṭṭan in the Betul District of Madhya Pradesh.

¹¹ A hoard of 1600 coins was found at Dhāmōri in the Amaravati District.

¹² They are mentioned as *Krishṇarāja-rūpakas* in the Anjaneri inscription of Bhōgaśakti, dated K. 461 (No. 31).

ing used by several later dynasties, it is not possible to say if the Kalachuri Empire in the time of Krishnarāja comprised all these distant territories. But that Gujarat, Konkan, and Maharashtra including Vidarbha were in any case comprised in it, seems beyond all doubt.

Krishnarāja's suzerainty over Vidarbha is also indicated by the recently discovered Nagardhan plates of the reign of Svāmīrāja.¹ They were issued by his brother Nannarāja from Nandivardhana, modern Nagardhan near Ramtek in the Nagpur District, which is well known in history as one of the early capitals of the Vākātaka dynasty. The royal family to which Svāmīrāja and Nannarāja belonged is not mentioned in the grant, but as similar names occur in some Rāshtrakūṭa grants found in Vidarbha,² these princes probably belonged to the Rāshtrakūṭa lineage. In the initial portion of this grant, Svāmīrāja is described as 'meditating on the feet of the lord paramount.' The plates are dated in the year 322, which must be referred to the Kalachuri era and corresponds to 573-74 A. C. This is the only record of the Kalachuri era found in Vidarbha.³ The use of this era indicates that the unnamed suzerain of Svāmīdāsa was some Kalachuri king, probably Krishnarāja who flourished from *circa* 550 A. C. to 575 A. C.; for the era evidently spread to Vidarbha with the extension of the Kalachuri power.

The Nagardhan plates record two gifts—(i) one of 12 *niyartanas* of land in the village Chīnachapattikā, made by a Corporation of Mahāmātras (Elephant-drivers) and (ii) the other of the village Añkōllikā made by the ruling king at Prayāga. It is noteworthy that the seal of the plates has the figure of a goad as the emblem of the Corporation, with the legend *gaṇa-dattib*, meaning 'a gift of the Corporation.'

The descendants of Svāmīrāja probably ruled in Vidarbha for a long time. On the downfall of the Kalachuris, they transferred their allegiance to the Early Chālukyas, and like them, dated their records in the Śaka era.

Krishnarāja's son Saṅkaragaṇa is known from several records. His own Ābhōṇa plates⁴ were issued from his camp at Ujjayinī, and record the donation of land in a village situated in the northern part of the Hyderabad State. It is not known if Western Malwa was permanently annexed to the Kalachuri Empire; but that Saṅkaragaṇa first conquered it and held it for some time is indicated by the fact that the epithets, employed to describe him in the Ābhōṇa plates and repeated in subsequent Kalachuri charters, were borrowed from or suggested by Gupta records, with which the drafter must have been acquainted in Ujjayinī. It is noteworthy that no such epithets occur in the description of his father Krishnarāja.

The Ābhōṇa plates show that Saṅkaragaṇa ruled over a vast empire which extended from Malwa in the north to Maharashtra in the south. That it comprised Gujarat is shown by the Saṅkheḍā plate of the general Sāntilla, which mentions Nirihullaka as his governor in Central Gujarat.⁵ Saṅkaragaṇa is probably referred to as Gaṇa Saṅkara in the *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa* as shown by Dr. Jayaswal.⁶ His Ābhōṇa plates are dated in K. 347 (597 A. C.). His reign must have ended soon thereafter, as his son Buddharāja was defeated by Maṅgalarāja in *circa* 601 A. C. Saṅkaragaṇa may, therefore, be assigned approximately to the period 575-600 A. C.

¹ No. 120.

² See, e.g., the Multai plates of Nannarāja, dated Ś. 631 (709-10 A. C.).

³ The earlier grants of the Vākātakas are dated in regnal years, while the later ones of the Rāshtrakūṭas are dated in the Śaka era.

⁴ No. 12.

⁵ No. 13.

⁶ *Imperial History of India*, p. 30.

Soon after his accession, Buddharāja found himself involved in a fight on the southern frontier of his kingdom. Several Chālukya inscriptions mention his defeat by the Early Chālukya king Maṅgalēśa or Maṅgalarāja. We learn, for instance, from Maṅgalēśa's Mahākūṭa inscription¹ (602 A.C.) that Maṅgalēśa, having set his heart on the conquest of the northern regions, defeated king Buddha and captured his whole treasure. The Nerur plates² add further details that this Buddharāja was the son of Saṅkaragaṇa and was possessed of the power of elephants, horses and footsoldiers. Finally, the Aihōlē stone inscription of Pulakēśin II describes in a figurative language that Maṅgalēśa, 'in that house which was the battlefield, took in marriage the damsel *viṣ*, the Fortune of the Kaṭachchuris, having scattered the gathering gloom, *viṣ*, the array of elephants (of the adversary), with hundreds of bright lamps which were the swords of his followers.'³ These references leave no doubt about the identity of Buddharāja. Maṅgalēśa obtained a decisive victory over him. Buddharāja was completely routed and fled away, leaving his whole treasure behind which was captured by Maṅgalēśa. The latter could not, however, follow up the victory; for, just then Svāmīrāja of the Chālikya family, a redoubtable warrior who had attained victory in eighteen battles and who was probably ruling in Rēvatīdvīpa⁴ (modern Rēḍi) in South Konkan as a feudatory of the Chālukyas, rose in rebellion, seemingly at the instigation of Buddharāja. Maṅgalēśa had, therefore, to abandon his original plan of making an expedition of conquest in the north, and rushed to Konkan to chastise the rebellious chieftain. In the fight which ensued, he killed Svāmīrāja and by way of thanksgiving made the grant of a village in South Konkan on the twelfth *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Kārttika after observing a fast on the preceding day. The Nerur plates, in which this grant is recorded, are not dated, but the Mahākūṭa inscription, in which also the victory over Buddharāja is mentioned, is dated in the fifth regnal year, the cyclic year being Siddhārtha. As Fleet has shown, the inscription was probably incised in 601-2 A. C. Its contents show that it was put up soon after the defeat of Buddharāja,⁵ which may, therefore, be dated approximately in 601 A. C.

¹ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIX, pp. 17-18. R. G. Bhandarkar, who did not accept Fleet's reading of the date in l. 15 of the Mahākūṭa inscription, placed Maṅgalēśa's accession in 591 A. C. (*E. H. D.*, p. 69). In the Mahākūṭa inscription the reading *rājya-pañcama-śrīvarasē pravartamānē* in l. 15 is clear. So the inscription belongs to the fifth year of Maṅgalēśa's reign. If we accept Bhandarkar's view that he came to the throne in 591 A.C., his fifth year would fall in 595-596 A.C. But the Ābhōṇa plates show that in 595-596 A.C. Saṅkaragaṇa, not Buddharāja, was reigning. Fleet's view about the accession of Maṅgalēśa presents no chronological difficulty.

² *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VII, pp. 161 ff.

³ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VI, p. 8.

⁴ The Nerur plates, which mention the defeat and death of Svāmīrāja at the hands of Maṅgalēśa, do not explicitly say that he was ruling over Rēvatīdvīpa, but they state that the event occurred after the defeat of Buddharāja. The Aihōlē inscription describes Maṅgalēśa's capture of the island of Rēvatī after the defeat of the Kalachuri king. Svāmīrāja was, therefore, probably the ruler of the island of Rēvatī, modern Rēḍi. Nerur is only 16 miles south of Rēḍi. The village Kuṇḍivāṭaka granted by the plates is probably identical with the modern Kuṇḍā, about 3½ m. north-east of Nerur. After killing Svāmīrāja, Maṅgalēśa seems to have placed the island in charge of his relative Satyāśraya Dhruvarāja Indravarman, who was the ruler of the adjoining territory. See his Goa plates issued from the Revatīdvīpa in the twentieth year of his reign. *J. B. B. R. A. S.*, Vol. X, p. 365.

⁵ Fleet translates *Kalatsūri-dhanam mo-grīva-dīva-drōṇyūn gatam* in the Mahākūṭa inscription by 'the wealth of the Kalachuris has been expended in the idol procession of the temple of our own god.' The sense, however, seems to be 'the wealth of the Kalachuris has been deposited in the treasury (*drōṇyū*) of the temple of our own god.' Maṅgalēśa seems to have assigned the ten villages mentioned in the inscription to the god Makuṭēśvaranātha, having acquired them with the wealth of the Kalachuri king as well as that donated by his father and eldest brother.

For some reason Maṅgalēśa could not execute his original plan of making conquests in the north and planting a pillar of victory on the bank of the Bhāgirathī. He seems to have been fully occupied in his own country in ensuring the succession of his son after himself and in thwarting the legitimate ambition of his nephew Pulakēśin II. These internal dissensions of the Chālukyas gave the necessary respite to Buddharāja, who seems to have soon consolidated his position. Only two grants of this king have come to light so far. Both of them are dated after his defeat by Maṅgalēśa. The earlier of them, recorded in the Vaḍnēr plates¹, was made in K. 360 (610 A.C.) at the royal camp fixed at Vidiśā (modern Besnagar near Bhilsa in Central India). The donated village was situated in the Nasik district. The later or Sarsavṇī grant² was made in K. 361 (610 A.C.) at the royal camp fixed at Ānandapura (probably modern Vaḍnagar in North Gujarat). The village granted was situated in the Broach District. These grants are separated by the short interval of about two months and a half³, during which Buddharāja had to march from Vidiśā to Ānandapura. Again, the villages granted are not situated in Eastern Malwa and Northern Gujarat but in the Nasik and Broach Districts. It seems plain, therefore, that the grants were made during the victorious campaigns of Buddharāja, and that Malwa and Northern Gujarat were not permanently annexed to the Kalachuri empire. This surmise receives confirmation from Yuan Chwang's mention of Silāditya as a former king of Malwa.⁴ This king is evidently identical with Silāditya I-Dharmāditya, whose known dates range from G. 286 to G. 292 (*i. e.*, from 605 A. C. to 611 A. C.). It will be noticed that they are subsequent to the date K. 347 (597 A.C.) of the Ābhōṇa plates issued by Saṅkaragaṇa from his camp at Ujjayinī. Again, within six years of the date of Buddharāja's Sarsavṇī plates, we find Silāditya's brother Kharagraha I making two grants⁵ (dated G. 297) from his camp at Ujjayinī. Malwa conquered by Saṅkaragaṇa does not, therefore, seem to have remained under the sway of the Kalachuris for a long time. Buddharāja probably lost it to the king of Valabhī in the beginning of his reign when he suffered a defeat at the hands of Maṅgalēśa.

It has been suggested⁶ that Buddharāja was the Mālava king who, according to Bāṇa's account, marched on Kanauj when he heard of the death of Prabhākaravardhana, the mighty king of Thaneshvar, and killing his son-in-law, the young Maukhari prince Grahavarman, threw the latter's wife Rājyaśrī into prison 'like a brigand's wife with a pair of fetters kissing her feet.' Buddharāja's army was subsequently routed by Rājyavardhana, who captured thousands of elephants and horses as well as a large treasure. There are several difficulties in the way of accepting this theory. The inscriptions of Harsha do not mention Buddharāja as an adversary of Rājyavardhana. On the other hand, they name Dēvagupta as the leader of the confederacy whom, together with all his allies, Rājyavardhana subdued and turned away like a wild horse. That in the time of Prabhākaravardhana, Malwa—probably the eastern part of it—was held by a king whose name ended in *gupta* seems certain; because Bāṇa mentions as Mālava princes the brothers Kumāragupta and Mādhavagupta who were asked to attend on Rājyavardhana and Harsha.⁷ Bühler, therefore, conjectured⁸ that the

¹ No. 14.

² No. 15.

³ See p. 53, below.

⁴ O. Y. C., Vol. II, p. 242.

⁵ P. T. A. I. O. C. (1933), pp. 659 ff; *Important Inscriptions from the Baroda State*, Vol. I, pp. 7 ff.

⁶ J. B. O. R. S., Vol. XIX, pp. 406 ff.

⁷ *Harshacharita* (Nirnayasagar ed.), p. 138.

⁸ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, p. 70. Bühler suggested, however, that the word Mālava perhaps referred to the country of Mālava in the Panjab, which was much nearer to Thaneshvar than Malwa in Central India.

Mālava king who killed Grahavarman was Dēvagupta, and Hoernle thought that the latter was a brother of Kumāragupta and Mādhavagupta, and had usurped the throne of Malwa.¹ It is not unlikely that Dēvagupta was responsible for the destruction of Grahavarman. He was probably ruling over Eastern Malwa with Vidiśā as his capital; for, according to Yuan Chwang's testimony, Western Malwa was then under the rule of Silāditya I-Dharmāditya. Buddharāja cannot, therefore, be identified with the Mālava king mentioned by Bāṇa. Besides, in 605 A. C. when the aforementioned events took place, Maṅgalēśa was still supreme in the south. Only four years before, Buddharāja had sustained a crushing defeat at his hands and though for some reason Maṅgalēśa did not follow up the victory, the danger of his invasion could not have passed altogether. It is, therefore, doubtful if Buddharāja would have dared to carry his arms as far north as Kanauj, leaving the southern frontier of his own kingdom exposed to the attack of his powerful neighbour.

When Harsha swore to avenge the treacherous murder of his brother Rājyavardhana by Śaśāṅka, the king of Gauḍa, he must have proceeded to make political alliances to achieve his object. His two powerful foes were Śaśāṅka, the king of Gauḍa, and the king of Mālava. His alliance with Bhāskaravarman, the prince of Kāmarūpa (Assam), was obviously intended to hold the Gauḍa king in check on his eastern frontier. Unfortunately, Bāṇa's narrative comes to an abrupt close. It does not, therefore, tell us what measures Harsha adopted against the Mālava king, who, though defeated by Rājyavardhana, was not completely crushed. It is possible to conjecture that he sought the help of Buddharāja, who was the southern neighbour of the king of Malwa. Buddharāja's victorious campaigns in Eastern Malwa and Northern Gujarāt were evidently directed against Dēvagupta and Silāditya I. The latter may have been one of Dēvagupta's allies who are referred to in a general way in the inscriptions of Harsha. These expeditions were undertaken in 610 A. C. when, owing to the civil war in the Chālukyan kingdom, there was no danger of Buddharāja's territory being invaded by the Chālukyas. As we shall see later on, Harsha himself made war on the king of Valabhī probably after he had subdued the kings of the North.

The Vaḍṇēr and Sarsavṇī grants of Buddharāja indicate that notwithstanding the crushing defeat he sustained at the beginning of his career, Buddharāja retained his hold over the whole country from Gujarat to Maharashtra. With the accession of Pulakēśin II, however, matters took a different turn. After consolidating his position in the Kanarese country and subjugating his immediate southern neighbours, the Gaṅgas and the Ālupas, Pulakēśin seems to have turned his attention to the north. He stormed Purī, the capital of the Mauryas, which he captured after a hard-fought battle. He also became the lord of the three Mahārāshṭras², comprising the Marathi-speaking districts in the States of Bombay, Madhya Pradesh and Hyderabad. The Aihōlē inscription does not name his adversary, but there can be little doubt that he was Buddharāja. The record says that Pulakēśin used all the three royal powers (*viz.*, energy, counsel and royal position) to gain his object. Diplomacy seems, therefore, to have played as great a part as actual fight in the defeat of Buddharāja, which may have taken place about 620 A. C.

History does not know the names of Buddharāja's successors. They probably continued to rule at Māhishmatī with more or less independence. It seems that one of them made a last effort to regain the kingdom of his ancestors, but the attempt was not crowned with success, and the Haihayas were reduced to a state of servitude similar to that of the Ālupas (*i. e.*, Ālupas), Gaṅgas and others who had already become the hereditary servants of the Chālukyas. As this event is referred to in Vinayāditya's grant³ of Śaka 609,

¹ *J. R. A. S.*, (1903), p. 562.

² *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VI, p. 6.

³ *Ibid.*, Vol. XIX, p. 64.

the defeat of the Haihayas must have occurred before 687 A. C. Thereafter, we do not hear of the Haihayas till the 8th century A. C., except in connection with the marriages of the princesses of the family with the scions of the Eastern and Western Chālukya dynasties.¹ The Haihayas, therefore, seem to have remained loyal to their overlords, the Chālukyas, until the latter's overthrow by the Rāshtrakūṭas. The rise of the Rāshtrakūṭas led to a change in the political fortune of the Haihayas or Kalachuris, to which we shall turn in a subsequent section.

THE EARLY GURJARAS

Several inscriptions² of the Gurjaras, all of them on copper-plates, dated in the Kalachuri era have been discovered in Western India between the Kīm and the Mahī. They range in dates from K. 380 to K. 486. This country was under the direct rule of the Kalachuris till K. 361 at least; for, in that year Buddharāja made the grant of a village in the Broach District.³ After the overthrow of the Kalachuris, Pulakēśin II extended the northern limit of his empire to the Kīm, adding to it the provinces of Konkan, the three Maharashtras and southern Gujarat. Just about that time Harsha, the mighty ruler of Kanauj, was making extensive conquests in the north, and countries far and near were submitting to him. It must have seemed very likely that he would soon press to the south. Pulakēśin, therefore, wisely decided to create a buffer state in Central Gujarat under Dadda II of the Gurjara race, who had probably acquired already some portion of it during the hostilities of the Kalachuris and the Chālukyas in the south. Dadda II on his part was only too glad to acknowledge the suzerainty and get the support of his powerful southern neighbour. The Aihōlē inscription⁴ tells us that the king of Lāṭa, who was none other than this Dadda, as well as the Mālava and the Gurjara, being impressed by Pulakēśin's valour, became, as it were, teachers of how feudatories subdued by force ought to behave. The grants of Dadda II are the earliest Gurjara records so far discovered in Gujarat. Kielhorn has shown that both in their eulogistic and formal parts they were drafted on the model of the earlier Kalachuri grants, and from this he rightly conjectured that 'the family of these chiefs (*i. e.*, the Gurjaras) rose to independence only after the time of the Kaṭachchuri Buddharāja.'⁵

The Kairā grants of Dadda II mention two earlier princes of the dynasty, *viz.*, his grandfather Dadda I and father Jayabhāṭa I *alias* Vitarāga. The former, who is styled *Sāmanta*, was only a feudal lord. As regards the suzerain to whom he owed allegiance, Fleet conjectured that he and also his son Jayabhāṭa I must have been vassals of the Kaṭachchuri king Buddharāja.⁶ As the known dates of Dadda II range from K. 380 to K. 392, he probably flourished from *circa* K. 370 to K. 395. His grandfather Dadda I must, therefore, be referred to the period from *circa* K. 320 to K. 345 or from 570 A. C. to 595 A. C. The contemporary Kalachuri emperors were Kṛishṇarāja and his son Saṅkaragaṇa,⁷ and not Buddharāja. It is again doubtful if Dadda I was at all ruling in Gujarat. From a copper-plate found at Saṅkhēḍā⁸ we learn that Nirihullaka was ruling over the lower Narmadā valley, later on the heart of the Gurjara kingdom, as a feudatory

¹ See above, p. xlv.

² Nos. 16-24.

³ No. 15, l. 22.

⁴ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VI, p. 6.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Vol. VI, p. 296.

⁶ *Bom. Gaz.*, Vol. I, part ii, p. 315.

⁷ See above, pp. xlvii ff.

⁸ No. 13.

of the Kalachuri Saṅkaragaṇa. Subsequently the country was under the direct rule of the Kalachuris as shown by Buddharāja's Sarsavṇī grant. The Gurjaras, therefore, came into possession of it after the Kalachuris. The sign-manuals of the Gurjara princes are in northern characters, though their grants are written in the southern script. This clearly indicates their northern origin. Dr. R. C. Majumdar has shown that Dadda I was probably identical with the homonymous son of the Brāhmaṇa Harichandra from his Kshatriya wife Bhadrā, who is mentioned in the Jodhpur inscription of the Pratihāra Bāuka¹ and who probably flourished about 575 A. C.² He was apparently ruling somewhere in the vicinity of Māṇḍavyapura (modern Māṇḍōr near Jodhpur), which he and his brothers are said to have conquered. The connection of the two families is also indicated by the similarities of some names noticed in them.³

No records of Dadda I have yet been discovered, but from the Kairā grants⁴ of his grandson we learn that he was a devotee of the Sun. We are again told that the lands at the foot of the Vindhya mountain delighted him, which seems to suggest that he raided the country up to the Vindhya mountain from his base in Rajputana. He may be referred to the period 570-595 A. C.

About his son and successor Jayabhāṭa I, we know very little. From the *biruda Vitarāga*, 'one whose passion has vanished', applied to him, he seems to have been a man of tranquil nature. He had two sons, Dadda II who succeeded him and Raṇagraha who was apparently placed by his brother in charge of the eastern part of his kingdom. Jayabhāṭa I may have flourished from *circa* 595 A. C. to 620 A. C.

Dadda II *alias* Praśāntarāga, 'one whose passion has subsided', is known from several inscriptions. He was the real founder of the Gurjara kingdom in the Lāṭa country. His Kairā plates (two sets) are dated in K. 380 (629-30 A. C.) and K. 385 (634-35 A. C.), and record the grant of Śirishapadraka (modern Sisōdrā, 11 miles from Aṅklēśvar in the Broach District) to certain Brāhmaṇas. Two other sets of plates,⁵ issued on the same day in K. 392 (641-2 A. C.), register the grant of two fields in the village Kshīrasara in the *vishaya* (district) of Saṅgamakhēṭaka (modern Saṅkhēḍā *prānt* of the Baroda District). He is also mentioned in a fragmentary Saṅkhēḍā grant⁶ of his brother Raṇagraha, dated K. 391. As stated above, he was obliged to acknowledge the suzerainty of Pulakēśin II soon after he carved out a kingdom for himself in the lower Narmadā valley. On the seals of his plates he is styled *Sāmanta* or a feudal lord, while in his grants he is said to have won the *pañchamahāśabda* (the right to use the five great sounds). Like his grandfather, he was a devotee of the Sun.

Dadda II heads the genealogy in all later records. His descendants took pride in describing him as one 'who had a canopy of glory, possessing the grace of a moving large and white cloud, which had sprung from his protection of the king of Valabhī when he was attacked by the Emperor, the illustrious Harshadēva.'⁷ It has been recognized that Dadda II, the ruler of a petty state, a mere *Sāmanta*, could not have, unaided, given protection

¹ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 91.

² Majumdar places his father Harichandra in about 550 A. C.

³ *Viṭ.*, two Nāgabhaṭas in the Māṇḍōr line and four Jayabhāṭas in the Gujarat line. It must, however, be noted that the Māṇḍōr line traces itself back to Lakshmaṇa, the brother of Rāma, while the Gujarat line claims to have descended from Karṇa, a hero of the Bhārata war. But both these Paurāṇic pedigrees were invented in later times—the former in the ninth and the latter in the seventh century A. C.

⁴ Nos. 16 and 17.

⁵ Nos. 19 and 20.

⁶ No. 18. Three other grants purporting to have been issued by Dadda II are dated in Ś. 400, Ś. 414 and Ś. 417, but they are spurious. See *Bom. Gaz.*, Vol. I, pt. i, pp. 117 ff.

⁷ Below, p. 85. The expression occurs in Nos. 21, 22, and 24.

to the ruler of Valabhī against the armies of the most powerful ruler of the time with the resources of a vast empire at his command. Besides, it is noteworthy that Dadda himself is silent about this glorious achievement ascribed to him;¹ for there is no mention of it even in his grants of K. 392 (641-42 A. C.), which were made towards the end of his reign and before which the event must certainly have happened. Scholars are, however, not agreed about the power that supported him. According to Dr. R. C. Majumdar, Dadda II was at the time a feudatory of the dynasty of Harichandra which bore hereditary enmity to the royal house of Thaneshvar.² It is, however, doubtful if the Pratihāras of Māṇḍavyapura were then so powerful as to resist the victorious march of the mighty Emperor of North India. From the Aihōlē inscription³ and the account of Yuan Chwang,⁴ on the other hand, we learn that gathering troops from the five Indias and the best generals from all countries, Harsha advanced in person relying on his formidable elephant force. He was opposed by Pulakēśin II, the great king of Maharashtra. The battle was probably fought on the bank of the Narmadā⁵ in the heart of the Gurjara kingdom. Harsha's huge elephants fell in the fight and turned the scales in favour of his enemy. In this war the Gurjara Dadda was probably fighting on behalf of his liege lord Pulakēśin II. Though he himself did not claim credit for the victory, his descendants who were less punctilious in this regard ascribed it solely to his arms.

One of the causes of this war may have been the protection that Dadda gave to the king of Valabhī when he was attacked by Harsha. Dr. Altekar⁶ points out that the war could not have been fought during the first two or three decades of the seventh century A.C. when Harsha and Pulakēśin, both of whom aspired for the most enviable position of *Chakravartin*, were increasing their power and consolidating their position by conquering small kingdoms in the north and the south respectively. Pulakēśin's victory is mentioned in the Aihōlē inscription of 634 A.C., while the earlier Lōhaṇēr plates⁷ issued by him in 630 A. C. are altogether silent about it. The war seems, therefore, to have been fought between 630 A. C. and 634 A. C. The Valabhī ruler who sought Dadda's protection was Dhruvabhata II *alias* Bālāditya, whose earliest grant is dated in G. 310 (629-30 A. C.). From Yuan Chwang's account we learn that Harsha later⁸ made peace with the Valabhī ruler and cemented the alliance by giving his daughter in marriage to him. As stated above, Dadda II probably flourished from 620 A. C. to 645 A. C.

Dadda II was succeeded by his son Jayabhata II, who is known only from the grants of his successors. He is praised therein in general terms, altogether devoid of historical information. Soon after his accession, his country seems to have been invaded by the Valabhī ruler Dharasēna IV, the son and successor of Dhruvasēna II, who from his grants is known to have assumed the imperial titles *Paramabhaṭṭāraka*, *Mahārājādhirāja*, *Paramēśvara*

¹ Pandit Bhagvanlal tentatively suggested that 'the protection given to the Valabhī king is perhaps referred to in the Khēḍā grants in the mention of 'strangers and suppliants and people in distress,' but further on he admitted that 'the phrase quoted is by no means decisive.' *Bom. Gaz.*, Vol. I, part i, p. 116.

² *J. D. L.*, Vol. X, p. 12.

³ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VI, p. 6.

⁴ *O. Y. C.*, Vol. II, p. 239.

⁵ In the Aihōlē inscription, after mentioning the defeat of Harsha, Ravikīrti describes the army of Pulakēśin II as encamped on the bank of the Rēvā (Narmadā) at the foot of the Vindhya mountain.

⁶ *A. B. O. R. I.*, Vol. XIII, pp. 302 ff.

⁷ *S. M. H. D.*, Vol. I, pp. 1-8.

⁸ I do not agree with Dr. Altekar's view that 'Harsha's conquest or winning over of the Valabhī ruler must have preceded his offensive against Pulakēśin'. There seems to have been only one war during which the ruler of Valabhī fled to the court of Dadda. He was pursued by Harsha, who was defeated by Pulakēśin and his feudatory Dadda II.

and *Chakravartin*, and appears to have been the most powerful ruler of the time. Dharasēna advanced to and occupied Broach, which was probably the Gurjara capital at the time.¹ From his victorious camp at Broach, Dharasēna issued two sets of plates² in the same year G. 330 (648 A. C.). The villages granted by him lay, however, in the Khēṭakāhāra *visaya* (modern Kairā District) which was outside the Gurjara kingdom. It has, therefore, been suggested that Dharasēna IV was enjoying the hospitality of the Gurjara king.³ The argument does not, however, appear convincing; for though in ancient times kings sometimes made grants of land situated in the territory which they had recently conquered; they did not do so invariably—especially when the country was only raided and not permanently occupied.⁴ Again, the adjective 'victorious' prefixed to Dharasēna's camp in these grants indicates that he had gone to Bharukachchha in the course of a military campaign. Dharasēna seems to have soon retired to his country, perhaps after exacting a heavy tribute from Jayabhāta II.

Like his father, Jayabhāta II was probably a devotee of the Sun, though there is no express mention of it in Gurjara records. A temple of the Sun called Jayāditya situated at Kōṭipura near Kāpikā (modern Kāvī in the Jambusar *tāluka* of the Broach District) was probably built by him.⁵ It is known from a grant made several years later (in 827 A. C.) for its repairs by Gōvinda of the Gujarat Rāshtrakūṭa branch.⁶ Jayabhāta II may be referred to the period 645–665 A. C.

Jayabhāta was followed by Dadda III, who was the first Gurjara prince to become a devotee of Śiva. Only one grant of his has been discovered so far, *viz.* that recorded on the Prince of Wales Museum plates, dated K. 427 (675 A. C.).⁷ He is also mentioned in the grants of his successors. He had the *biruda Bābusabhāya* (one whose sole helper is his arm) and attained the *pañchamahāśabda*. He seems to have pursued a more vigorous policy than his predecessor; for, he is said to have obtained victories over the kings of the east and the west. The king of the west was probably the Valabhī ruler Śilāditya III (*circa* 660–685 A. C.) who was his contemporary. It seems that soon after his accession Dadda made an incursion into the Valabhī kingdom in retaliation for the previous invasion by the Maitrakas. He seems to have attained some success as suggested by the aforementioned statement. This occurred some time before 675 A. C., the date of his Prince of Wales Museum plates.⁸

During the reign of Dadda III the Gurjara kingdom was invaded by a ruler named Vajraṭa or Vajjaḍa as stated in the Nasik plates of Dharāśraya-Jayasimha. Like the earlier invasion of Harsha, this attack also was repelled with the help of the Chālukya suzerain. The whole army of Vajjaḍa was annihilated in the country between the Mahī and the Narmadā by Jayasimha, a younger son of Pulakeśin II.⁹ This victory of the Chālukyas was regarded

¹ The Gurjara capital till the end of Dadda II's reign was Nāndīpura as all the four grants of his reign are issued from that city. The capital was shifted to Bharukachchha (Broach) sometime before K. 427 (675 A. C.), the date of the Prince of Wales Museum plates of Dadda III (No. 121).

² *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VII, pp. 73 ff and Vol. XV, pp. 339 ff.

³ *Bom. Gaz.*, Vol. I, part ii, p. 316; *J. D. L.*, Vol. X, p. 18.

⁴ As instances we may point out that the Vaḍnēr plates of Buddharāja, though issued from his victorious camp at Vidiśā in Eastern Malwa, record the grant of a village in the Nasik District, and the Karhad plates of Kṛishṇa III, though issued from his victorious camp at Mēlpāṭi in North Arcot, record the grant of a village near Karhad in the Satara District of the Bombay State.

⁵ As shown above, Jayabhāta I did not probably rule in Gujarat and Jayabhātas III and IV were devotees of Śiva.

⁶ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. V, pp. 144 ff.

⁷ No. 121.

⁸ See No. 28, ll. 9–10,

as memorable as it was decisive; for, like the earlier one over Harsha, it is mentioned in many records of the Rāshtrakūṭas as the most glorious achievement of their enemies, the Early Chālukyas.¹ The identification of Vajjaḍa and the approximate date of this victory will be discussed later on.² Dadda III flourished from *circa* 665 A. C. to 690 A. C.

Dadda III's son and successor Jayabhāṭa III is known from two records.³ His Navsāri plates were issued from his camp at Kāyāvātāra (the modern Kārwan, about 15 m. south of Baroda). They record the grant of the village Samīpadraka near Kārwan on the occasion of a lunar eclipse in K. 456 (706 A. C.). The second set of plates, though discovered at Anjaneri near Nasik, registers the grant of a village near Nāndipurī (Nāndōd in the former Rajpipla State) on the occasion of the sun's entering the sign of Libra in K. 460 (710 A. C.). The plates were issued from Bharukachchha.

In both the grants we find the old racial name Gurjara of the family discarded, and the claim made instead that the royal family was descended from Karna, evidently the hero of the Bhārata war.⁴ Like his father, Jayabhāṭa III was a Śaiva and won the *pañcamaśābda*. His descendants give him a higher title *Mahāsāmantādhipati* 'the lord of the great feudatories', but it is not noticed in his own records. Jayabhāṭa III probably flourished from *circa* 690 A. C. to 715 A. C.

The next prince Ahirōla, the son of Jayabhāṭa III, is known only from the grants of his son Jayabhāṭa IV. He had the same titles as his father, and was, like him, a devotee of Śiva. If the description given of him is not altogether conventional, he seems to have been a learned, pious and self-controlled prince. His reign was altogether uneventful and probably very short. He may be referred to the period 715-720 A. C.

Ahirōla's son and successor was Jayabhāṭa IV. He is known from two copper-plate records.⁵ The earlier one which is fragmentary was discovered at Kāvī. It registers the grant of some land in favour of the god Āśramadēva installed at Kēmajju, not far from Kāvī in the Broach District. The grant was made on the occasion of the sun's entering the sign of Cancer in K. 486 (736 A. C.). The second record, which was incised nearly three months and a half later in the same year, registers the grant of the village Mannātha in the same district to a Brāhmaṇa of the Hētāvuka sub-caste.

The description of Jayabhāṭa IV in both these records is given generally in conventional terms. Like his father, he was a Śaiva and *Mahāsāmantādhipati*. There is, however, one verse in a rather corrupt form which refers to an important historical event.⁶ We learn from it that Jayabhāṭa, by the edge of his sword, forcibly vanquished in the city of the lord of Valabhī the Tājikas who oppressed all people. This verse which occurs in the Kāvī plate also had been known for a long time; but several letters of it were lost by the breaking off of its right and left upper edges. Bühler, who edited the Kāvī plate, had, therefore, no complete text of the verse before him. One of his readings was also incorrect. His translation, 'who (*i.e.*, Jayabhāṭa) by the edge of his sword quieted in battle the impetuosity of the lord of Valabhī,'⁷ was responsible for the conclusion, drawn by him and others who followed him, that this Jayabhāṭa inflicted a defeat on the contemporary ruler of Valabhī.

¹ See e.g. the Anjanavati plates of Gōvinda III, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXIII, p. 14.

² See below, pp. lx ff.

³ The Kāvī plate dated K. 486 was for a long time ascribed to Jayabhāṭa III, whose reign was supposed to have begun shortly before K. 456. But the Prince of Wales Museum plates (No. 24), recently discovered, show that it belongs to his grandson Jayabhāṭa IV.

⁴ This is also noticed in the earlier Prince of Wales Museum plates of Dadda III (No. 121).

⁵ Nos. 23 and 24.

⁶ See below, pp. lxiv ff.

⁷ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. V, p. 115.

The correct reading of the verse which can now be restored with the help of the better preserved Prince of Wales Museum plates shows, on the other hand, that Jayabhāṭa went to the rescue of the king of Valabhī, when his capital was attacked by the Tājikas or Arabs, and inflicted a defeat on the enemy.

Jayabhāṭa IV may have come to the throne in *circa* 720 A. C. His Kāvī and Prince of Wales Museum grants are both dated in 736 A.C. The first encounter with the Arabs, in which Jayabhāṭa obtained a decisive victory, must, therefore, be placed between 720 A.C. and 735 A.C. The only period during this interval when the Arabs followed a vigorous policy was that of the governorship of Junaid. Al Bilāduri¹ tells us that after defeating Jaishūya and storming Kīraj, Junaid sent his officers against Marmad, Mandal, Dahanaj and Barūs. He also sent forces against Ujain, Māliba and Baharimad, and conquered Bailaimān and Jurz. During one of these raids, his forces must have attacked Valabhī.² Jayabhāṭa IV, realizing the common danger, seems to have gone to the help of the king of Valabhī and defeated the Arabs. Now, Junaid was appointed Governor of Sindh by Umar and confirmed by Khalif Hasham (724-743 A. C.). As he was succeeded about 726 A. C. by Tamīm,³ we may place the raid of Valabhī in *circa* 725 A. C. The contemporary king of Valabhī who was thus saved by Jayabhāṭa IV was probably Śilāditya V.⁴

But the Arabs were not completely vanquished. Before long they overran the kingdom of Jayabhāṭa himself, and pressed forward as far as Navasārikā. At this point their further advance was checked by Avanijanāśraya-Pulakēśin,⁵ who inflicted a crushing defeat on them some time before 740 A. C., the date of his Navsāri plates. The Gurjara kingdom was thereafter probably annexed by the Gujarat Chālukyas. After the overthrow of the latter by the Rāshtrakūṭa prince Dantidurga, the country to the north of the Kīm was occupied by a feudatory Chāhamāna family with its capital at Bharukachchha. The Hānsōṭ plates⁶ of Bhartṛivaḍḍha, a feudatory of the Gurjara-Pratihāra Nāgabhaṭa, were issued from Bharukachchha in V. 813 (756 A. C.).

The Gurjara kingdom seems to have been bounded by the Kīm in the south and the Arabian sea in the west. Northward it followed the course of the Mahī up to the former Rewakantha Agency, from where the boundary line ran along the eastern limit of the Panch-Mahals District to Chhota-Udaipur in the east. Over this country the Gurjaras ruled almost continuously for six generations comprising about a hundred and twenty years. Their capital was at first Nāndipurī (Nāndōd in the former Rajpipla State), as all the records of Dadda II are issued from it. After him it seems to have been shifted to the prosperous emporium Bharukachchha (Broach). Of the five later records—one of Dadda III, two of Jayabhāṭa III and two of Jayabhāṭa IV—one was issued from the royal camp at Kāyāvātāra (modern Kārwan) south of Baroda, and two from Bharukachchha (without the addition of a word like *vāsakāt*), while the place of issue in the case of the other two is not known. It is again noteworthy that the expeditions of Dharasēna IV, Śilāditya III and later on of the Arabs were directed against Broach itself. It was, therefore, probably the later capital of the Gurjaras.

¹ *E. D. H. I.*, Vol. I, p. 126.

² Prof. Hodivala has ingeniously suggested that Māliba against which Junaid sent an army may be Baliba (Valabhī).

³ *E. D. H. I.*, Vol. I, p. 442.

⁴ He was ruling in G. 403 (722-23 A. C.). See *I. N. I.* Nos. 1369-70.

⁵ See No. 30, ll. 23 ff.

⁶ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XII, pp. 197 ff.

The Gurjaras were staunch adherents of Hinduism. Nearly all their grants were made to Brāhmaṇas for the maintenance of the five great sacrifices. The earlier rulers down to Jayabhāṭa II were worshippers of the Sun, while the later ones were, without exception, devotees of Śiva.

THE SENDRAKAS OF GUJARAT

The Sēndrakas first appear on the political horizon of South India as feudatories of the Rāshtrakūṭas and the Kadambas. The Gokak plates,¹ dated in *circa* 532-33 A.C., mention the Sēndraka prince Indraṇanda as a feudatory of the Rāshtrakūṭa king Dējja-Mahārāja. He was ruling over the territory round Jamkhadi, about 80 miles south by east of Kolhapur. Some other records mention the Sēndrakas in connection with the Kadambas. A copper-plate inscription² of the Kadamba king Harivarman records the royal grant of the village Maradē at the request of Bhānuśakti who is described therein as 'the ornament of the family of the Sēndrakas.' Another Kadamba inscription³ mentions the *Sēndraka-vishaya* or the home province of the Sēndrakas. After the fall of the Kadambas, the Sēndrakas transferred their allegiance to the Chālukyas of Bādāmi, with whom some of them became matrimonially connected. From the Chiplun plates of Pulakēśin II⁴ we learn that his maternal uncle Śrīvallabha Sēnānanda was 'an ornament of the Sēndrakas.' He was probably ruling over South Konkan as a feudatory of Pulakēśin II as the latter sanctioned his grant of the village Āmravāṭaka and some allotment at another village Avañchapāli in the *Avarētika vishaya*.⁵ These villages were evidently situated in the vicinity of Chiplun, the former being probably identical with Āmbōli, 15 m. north of Chiplun. Another Sēndraka chief seems to have been appointed to govern some part of the Banavāsi kingdom which had been conquered from the Kadambas; for, a later inscription of the time of Pulakēśin II's grandson Vinayāditya⁶ mentions the *Mahārāja* Pōgilli of the Sēndraka family ruling over the Nagarkhaṇḍ District, which, as we know from other records, was comprised in the Banavāsi Twelve-thousand. Again, the Sēndraka feudatory Dēvaśakti is mentioned in a record of the tenth year of Vikramāditya I, found in Karnul District of the Madras State.⁷ The Sēndrakas claimed to be of the Bhujagēndra *anvaya*⁸ or Phaṇḍra *vaṃśa*.⁹ They, therefore, belonged to the Nāga race. Their modern representatives are the Sīndēs, whose crest contains the Nāga emblem.

After the overthrow of the Kalachuris, Pulakēśin II divided their extensive kingdom among his relatives and trusted chiefs. Southern Gujarat extending from the Kīm in the north to the Damangaṅgā in the south was placed in charge of a Sēndraka chief. The

¹ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXI, pp. 289 ff.

² *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VI, p. 31; *J. B. B. R. A. S.*, Vol. IX, p. 239.

³ *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. V, p. 594.

⁴ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. III p. 50. For three other Sēndraka inscriptions of the same period, see *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXI, pp. 289 ff.

⁵ Mr. Jackson suggested that Avarētikā was identical with Aparānta. *J. B. B. R. A. S.*, Vol. XX, p. 41.

⁶ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIX, p. 142.

⁷ *J. B. B. R. A. S.*, Vol. XVI, p. 239. A stone inscription at Lakshmeshvar (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VII, pp. 101 ff.) near the south-east corner of the Dharwar District mentions king Durgasakti, son of Kundaśakti who was son of Vijayaśakti of the Sēndraka family, as a contemporary of Satyāśraya, son of Raṇaparākrama (who is obviously intended to be Pulakēśin II, son of Kīrtivarman I), but the inscription is spurious. See *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXX, p. 218.

⁸ *Ibid.*, Vol. VII, p. 106.

⁹ *S. M. H. D.*, Vol. I, pp. 21 and 82-83.

Sēndrakas ruled over this territory for three generations. They seem to have made numerous grants; for, Pandit Bhagvanlal once informed Dr. Bühler that he had in his possession several sets of Sēndraka plates from Southern Gujarat.¹ It is very unfortunate that they are not forthcoming now.

Only four grants² of the family have been published so far. Of these, three were made by Allaśakti. The earliest of them was discovered at Kāsārē in West Khandesh. Before its publication it was thought that the rule of the Sēndrakas was confined to Southern Gujarāt. The Kāsārē plates of Allaśakti³ which register his donation of some land in the village Pippalikhēṭa, modern Pimpalner,⁴ about 45 miles west of Dhulia, clearly show that the Sēndrakas held Khandesh also. The plates are dated in the year 404 of the Kalachuri era (653 A. C.). Another inscription of Allaśakti was found at Bagumrā⁵ in the Surat District. It is dated in the Kalachuri year 406 (656 A. C.), and registers the grant of the village Balisa, the modern Wanesa in the Bārḍoli *tāluka* of the Surat District.

From these grants we learn that Bhānuśakti, who is called Nikumbha in the Kāsārē plates, was the founder of the family. As his grandson Allaśakti was ruling in 653 and 656 A. C., Bhānuśakti has to be referred to the first quarter of the seventh century A. C. He seems, therefore, to have been invested by Pulakēśin II with the government of Southern Gujarat and Khandesh after the defeat of the Kalachuri Buddharāja. In his grants he is said to have attained victory in the clash of many battles with the onslaught of four-tusked elephants. His son was Ādityaśakti, and the latter's son, Allaśakti.⁶ In his grants Allaśakti claims to have won the *pañcamabāśabda* and assumes the *birudas* *Prithivīvallabha* and *Nikumbha*.

The Sēndrakas, though they were raised to power by the Western Chālukyas of Bādāmi, make no mention of their liege lords in their grants. From this Dr. Fleet inferred that the Bagumrā grant 'belongs to the period when the Western Chālukya sovereignty was in abeyance'.⁷ When Fleet wrote, this inference appeared quite justified; because in other inscriptions of that period such as the Navsāri and Surat plates of Śrīyāśraya Śilāditya, the reigning sovereign was invariably mentioned.⁸ Since then several other grants of the period have come to light, e.g., the Nasik plates of Dharāśraya-Jayasimha, the Anjaneri plates of Bhōgaśakti and the Mundakhēḍē plates of Allaśakti's son Jayaśakti, in which the reigning suzerain is not specifically mentioned, but which were made after the

¹ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 267. Pandit Bhagvanlal is known to have bequeathed by his will all his coins and copper-plates to the British Museum (*ibid.*, Vol. XVII, p. 297), but no Sēndraka grant can now be traced there.

² Two of these, viz., the Nāgad plates of Allaśakti and the Mundakhēḍē plates of Allaśakti's son Jayaśakti bear dates of the Śaka era, and are, therefore, not included in this Volume. The Nāgad plates dated in Śaka 577 (656 A.C.) were issued from Allaśakti's camp near Kāyāvatāra (modern Kārwan in Gujarat) and record his grant of a village near Nāndipuradvāri (modern Nandurbar in West Khandesh). (*N. I. A.*, Vol. I, pp. 747-48). For an account of the Mundakhēḍē plates, dated Śaka 602 (681 A.C.), see below, p. lix, n. 2.

³ No. 25.

⁴ Some lines originally engraved on the second plate were cancelled and others incised over them. The statement refers to the later record.

⁵ No. 26.

⁶ His name is given as Nikumbhallaśakti by Bühler, but that *Nikumbha* was only a *biruda* is evident from the seal of the Kāsārē plates which has the legend *Allaśakti*. The same name occurs in l. 17 of the Kāsārē plates. *Nikumbha* is prefixed as a *biruda* to the name of Allaśakti's son Jayaśakti also. See his Mundakhēḍē plates, *A. R. B. I. S. M. for Śaka* 1834, pp. 169 ff.

⁷ *Bom. Gaz.*, Vol. I, part ii, p. 361.

⁸ Fleet pointed out that no paramount sovereign is mentioned in the Kairā plates of Vijayarāja (No. 34) which he referred to the same period. But the record is spurious.

re-establishment of Chālukya suzerainty even according to Fleet's view. There is, therefore, no reason to doubt the loyalty of the Sēndrakas, though there was undoubtedly much disturbance and disorder in the Chālukya dominion owing to Pallava invasions in the beginning of Vikramāditya I's reign.

After the issue of the Bagumrā plates, however, the Sēndrakas seem to have been ousted from Southern Gujarat; for within fifteen years from the date of that grant we find a subordinate branch of the Western Chālukyas established in the lower Tāpī valley. The next date of the Kalachuri era that comes from Gujarat, *viz.*, K. 421, is furnished by the grant¹ which the prince-regent Śryāśraya-Śilāditya made on behalf of his father Dharāśraya-Jayasimha. As we shall see later, it records the gift of a village situated within twenty miles of Balisa or Wanesa which was granted by the Bagumrā plates of the Sēndraka Allaśakti. It is plain, therefore, that Śryāśraya-Śilāditya was ruling over the same territory which was previously held by the Sēndrakas. The Sēndrakas then removed their seat of government to Khandesh, where we find Allaśakti's son Jayaśakti granting the village Sēṇāṇā by his Mundakhēḍē plates² dated Śaka 602 (680 A. C.). The donated village is now represented by Saundaṇē near the western border of the Khandesh District. The use of the Śaka era in dating the record also shows that the grant was made outside Gujarat where the Kalachuri era remained current for more than half a century afterwards.³

THE EARLY CHALUKYAS OF GUJARAT

After the overthrow of the Kalachuris, Pulakēśin II seems to have annexed Maharashtra to the country under his direct rule.⁴ In the Aihōlē inscription⁵ he is called the lord of the three Mahārāshṭras comprising ninety-nine thousand villages. Yuan Chwang, who travelled in South India during his reign, also mentions him as the king of Mo-ha-la-ch'a (Maharashtra).⁶ Pulakēśin seems to have placed the southern districts, *viz.*, Satara, Panadharpur and perhaps also Sholapur under his younger brother Viṣṇuvardhana; for, the Satara plates⁷ of the latter prince record the grant of a village on the southern

¹ No. 27. The Manor plates of Jayāśraya Maṅgalarasa, which have been published recently, mention Śaka 613 (691-92 A.C.) as the twenty-first year, evidently, of the reign of Dharāśraya-Jayasimha. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXVIII, p. 21. The dynastic change seems, therefore, to have occurred in 671 A.C. The Surat plates of Yumarāja Śryāśraya-Śilāditya, dated K. 421 (670-71), seem to have been issued soon after Gujarat came into the possession of Jayasimha.

² These plates have been edited twice in Marāṭhī, first in the Marāṭhī journal *Prabhāta* (Vol. I) of Dhulia and then in *A. R. B. I. S. M.* (Śaka 1834), but unfortunately they are not forthcoming now. The plates were found in the possession of the Patel of Mundakhēḍē, not far from Dhulia. They were issued by Jayaśakti, son of Allaśakti, of the Sēndraka family from Jayapuradvārī and record the grant of the village Sēṇāṇā in the *viśaya* of Kundalikāmala to a Brāhmaṇa residing at Kallivana. I have elsewhere identified these places. Thus, Jayapuradvārī, which was so called probably because it was situated at the entrance to a defile, is modern Jēur, 6 m. north of Nāndgaon, which lies at the entrance to the valley between the Sātmālā and Ajaṇṭā ranges. Kundalikāmala is Kundalgaon, 11 m. south-west of Jeur. Sēṇāṇā, the donated village, is the modern Saundaṇē near Kundalgaon. The grant, therefore, undoubtedly belongs to Khandesh. The Nasik District was then under Dharāśraya-Jayasimha. See No. 28.

³ The Navsāri plates, the last record of Gujarat dated in the Kalachuri era, were granted in K. 490 (740 A.C.).

⁴ The Nirpaṇ grant of Nāgavardhana mentions Dharāśraya-Jayasimha as a younger brother of Pulakēśin apparently as the ruler of the Nasik District, but the grant is probably spurious; for, Dharāśraya-Jayasimha was Pulakēśin's son, not brother. See also *Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. I, part ii, p. 358, n. 1.

⁵ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VI, pp. 1 ff.

⁶ *O. Y. C.*, Vol. II, p. 239.

⁷ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIX, p. 303.

bank of the Bhīmā. The districts in Northern Maharashtra together with the country near the western coast seem to have been under Pulakēśin's direct rule.¹ His second capital was probably Nasik. This city, as Fleet has shown,² answers to the description of Pulakēśin's capital given by the Chinese traveller.

Vikramāditya I, who succeeded Pulakēśin II, appointed his younger brother Dharāśraya-Jayasimha to govern South Gujarat, parts of North Konkan and the Nasik District. The Navasāri plates of Jayasimha's son Śryāśraya-Śilāditya, which were evidently issued soon after this appointment, state explicitly that the prosperity of Jayasimha was augmented by his elder brother Vikramāditya I.³ The Sēndrakas who were previously ruling over South Gujarat moved to Khandesh. This change seems to have occurred in 671 A. C.; for, the recently discovered Manor plates state that Śaka 613 (691-92) was the twenty-first regnal year of Jayasimha.⁴

Jayasimha seems to have himself ruled over only the Nasik District. The Nasik plates dated in K. 436 (685 A. C.) record his grant of a village in that district. He placed his two sons in charge of the other parts of his kingdom, investing them with power to make grants of land in their own name. His elder son *Yuvarāja* Śryāśraya-Śilāditya, who ruled over South Gujarat, is known to have made two grants of land recorded in the Navsāri and Surat plates.⁵ These are dated in the Kalachuri era which was then current in Gujarat. His second son Jayāśraya-Maṅgalarasa also made two land-grants recorded in the Manor and Balsar plates.⁶ These are dated in the Śaka era which was apparently current in parts of North Konkan where Jayāśraya-Maṅgalarasa was ruling. The Nasik plates state that with his bright-tipped arrows Jayasimha defeated and exterminated the whole army of Vajjaḍa in the country between the Mahī and the Narmadā.⁷ As we have already seen, this country was under the rule of the Gurjara princes who called themselves *Sāmantas* and evidently owed allegiance to the Western Chālukyas of Bādāmi. It seems that some king named Vajjaḍa invaded the country of the Gurjaras, evidently from the North. The Gurjara ruler sought the help of his suzerain, the Chālukya Emperor Vikramāditya I, who ordered Jayasimha to proceed to the north to the rescue of the Gurjara feudatory. He won a decisive victory which is placed on a par with Pulakēśin II's brilliant victory over Harsha and mentioned as one of the most glorious achievements of the Western Chālukyas in many records of their political successors, the Rāshtrakūṭas.⁸

Before the discovery of Jayasimha's Nasik plates, no reference to this victory over Vajjaḍa was known to occur in any record of the Western Chālukyas. Fleet, however, conjectured⁹ that this victory was identical with the one obtained by Vinayāditya over some paramount king of North India, which is mentioned in the records of his son and successor Vijayāditya.¹⁰ Thus from the Nerur plates of the latter, dated Śaka 622 and 627, we

¹ The Lōhaṇēr plates, dated Śaka 352 (630-31 A.C.) record Pulakēśin II's grant of a village in the Baglan *tāluka* of the Nasik District. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXVII, pp. 37 ff.

² *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXII, p. 113.

³ No. 27, 19.

⁴ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 17 ff.

⁵ Nos. 27 and 29.

⁶ *Ep. Ind.* Vol. XXVIII pp. 17 ff. and *J. B. B. R. A. S.*, Vol. XVI, p. 5.

⁷ See No. 28, lines 9-13.

⁸ Dantivarman, the founder of the Rāshtrakūṭa power, is thus described—काञ्चीसकेरलनराधिपबोल-पाण्ड्यव्रीहर्षवज्रविभेदविघ्नानदक्षम् । कार्णाटकं बलमनन्तमजेयमन्वैर्भूतैः कियद्भूरपि यः सहसा जिगाय ॥ See, e.g., *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXIII, p. 14. Vajraṭa, mentioned here, is plainly identical with the Vajjaḍa of the Nāsik plates.

⁹ *Bom. Gaz.*, Vol. I, part ii, p. 368.

¹⁰ The same view has been stated recently by Venkataramanayya, who identifies this paramount king with Vajrāyudha of Kanauj. *Ind. Hist. Quart.*, Vol. XX, pp. 181 ff. I have examined it in detail in the same journal, Vol. XX, pp. 353 ff.

learn that Vinayāditya acquired the *pālidhvaja* banner and all other insignia of sovereignty by vanquishing the lord of the whole Uttarāpatha (North India).¹ The Nasik plates, however, clearly show that the two victories were not identical. For, Jayasimha's victory was decisive; he is said to have completely exterminated the whole army of Vajjaḍa in the territory between the Mahī and the Narmadā. On the other hand, Vinayāditya did not emerge completely triumphant in his encounter with the lord paramount of North India; for, though with the help of his valiant son Vijayāditya, he won the *pālidhvaja* banner, the signs of the rivers Gaṅgā and Yamunā, the insignia of *dhakka*, elephants, etc., he was not altogether happy, as his son Vijayāditya was taken captive by the retreating hostile forces. Secondly, Jayasimha's success was attained sometime before K. 436 (685 A. C.), the date of the Nāsik plates, while Vinayāditya's battle with the emperor of the North was not fought till Śaka 616 (694 A.C.) at least, since it is not referred to in his Harihar plates² issued in that year. It is mentioned for the first time in the Nerur plates of his son Vijayāditya, dated Śaka 622. The war seems to have been fought towards the end of Vinayāditya's reign; for, he died soon thereafter while his son was in captivity. There was anarchy in the kingdom, which Vijayāditya suppressed when he effected his escape.³ We may, therefore, date it in *circa* 695 A. C. Jayasimha was probably living at the time; for, only two years before this date his son *Yuvarāja Śryāśraya-Śilāditya* made a grant in his name;⁴ but he was then probably too old to take the field. Vajjaḍa is, therefore, not identical with the lord paramount of North India defeated by Vinayāditya.

Who was then this king Vajjaḍa? The name is clearly a corrupt form of some Sanskrit name like Vajraṭa or Vajrabhaṭa. As stated above, the Rāshtrakūṭa records name the king as Vajraṭa, but they belong to a much later age. Besides, no name like Vajraṭa occurs in any genealogical list of the period.⁵ Even if we take the name to be Vajrabhaṭa, we get no better result. Similar names ending in *bhaṭa* no doubt occur in the dynastic lists of the Gurjara-Pratihāras⁶ and the Maitrakas of Valabhī,⁷ but there is no name in them corresponding to Vajjaḍa. The Vasantagadh inscription⁸ dated V. 682 indeed mentions one Vajrabhaṭa as a feudatory of Varmalāta; but he flourished too early for this invasion which, as we have seen, took place between K. 406 and K. 436 (656 A.C. and 685 A. C.); for his son Rajjila was on the throne in V. 682 (625 A. C.). The history of North India between the death of Harsha and the rise of Yaśovarman is shrouded in obscurity. So the problem of the identity of Vajraṭa is likely to remain unsolved until more records bearing upon it come to light. But the conjecture may be hazarded that he was Śilāditya III, the king of Valabhī (*circa* 660-685 A. C.).⁹ He was a very powerful ruler; for he assumed the imperial titles *Paramabhaṭṭāraka*, *Mahārājādhirāja* and *Paramē-*

¹ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. IX, pp. 125 and 130.

² *Ibid.*, Vol. VII, pp. 300 ff.

³ *Ibid.*, Vol. IX, p. 125. See the description of Vijayāditya in the Nerur plates.

⁴ That Jayasimha lived for some years after 695 A.C. is rendered probable by the fact that the name of his son Śryāśraya-Śilāditya is omitted in the grants of Maṅgalarāja and Pulakēśin. This is generally taken to indicate that he predeceased his father.

⁵ Two princes of this name are mentioned in *I. N. I.*, Nos. 1657 and 1664, but they belong to much later periods.

⁶ For instance, Nāgabhaṭas I and II in the Imperial Pratihāra Dynasty.

⁷ For instance, Dhruvabhaṭa, the son-in-law of Harsha, mentioned by Yuan Chwang, and Dērabhaṭa mentioned in *I. N. I.*, Nos. 1352 and 1353.

⁸ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IX, p. 191.

⁹ Śilāditya III may have been provoked into launching this attack on the Gurjara kingdom by Dadda III's incursion into the Valabhī territory. See above, p. liv.

Jvara. From a copper-plate inscription¹ recently published by Mr. A. S. Gadre, it seems that Śilāditya III occupied the Gurjara country for some time during this very period; for the inscription records his grant of a field in the village Antikā situated in the *vishaya* of Bharukachchha (modern Broach) to a Brāhmaṇa who had emigrated from Girinagara and was then residing at Śraddhikā, modern Sādhi, about 5 miles south by west of Padra in the Baroda District. The grant is dated in G. 357 (676-77 A. C.), *i. e.*, only about 9 years before Jayasimha's Nasik grant which records his victory over Vajraḍa. Now, Bharukachchha was not only included in the country of the Gurjaras, but was their capital in this period. When a foreign ruler makes a grant in this district, it clearly indicates that the Gurjaras had lost their hold over that territory. The dates of the Gurjara kings also suggest that they had suffered reverses in this period. Between K. 392 (642 A. C.), the last known date of Dadda II-Prasāntarāga and K. 456 (706 A. C.), the next known date of his great-grandson Jayabhata III, there is a gap of 64 years. Two Gurjara princes Jayabhata II and Dadda III ruled in this period, but only one record of this period has been discovered.² These were troublous times for the Gurjaras; for, their country was invaded twice by the Maitrakas of Valabhī, their powerful neighbours on the west. The first invader was Dharasēna IV. This king, who assumed the imperial titles *Paramabhaṭṭāraka*, *Mahārājādhirāja*, *Paramēśvara* and *Chakravartin*, issued two grants from his victorious camp at Bharukachchha in G. 330 (649-50 A. C.).³ The villages granted lay, however, in the Khetaka *vishaya* outside the Gurjara kingdom. Dharasēna IV seems, therefore, to have only raided the Gurjara territory. He did not annex it to his kingdom. This invasion took place during the reign of Jayabhata II (*circa* 645-665 A. C.). Twenty-seven years later Śilāditya III tried to emulate the achievement of his ancestor. He invaded the Gurjara kingdom and occupied the territory round Broach for some time as is indicated by his aforementioned grant of G. 357 (676-77 A. C.).⁴ Dadda III-Bāhusahāya then sought the aid of the Chālukya Emperor, by whose command Dharāśraya-Jayasimha, who was ruling over the adjoining territory, proceeded to the north and drove the enemy out of the Gurjara kingdom. It is noteworthy that the Navsāri plates of Jayabhata III, son and successor of Dadda III, record his grant of land to a Brāhmaṇa who also, like the donee of Śilāditya III's grant, had emigrated from Girinagara and was then residing at the same village Śraddhikā. This clearly shows that the Gurjaras had recovered possession of the Bharukachchha *vishaya* before K. 456.

It may, however, be objected that Śilāditya III is not known by the name Vajraḍa. This objection has not much force; for from the middle of the seventh century A. C. *Śilāditya* became the conventional name of all kings of Valabhī. Śilāditya III was followed by four other kings, all of whom were known by the same name *Śilāditya*. As in the case of the Daddas and the Jayabhata of the Gurjara dynasty, they must have had other personal names by which they were distinguished from one another. Some of the predecessors of Śilāditya III had personal names in addition to those ending in *āditya*. See, *e. g.*, the names of Dhruvasēna II-Bālāditya and Kharagraha II-Dharmāditya. Some of these names again ended in *ṭa*. The inference seems, therefore, justifiable that Vajraḍa was another name of Śilāditya III. His defeat by Dharāśraya-Jayasimha may have occurred some time between 677 A. C. and 685 A. C.

¹ *Important Inscriptions from the Baroda State*, Vol. I, pp. 18 ff.

² See No. 121, pp. 617 ff., below.

³ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VII, pp. 73 ff.; and XV, pp. 329 ff.

⁴ This is the only grant of land in the Broach District made by Śilāditya III. He did not make four such grants as incorrectly stated by Gadre. *Important Inscriptions etc.*, p. 18.

Two inscriptions of the time of Dharāśraya-Jayasimha have been found in Southern Gujarat. The earlier one, dated K. 421 (671 A. C.), records the grant of the village Āsatti-grāma, which Bühler has identified with Astgaon, 7 miles south-east of Navasāri.¹ The second inscription,² dated K. 443 (693 A. C.), which was found at Surat, registers the grant of a field in the village of Ōsumbhalā, modern Umbhēl, 7 miles south of Kamrej. Both these grants were made by the prince-regent Śryāśraya-Śilāditya—the former from Navasārikā and the latter from his victorious camp at Kusumēśvara (modern Kōsmārā, 3 m. north-west of Umbhēl). That he was ruling on behalf of his father Dharāśraya-Jayasimha is indicated not only by his title *Yuvarāja*, but also by the seal of the latter grant which bears the legend *Śrī-Dharāśraya*. Jayasimha seems to have lived for a few years after K. 443; for, his son Śryāśraya-Śilāditya apparently predeceased him, since his name is omitted in the later records of the dynasty.

Jayasimha's younger son Maṅgalarasa who succeeded him³ was ruling in North Konkan. He is known to have made two land grants. The Manor plates recently discovered in the Thana District, Bombay State, are dated in the Śaka year 613 (691 A. C.). They mention the prince's name with the *birudas*, *Vinayāditya*, *Prithvivīvallabha*, *Yuddhamalla* and *Jayāśraya*, and record his grant of some villages and hamlets for the worship of the Sun-god and the repairs of his temple at Mānapura, modern Manor in the Palghar *tāluka* of the Thana District. Another copper-plate grant of this prince was found at Balsar in the Surat District.⁴ It was made at Maṅgalapurī which was probably founded by Maṅgalarasa himself and was evidently his capital. This grant mentions the same *birudas* of Maṅgalarasa. It is dated in the Śaka year 653 (731-32 A. C.). Maṅgalapurī has not been identified, but the dating of the record in the Śaka era suggests that the grant must have been made outside Gujarat,⁵ probably in North Konkan where the Śaka era was then current. The plates, though granted in Konkan, seem to have been taken over to Gujarat just as the Anjaneri plates of Jayabhata, issued in Central Gujarat, were found in the Nasik District and the Kāsāre plates of Allaśakti, also issued in Gujarat, were discovered in West Khandesh. Besides, if the grant had been made in Gujarat, Navasārikā, which was the Chālukya capital in South Gujarat, would in all probability have been mentioned as the place of issue. Maṅgalarasa is also mentioned with only one *biruda* *Jayāśraya* in the Navsāri plates⁶ of his younger brother Avanijanāśraya-Pulakēśin. From the description given therein it appears that Maṅgalarasa regained by the might of his arm the territory which had previously been lost. The name of the enemy from whom he wrested it has, however, not been specified.

It has been generally held that Avanijanāśraya-Pulakēśin succeeded Maṅgalarasa in Southern Gujarat; for, in his Navsāri plates dated K. 490, he mentions himself as medi-

¹ No. 27.

² No. 28.

³ If the date of the Kairā plates of the Chālukya Vijayarāja is referred to the Gupta era, Vijayarāja will have to be placed between Śryāśraya-Śilāditya and Maṅgalarasa, but the plates are probably spurious. See below, pp. 168-69.

⁴ This record is known only from the account given by Pandit Bhagvanlal in *J. B. B. R. A. S.*, Vol. XVI, p. 5. The original plates have not been published. From Bhagvanlal's account it appears that the name of the donor is given therein as *Maṅgalurāja*.

⁵ It must, however, be admitted that the Nāgad plates of Allaśakti, though issued from his camp at Kāyāvatāra (modern Kārwan) in Gujarat, are dated in the Śaka era. This was probably because the grant was of a village in Khandesh where the Śaka era was current. The Mundakhēḍe plates of Allaśakti's son Jayaśakti are likewise dated in the Śaka era.

⁶ No. 30.

tating on his feet. But a careful study of the record shows that while the expression denoting succession which occurs as many as three times in that record is *tat-pād-ānudhyāta* (meditating on his feet), that used to express Pulakēśin's relation to his brother is *tat-pāda-pankaj-ārādhan-ānudhyāta*¹ (meditating on the propitiation of his lotus-like feet). The difference in the two expressions is certainly striking and seems to suggest that Pulakēśin was ruling in Gujarat contemporaneously with his brother who was governing parts of North Konkan.

The Navsāri plates of Avanijanāśraya-Pulakēśin record his grant of a village in the *ābhāra* and *vishaya* of Kārmaṇēya (modern Kamrej, 10 m. north-east of Surat). They are dated in K. 490 (740 A. C.). Their historical importance lies in the graphic account they furnish of Pulakēśin's victory over the Tājikas or Arabs. The Arabs, we are told, had already conquered the Saindhava, Kachchhēlla, Saurāshtra, Chāvōṭaka, Maurya, Gurjara and other kings before they invaded the district of Navasārikā in the course of their campaign to conquer all the kings of the Dakṣiṇāpatha. We find this description fully corroborated by the account of Muhammadan chroniclers. Of the princes named above, Saindhava is generally identified with the king of Sindh. From Futu-hu-l Buldān² of Al Bilāduri also we know that during the Khalifat of Walid I, Muhammad, son of Kāsim, crossed the Sindhu and defeated and killed Dāhir, the king of Sindh. Sulaimān, the successor of Walid I, called back Muhammad. Jaisingh, son of Dāhir, took advantage of this opportunity to regain his territory; but when Junaid was appointed Governor of Sindh during the Khalifat of Hashām (724-743 A. C.), he again pursued a vigorous policy and defeated and killed Jaisingh.³ It appears, however, from the Ghumli plates recently discovered, that the Saindhava king defeated by the Arab army was probably Pushyadēva (circa 734-754 A. C.), the founder of the Saindhava feudatory family which ruled in North Saurāshtra.⁴ Kachchhēlla is the king of Cutch. One of the Arab raids during the governorship of Junaid was directed against Kīraj which Elliot identified with Cutch.⁵ Saurāshtra was under the Maitrakas of Valabhī. Though their territory was invaded by the Arabs, they repelled the attack with the help of the Gurjara prince Jayabhata IV.⁶ Perhaps in a later raid the Arabs were more successful. The Chāvōṭaka king was plainly of the Chāpa dynasty which was ruling at Bhilmal. This can be inferred from the statement in the *Brahmagupta-siddhānta* that the astronomer Brahmagupta, the Bhillamalākāchārya or the teacher residing at Bhilmal, wrote the *Siddhānta* in the Śaka year 550 (628 A. C.) under Vyāghramukha of the Chāpa dynasty.⁷ From Al Bilāduri's work also we learn that Junaid raided Bailamān which is probably identical with Bhilmāl. The Maurya king was probably Dhavala who is known from the Kaṇaswa inscription of his friend Śivagaṇa,⁸ dated V. 795 (738-39 A. C.). He was probably ruling over the country corresponding to modern Mewad.⁹ Finally, the Gurjara king was probably

¹ This expression clearly shows that *pād-ānudhyāta* which occurs frequently in Sanskrit inscriptions means 'meditating on the feet of' and not 'blessed or favoured by the feet of' as suggested by some scholars. See my note on the expression in *Ind. Hist. Quart.*, Vol. XX, pp. 288 ff.

² *E. D. H. I.*, Vol. I, pp. 121-22.

³ *Loc. cit.*, p. 125.

⁴ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXVI, p. 189.

⁵ *E. D. H. I.*, p. 391.

⁶ See above, p. lv.

⁷ *J. B. B. R. A. S.*, Vol. XXI.

⁸ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIX, pp. 55 ff.

⁹ Dhavala is probably identical with Dhavalappadēva whose inscription dated G. 407 was found at Dabok in Mewad (*A. B. O. R. I.*, Vol. X, p. 31, n. 1).

Jayabhata IV whose kingdom the Arabs must have overrun before they advanced as far as Navsari.

The Navsari plates record that Avanijanāśraya-Pulakēśin inflicted a defeat on the invading Arab army. This raid is evidently later than that which was directed against Broach during the governorship of Junaid; for, as we have seen, the latter must have taken place in *circa* 725 A. C., as Junaid was succeeded by Tamīm about 726 A. C. The raid against Navsari is not recorded by Muslim chroniclers probably because the Arabs this time sustained a crushing defeat.¹ The graphic and detailed description of the fight, which for its vigour is unsurpassed in inscriptional literature, suggests that it must have been composed soon after the fight. Again, the wording of the eulogistic part of the grant shows that it must have been drafted after the annexation of the Gurjara principality.² We may, therefore, date the Arab raid about 739 A. C.

The Chālukya suzerain of Bādāmi, whose name has not been specifically mentioned, but who must have been Vikramāditya II (733-747 A. C.), was so much pleased with Pulakēśin's heroism that he conferred on him the four titles *Dakṣiṇāpathasādhāra* (the Pillar of Dakṣiṇāpatha), *Chalukkekulanāṅkāra* (the Ornament of the Chālukya family) *Prithivīvallabha* (the dear Lord of the Earth) and *Anivartakānivartayitṛi* (the Repeller of the unrepellable). Pulakēśin seems to have annexed the territory to the north of the Kīm after this Arab raid.

Avanijanāśraya-Pulakēśin is the last known ruler of the Gujarat branch of the Chālukyas. Within eighteen years after the date of the Navsari plates we find a Rāshtrakūṭa family established in the Surat District. The Antroli-Chharoli plates³ of the Rāshtrakūṭa prince Karka II, dated Śaka 679 (757 A. C.), record the grant of the village Sthāvarapallikā (the modern Chharoli in the Surat District). The country to the north of the Kīm was occupied by a feudatory Chāhamāna family⁴ which owed allegiance to the Imperial Pratihāra dynasty of Jābālipura (modern Jālōr).⁵

The country under the rule of the Gujarat Chālukyas originally extended along the western coast from the Kīm in the north to the Thana District in the South. Eastward it stretched up to the Ghāṭs. This kingdom was extended by Pulakēśin who annexed the Gurjara territory to it.⁶ Maṅgalapurī, not yet identified, was the capital of Maṅgalarasa,

¹ Al Bilāduri, however, has recorded that in the days of Tamīm, the successor of Junaid, the Muslims retired from several parts of India and left some of their positions. *E. D. H. I.*, Vol. I, p. 126.

² The eulogistic portion of the record on the Navsari plates contains some expressions which are known to occur only in Gurjara grants; see below, p. 280.

³ *J. B. B. R. A. S.*, Vol. XVI, p. 106.

⁴ See the Hānsot plates of the Chāhamāna Bhartṛivādḍha, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XII, p. 197.

⁵ *A. B. O. R. I.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 398.

⁶ Some scholars suppose that the Chālukya rule extended to Kairā in North Gujarat; for, it was from a marriage pandal at Khetaka (modern Kairā) that a Chālukya princess was abducted by the Rāshtrakūṭa prince Indrarāja, father of Dantidurga. See *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 243. The princess is supposed to be the daughter of either Maṅgalarasa or Pulakēśin. This view is open to several objections. If the Ellora plates of Dantidurga are dated in Śaka 663, they would show that the marriage must have taken place in any case not later than 720 A. C. Kairā was not then included in the dominion of the Gujarat Chālukyas. Besides, it is doubtful if *khetaka-maṇḍapa* in that passage refers to any place-name at all. It appears there as an adjective of *raṇī* and means '(in the battle) in which there was a pandal made by the shields (of the fighting men)'. Even if *Khetaka* is taken as a place-name, it cannot refer to Kairā: for (i) it was not included in the kingdom of the Gujarat Chālukyas; and (ii) it was far away from the principality of Indra II. It is doubtful if he was then powerful enough to penetrate so far to the north. Besides, there were other places of that name in the dominion of the Chālukya Emperor where the incident could have happened. See my article on Dantidurga in *J. M. S. G. U.*, Vol. I, p. 36, n. 22.

while Navasārikā, modern Navsāri in the Surat District, was the capital of Śrīyāśraya-Śilāditya and Avanijanāśraya-Pulakēśin. The grant of K. 421 was made by Śrīyāśraya Śilāditya while residing at Navasāri. This was also probably the place of issue in the case of Pulakēśirāja's Navsāri plates, though there is no specific mention to that effect.

The Gujarat Chālukyas were patrons of Hinduism. They were devout worshippers of Mahēśvara. All their known grants were made to Brāhmaṇas for the maintenance of the five great sacrifices and such other rites.

THE DYNASTY OF HARISCHANDRA

Two sets of Anjaneri plates¹ recently discovered have brought to light a new feudatory family which ruled over Northern Konkan and the Nasik District in the seventh and eighth centuries A. C. This family claimed descent from Hariśchandra, doubtless the famous legendary king of the solar race. Svāmichandra, who heads the genealogical list in both the Anjaneri grants, rose to power during the reign of Vikramāditya I. The Anjaneri plates inform us that the Chālukya Emperor loved him as his own son, and it was doubtless by his favour that he became the ruler of 'the entire Konkan country consisting of fourteen thousand villages.' As one of the Anjaneri grants of his grandson Bhōgaśakti is dated in 710-11 A. C., Svāmichandra must have flourished about 660 A. C. Vikramāditya I seems to have appointed him first to rule over Konkan.² Svāmichandra's descendants continued to mention gratefully this favour of Vikramāditya I, though they made no reference to the contemporary Chālukya suzerain of Bādāmi.³

Three generations of this family are known from the Anjaneri plates—Svāmichandra, his son Simhavarman and the latter's son Bhōgaśakti *alias* Prithivichandra (the Moon on the earth) who made the two grants. The name of the last prince recalls similar names of Sēndraka princes which also end in *śakti*. The question, therefore, arises if these princes belonged to the same clan as the Sēndrakas. It must, however, be noted that as Bhōgaśakti traced his descent from Hariśchandra, he could not have belonged to the Sēndraka family which claimed connection with the Nāga race. The lion seal of the Anjaneri plates and the use of small circles to embellish the tops and corners of the letters incised on them indicate some sort of connection with the Kadambas; for we find these peculiarities in the Bannahalli plates of the Kadamba king Kṛishṇavarman II.

Of the two copper-plate inscriptions of this family edited here, that which is dated K. 461 (710-11 A. C.) records the grant of eight villages and certain rights, dues and taxes

¹ Nos. 31 and 32.

² The Sanjān plates, edited by Mr. Jackson in *J. B. B. R. A. S.*, Vol. XX, pp. 40 ff., purport to record the grant of Buddhavarasārāja, a younger brother of Pulakēśin II, on the occasion of a solar eclipse in the month of Pausa. The plates are not dated, but as the genealogy of the Imperial family is carried down to Vikramāditya I, they purport to belong to his reign. The only year during the period from 641 A. C. to 680 A. C. in which there was a solar eclipse in the *amānta* Pausa was 660 A. C. Buddhavarasa may, therefore be regarded as a predecessor of Svāmichandra in Northern Konkan; but the plates are probably spurious; because (1) though Buddhavarasārāja claims to be a Chālukya, the emblem on his seal is the figure of a lion and not that of a boar; (2) the grant is very incorrectly written and contains two long expressions borrowed *verbatim* from ll. 10-11 of the Bagumrā grant of Allasakti. The record seems to have been fabricated with the help of Chālukya and Sēndraka grants, and the seal was formed on the model of that of Bhōgaśakti's grants. Prof. Sten Konow also, who has re-edited the grant in *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIV, pp. 144 ff., regards the plates as spurious.

³ In 671 A. C. Vikramāditya I appears to have transferred Thana and some other districts of North Konkan to Dharaśraya-Jayasimha. See above, p. lx.

in favour of the god Nārāyaṇa who was named Bhōgēśvara evidently after the donor, and was installed in a temple at Jayapura, modern Jarwar Budrukh near Anjaneri in the Nasik District. In the eulogistic portion of the record Bhōgaśakti is said to have brought by his valour the whole territory of his dominion under his sway. As we have seen above, a similar statement is also made about the Chālukya prince Maṅgalarasa who flourished in the same period. This suggests that the two families had experienced a disaster from which they recovered by the valour of Bhōgaśakti and Maṅgalarasa respectively. This was probably at the time of Vinayāditya's death (696 A. C.) when owing to the captivity of his son Vijayāditya there was anarchy in the kingdom.¹ The devastation which the country suffered is reflected in the second set of the Anjaneri plates. From it we learn that Bhōgaśakti granted certain rights, privileges and exemptions to the merchants of Samagiripattana when he resettled the town and the neighbouring villages some time after their devastation.

The successor of Bhōgaśakti was probably overthrown by the Rāshtrakūṭa king Dantidurga; for, from the Ellorā plates the latter appears to have occupied the Nasik District some time before 713 A. C.²

Svāmichandra, the grandfather of Bhōgaśakti, is said to have ruled over the whole Kōṅkaṇa country consisting of fourteen thousand villages. The country under his sway probably extended along the western coast from the southern limit of the Thana District in the north to the river Vāsishṭhī in the south. Some time after Jayasimha's death in *circa* 695, Bhōgaśakti seems to have extended his sway to the Nasik District above the Ghāṭs. The capital of this country was probably Purī as it is said to be the chief city of the Kōṅkaṇa of fourteen thousand villages. This city, as we have seen, was also the capital of the Mauryas. It has not yet been definitely located, but may be identical with Rājpurī in the former Janjira State.³

THE KALACHURIS OF TRIPURI

Until recently there was a perfect blank in the history of the Kalachuris for more than two centuries after the overthrow of Buddharāja. Kōkalla I (*circa* 830-885 A. C.), mentioned at the head of the genealogical lists in the Bilhāri stone inscription⁴ and the Banaras plates of Karṇa,⁵ was believed to be the founder of the Tripurī branch of the Kalachuri dynasty. The discovery of two lithic records, one at Saugor,⁶ the headquarters of the Saugor District, and the other at Kāritālāi⁷ in the Murwārā *tahsil* of the Jabalpur District, has carried back the genealogy of the Tripurī branch by a few generations. The Saugor inscription was put up during the reign of Saṅkaragaṇa who meditated on the feet of

¹ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XI, p. 111.

² *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXV, pp. 25 ff. As shown elsewhere, I read the date of this grant as K. 463 and take it as equivalent to 713 A.C. If the date is read as 663 and referred to the Śaka era, it would be equivalent to 741 A.C.

³ *P. I. H. C.*, (1940), pp. 86 ff.

⁴ No. 43.

⁵ No. 48.

⁶ No. 35. This inscription has been known for a long time. It was listed by Hiralal in the first edition (published in 1916) of his *Inscriptions in C. P. and Berar*, but he gave no account of it then. In the second edition also of that work he gave no detailed description of its contents. He, however, called it the oldest Kalachuri record and referred it to the ninth century A. C. He doubtfully read in it the name *Vāgharāja* in place of *Vāmarāja*. The contents of the record were for the first time discussed by the present writer in his article entitled 'Vāmadēva, An Early Kalachuri King', published in *A Volume of Eastern and Indian Studies* presented to Prof. F. W. Thomas, pp. 152 ff.

⁷ No. 42.

Vāmarājadēva. Both Saṅkaragaṇa and Vāmarājadēva are mentioned in this record with the imperial titles *Paramabhaṭṭāraka*, *Mahārājādhirāja* and *Paramēśvara*. This Vāmarājadēva is plainly identical with Vāmadēva who is invariably mentioned with the same imperial titles in the beginning of the formal portion of all official records of the Later Kalachuris of Tripurī and on whose feet they are described as meditating.¹ Vāmarāja² was held in such a veneration by all Kalachurī kings of Tripurī probably because he was the founder of the northern Kalachuri power.³

When did this Vāmarāja flourish? The aforementioned Saugor inscription is the earliest record which names him. It is not dated; but on the evidence of palaeography, it can be referred to the middle of the eighth century A.C. Though this inscription states that Saṅkaragaṇa, during whose reign it was put up, meditated on the feet of Vāmarāja, it would be rash to assert that the latter was his immediate predecessor; for, we find the expression *Vāmadēva-pād-ānudhyāta* repeated in connection with the names of as many as five other kings. But it would not perhaps be wrong to refer Vāmarāja to the end of the seventh century A.C.⁴

We have seen above how after the overthrow of Buddharāja, the Kalachuris had to remain in obscurity and acknowledge the suzerainty of the Chālukya Emperors. But their stubborn spirit and the memory of their past achievements did not allow them to remain in a subordinate position for a long time. As the Chālukyas were then supreme in the south, the Kalachuris turned their attention to the north where they found a favourable field for the expansion of their power in the latter half of the seventh century A.C. After the death of Harsha, his extensive kingdom crumbled to pieces. In the consequent confusion and scramble for power, Vāmarāja seems to have found the opportunity he was seeking. He overran Bundelkhand and Baghelkhand and established himself at Kālānjara, the impregnable fort in the Bāndā District, 90 miles west-south-west of Allahabad.⁵ From very ancient times this fort has been sacred to Śiva. It is mentioned as one of the nine holy places in North India.⁶ In the beginning of the sixth century A.C., it was in the occupation of Udayana of the Sōmavarṇśi dynasty.⁷ The subsequent history of the fort is not clear until its occupation by the Kalachuris. It seems to have remained in their

¹ Kielhorn has shown that the expression *Paramabhaṭṭāraka-Mahārājādhirāja-Paramēśvara-śrī-Vāmadēva-pād-ānudhyāta* occurs in connection with five Kalachuri kings, viz., Karṇa, Yaśahkarṇa, Narasimha, Jayasimha and Vijayasimha. For the different interpretations of this expression, see my article on Vāmadēva mentioned above, p. lxvii, n. 6.

² In subsequent records, his name has been contracted into *Vāmadēva*.

³ The expression *Vāmadēva-pād-ānudhyāta* occurs also in connection with the name of the Chandēlla king Trailōkyamalla or Trailōkyavarman in the Dhureti plates of his reign (No. 72) and also in a record of his feudatory Kumārapāladēva of Karkarēḍi. *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVII, pp. 230 ff. But this is plainly due to the ignorance of the drafters of the records, who blindly copied the expression from earlier inscriptions. It may be noted in this connection that the ancestors of Kumārapāladēva were feudatories of the Kalachuris. Two of their records (Nos. 65 and 68) actually use this expression in connection with the name of the contemporary Kalachuri suzerains.

⁴ As shown below, he was probably identical with the unnamed brother of Lakshmaṇarāja mentioned in the beginning of the Kāhla plates, who lived towards the close of the 7th century A. C.

⁵ The fort of Chitrakūṭa near Kāmtā in Bundelkhand may also have been occupied by Vāmarāja. The Kanarese poet Pampa says that it was situated in the Chēḍī country. *J. R. A. S.* for 1882, p. 19. In some Rāshtrakūṭa records, its name is coupled with Kālānjara and the two are described as important outposts of the Rāshtrakūṭas. See, e. g., *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IV, p. 284.

⁶ See *Paṇḍapurāṇa*, Svargakhaṇḍa, adhyāya 39, v. 54.

⁷ A stone inscription of this king recording the erection of a temple of Viṣṇu has been found at Kālānjara. *C. A. S. I. R.*, Vol. XXI, p. 40 and Plate IX. His descendants moved to Chhattisgarh where we find them ruling in the sixth and seventh centuries A.C. See *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXIII, pp. 116. ff.

MAP SHOWING PLACES MENTIONED IN LATER INSCRIPTIONS
OF THE
KALACHURI ERA





possession up to the end of the eighth century A.C. Afterwards it was occupied successively by the Pratihāras,¹ Rāshtrakūṭas,² Chandēllas³ and Muhammadans,⁴ but the Kalachuris' occupation of the fort was remembered for a long time. The Kalachuryas of South India mention with pride in their records the title *Kālañjarapuravarādhīvara*, 'the lord of Kālañjara, the best of cities'.⁵ This, like other similar titles, must be interpreted to mean that these princes were descended from a Kalachuri king who formerly ruled at Kālañjara.

The Kahla plates of Sōḍhadēva⁶ state that an illustrious Kalachuri prince established himself at Kālañjara, from where he raided and conquered Ayōmukha (modern Partapgarh and Rai Bareilly Districts, U. P.). We are further informed that after having defeated his enemies, he gave the kingdom to his younger brother Lakshmaṇarāja, who, in turn, conquered Svētapada. As shown below, this Lakshmaṇarāja is identical with Lakshmaṇarāja I, mentioned in the Kasiā stone inscription. Like the former, the latter also had a uterine brother. Besides, he is said to have first occupied a fort (Kālañjara) and later on established himself at Saivaya⁷ which may be identical with Svētapada.⁸ As shown below, Lakshmaṇarāja I's great-grandson Lakshmaṇarāja II *alias* Rājaputra flourished about 775 A.C. Lakshmaṇarāja I can, therefore, be placed in *circa* 700 A.C. The elder brother who placed him in charge of the territory round Kālañjara is unfortunately not named in the Kahla plates. His name is, again, lost in the Kasiā stone inscription, but in view of what is said above, he may be identified with Vāmarāja. As his younger brother Lakshmaṇarāja I was probably ruling in 700 A.C., Vāmarāja may have flourished from *circa* 675 A.C. to 700 A.C.

The Kasiā inscription names two ancestors of Lakshmaṇarāja I, *viz.*, his grandfather Saṅkaragaṇa and his father Nannarāja. Saṅkaragaṇa may have flourished from 625 A.C. to 650 A.C., and Nannarāja, from 650 A.C. to 675 A.C. It is not stated where they were ruling, but if Vāmarāja was the first prince who conquered and established himself at Kālañjara, his father and grandfather might have been reigning at Māhishmatī, the old Kalachuri capital. In that case, Saṅkaragaṇa may have been a son of Buddharāja (*circa* 600-625 A.C.) who was defeated by Pulakēśin II. In India a grandson is often named after his grandfather. So Saṅkaragaṇa of the Kasiā inscription may have been named after Buddharāja's father Saṅkaragaṇa. The connection of the Earlier and the Later Kalachuris may, therefore, be stated in the following genealogical table⁹—

¹ The Barah plate of Bhōjadēva shows that in the beginning of the ninth century A.C., the Kālañjara *maṇḍala* was ruled over by Śarvavarman, who was a feudatory of the Gurjara-Pratihāra Nāgabhaṭa II. See *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIX, p. 18.

² In the tenth century, the Pratihāras seem to have lost both Chitrakūṭa and Kālañjara which were occupied by the Rāshtrakūṭas probably during the northern campaign of Indra III. The two forts were in the occupation of the Rāshtrakūṭas till the time of Kṛishṇa III. *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, p. 284.

³ According to the Khajuraho stone inscription (*ibid.*, Vol. I, pp. 127-28), the fort of Kālañjara was occupied by the Chandēllas during the reign of Yaśōvarman (*circa* 930-950 A.C.).

⁴ It was taken by Kutub-ud-din Ibak in April 1203 A.C., but was soon recovered by the Chandēllas.

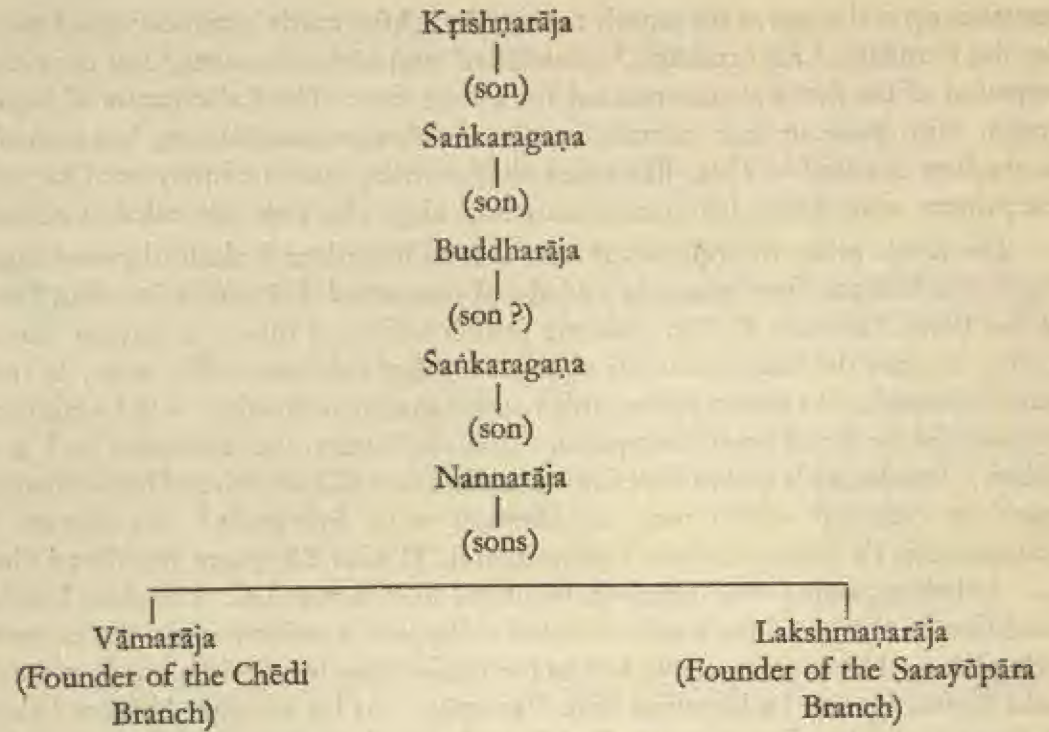
⁵ See, e. g., *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. V, p. 24.

⁶ No. 74, l. 5.

⁷ No. 73, ll. 15 and 16.

⁸ Svētapada was wrongly identified by R. D. Banerji with the northern part of the Nasik District (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIX, p. 70). The correct reading in l. 25 of the Kalvan plates of Yaśōvarman is *Śvītapada* meaning *Śvītāmbara*. Svētapada may be identical with Svētapatha or Sētapatha mentioned in Sāñchī inscriptions, No. 89 and No. 475 respectively (*M. S.*, Vol. I, p. 299), but the country has not been identified. Saivaya seems to be the Sanskritised form of Prakrit *Seavaa* derived from Svētapada.

⁹ The identification of Vāmarāja with the elder brother of Lakshmaṇarāja I, mentioned in the Kasiā and Kahla inscriptions, on which the table is based, is probable, though not quite certain.



Vāmarāja thus ruled over a large kingdom extending from the Gumtī in the north to the Narmadā in the south, and comprising the modern Bundelkhand, Baghelkhand, Saugor and Jabalpur Districts of Madhya Pradesh and the central portion of Uttar Pradesh. He assumed the Imperial titles *Paramabhaṭṭāraka*, *Mahārājādhirāja* and *Paramēśvara*. As no records of his time have yet been discovered, we have no further knowledge of the political events in his reign.

Since the time of Vāmarāja, the Kalachuris came to be known as Chaidyas or lords of the Chēdi country. As Pargiter has shown,¹ Chēdi was originally the name of the country along the south bank of the Yamunā from the Chambal on the north-west to the Kārvī (which flows north-east of Chitrakūṭa) on the south-east. Its limits southward were the plateau of Malwa and the hills of Bundelkhand. In later times, Chēdi came to signify the modern province of Baghelkhand, which remained in the possession of the Kalachuris almost till their downfall. Vāmarāja seems to have transferred his capital from Māhishmatī to Tripurī, modern Tewar, 6 miles west of Jabalpur. This city dates back to very ancient times. It is mentioned in the *Mahābhārata*,² and is also known from very rare copper coins with the legend *Tipuri* (Sanskrit, *Tripurī*) in Brāhmī characters of the late third or early second century B.C.³ Varāhamihira places the city in the south-eastern division,⁴ and Hēmachandra calls it Chēdi-nagarī, the capital of the Chēdi country.⁵ The surrounding country called Traipura is mentioned in the *Mahābhārata*⁶ and the *Matsya-purāṇa*.⁷ The *Tripurī-vishaya* (the district of Tripurī) is described, in the Betul plates of Saṅkshobha, as situated in the Dabhālā (*i.e.* Dāhala) country,⁸ which was under the rule

¹ *J. A. S. B.*, Vol. LXIV, pp. 249 ff.

² *Sabhāparvan*, adhyāya 31, v. 60, mentions that a king of Tripurī was defeated by Sahadēva.

³ *A. C. A. I.*, Introd., p. cxl.

⁴ *Bṛhat-saṁhitā*, adhyāya 14, v. 9.

⁵ Hēmachandra, *Abhidhānāchintāmaṇi*, IV, v. 41.

⁶ *Sabhāparvan*, adhyāya 31, v. 60.

⁷ *Matsya-purāṇa* (Anand. Sk. series), adhyāya 114, v. 33.

⁸ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VIII, p. 287.

of the Parivrājaka kings down to 528 A.C. at least. It is, however, not known who was holding that country when Vāmarāja invaded it and annexed it to his kingdom.

Two or three generations seem to have separated Vāmarāja from Saṅkaragaṇa I of Tripurī. We do not know even the names of the princes who ruled in this period. Perhaps Māyurāja, the author of the Sanskrit play *Udāttarāghava*, was one of them. He is described by Rājaśekhara as a Karachuli (*i.e.*, Kalachuri) poet.¹ Another Sanskrit poet, Bhimaṭa, whom Rājaśekhara mentions as the lord of Kālāñjara, perhaps belonged to the same royal family. Rājaśekhara tells us that he composed five Sanskrit plays, of which *Svapnadakūṭana* was judged to be the best.

Saṅkaragaṇa I is the next known Kalachuri prince. Only two records of his reign have so far been discovered. The one discovered at Saugor registers some religious or charitable work done by a woman for the spiritual merit of her father and mother. In this record Saṅkaragaṇa is mentioned with the imperial titles of *Paramabhaṭṭāraka*, *Mahārājādhirāja* and *Paramēśvara*, which show that he must have been ruling over a fairly large territory. The second inscription is incised on the pillar of a temple at Chhōṭī Dēori, about a hundred miles to the east of Saugor. It records the donation of a granary in two villages in the neighbourhood, apparently to the god Śiva enshrined in the temple. This record also is not dated; but on palæographic grounds it can be referred to the same age as the aforementioned Saugor stone inscription, *viz.*, about the middle of the eighth century A.C.

The names of the successors of this Saṅkaragaṇa are not known until we come to Lakshmaṇarāja I of the Kārītalāi stone inscription dated K. 593 (841-42 A.C.). In the century that intervened between the reigns of these two kings, several important events took place in the political history of North India. In the second half of the eighth century A.C., the Pratīhāras and the Pālas were contending for supremacy at Kanauj; but they were both vanquished by the Rāshtrakūṭa kings Dhruva and Gōvinda III. The Sañjān plates² of Amōghavarsha I tell us that Gōvinda III, after defeating Nāgabhaṭa II and Chandra-gupta, both of whom were evidently rulers of Central India, marched to the foot of the Himālayas, where Dharmapāla and his protégé Chakrāyudha, the king of Kanauj, submitted to him. Then he returned to the bank of the Narmadā, and acquiring Mālava, Kōsala, Kālīṅga, Veṅgī, Dāhala and Oḍraka countries, made his servants rule them. This suggests that Gōvinda III raided these countries and either exacted tributes from the ruling princes, or after deposing them, placed his own nominees in charge of their territories. That he did so in one case at least is known from other records. The Baroda plates³ of Karka, dated Śaka 734, state that Karka was made a door-bolt to protect the king of Malwa from the Gurjara king who had become puffed up by conquering the lords of Gauḍa and Vaṅga. In some other records of the Gujarat Rāshtrakūṭas, we find references to battles fought by them with the Gurjara-Pratīhāras in Ujjayinī. Malwa was, therefore, made a protectorate, and a subordinate branch of the Rāshtrakūṭas was established in Gujarat to check the advance of the Pratīhāras. In the case of the Kalachuris also, he followed a similar policy. He did not, of course, supplant the ruling prince, but he made him acknowledge his suzerainty.⁴ The subordinate position of the Kalachuri king Lakshmaṇarāja I is indicated by the Kārītalāi inscription⁵ of his reign, which, even in its present fragmentary condi-

¹ Jalhaṇa's *Sāktimuktāvalī* (Gaekwad's Or. Series), p. 46.

² *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 235 ff.

³ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII, p. 158.

⁴ The Nilgund inscription of Amōghavarsha I states that Gōvinda III fettered the prince of the fort Chitrakūṭa. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VI, p. 103. This fort was probably in the occupation of the Kalachuris at that time.

⁵ No. 37.

tion, clearly shows that it eulogized the achievements, not of Lakshmaṇarāja, but of his suzerain's father Gōvinda III.¹ It is noteworthy that the line containing the name of the reigning Kalachuri king is relegated to the margin. Later on, the Rāshtrakūṭas, from time to time, entered into matrimonial alliances with the Kalachuris of Tripurī² and thus made the Kalachuri kingdom a bulwark on the north of the Narmadā against any possible invasion of their territory by the Gurjara-Pratihātas.

The Kārīṭalāi inscription of the reign of Lakshmaṇarāja I is dated K. 593 (841-42 A.C.). We may, therefore, place the Kalachuri king from *circa* 825 A.C. to 850 A.C.

Lakshmaṇarāja I was probably succeeded by Kōkalla I, who may have been his son. No inscription of this king has yet been found; but we get some account of him in two later records, the Bilhāri stone inscription³ and the Banaras plates of Kārṇa.⁴ Kōkalla made some matrimonial alliances which increased his power and prestige. He himself married a Chandēlla princess named Naṭṭādēvi.⁵ From the Cambay plates we learn that the king Akālavarsha (*i.e.*, the Rāshtrakūṭa Kṛishṇa II) married the daughter of Kōkalla, an ornament of the dynasty of Sahasrārjuna.⁶ She became his chief queen and bore him a son named Jagattuṅga. This latter prince also, as we shall see later, married two Kalachuri princesses.

The Bilhāri stone inscription and the Banaras plates describe the help that Kōkalla rendered to a number of his contemporaries. The former says that Kōkalladēva, after having conquered the whole earth, set up two pillars of victory, the well-known Kṛishṇarāja in the south and Bhōjadēva, the store of royal fortune, in the north.⁷ The statement evidently means that Kōkalla established these princes firmly on their thrones. The Banaras plates state that Kōkalla's hand gave freedom from fear to Bhōja, Vallabharāja, Sri-Harsha, the lord of Chitrakūṭa, and the king Śaṅkaragaṇa.⁸ That this is no empty boast is shown by the records of the other dynasties also.

Kṛishṇarāja who is figuratively called Kōkalla's pillar of victory in the south is none other than the Rāshtrakūṭa king, Kṛishṇa II-Akālavarsha. He is identical with the Vallabharāja who received protection from Kōkalla; for, *Vallabha* or *Śrī-vallabha* was a title assumed by many Rāshtrakūṭa kings.⁹ The Arabs called the Rāshtrakūṭas by the name of *Balbarā*,¹⁰ which is admittedly a corrupt form of *Vallabharāja*. As already shown, Kṛishṇa II was the son-in-law of Kōkalla. He must have sought his father-in-law's help when he was engaged in a conflict with the contemporary Eastern Chālukya king Vijayāditya III (844-88 A.C.). We find references to these hostilities in many inscriptions of the Eastern Chālukyas. Thus

¹ In line 9 it mentions the routing of Nāgabhaṭa (II), evidently by Gōvinda III.

² The aforementioned Kārīṭalāi inscription indicates that the Rāshtrakūṭa Emperor Amōghavarsha used to visit the place to pay his respects to a saintly person there. Though Amōghavarsha I was forty-two years old at the time of this Kārīṭalāi inscription, it is doubtful if his son Kṛishṇa II was already married to Kōkalla's daughter at the time; for, the son is known to have reigned till 914 A.C. The inscription does not state when Amōghavarsha had gone to Kārīṭalāi. Perhaps, one of the objects of his visit was to seek Kōkalla I's help when he was deposed by his kinsman in the early part of his reign.

³ No. 45.

⁴ No. 48.

⁵ No. 48, l. 10.

⁶ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VII, p. 38.

⁷ No. 45, l. 8.

⁸ No. 48, ll. 8-9.

⁹ See the discussion of this matter by Fleet in *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VI, pp. 193 ff. The Bagumrā plates of the Gujarat Rāshtrakūṭa Kṛishṇa refer to a Vallabha-*ṛiṣa* who can be none other than the Rāshtrakūṭa Emperor Kṛishṇa II.

¹⁰ *Ind., Ant.*, Vol. XII, p. 218.

the Ederu plates of Amma¹ tell us that Vijayāditya frightened Kṛishṇa and Saṅkila and burnt their city completely. The Pīṭhāpuram inscription of Mallapadēva² states that Vijayāditya III burnt Chakrakūṭa and terrified Saṅkila, residing in Kiraṇapura and joined by Kṛishṇa. The Maliapūṇḍi inscription of Ammaraja II³ gives the further detail that this Saṅkila was the lord of the excellent Ḍāhala (country). He was, therefore, a Kalachuri prince and is evidently identical with Saṅkuka⁴ (called also Saṅkaragaṇa in the Karḍā plates), the son of Kōkalla, whose younger sister was married to Kṛishṇa II. Success seems at first to have attended the arms of Vijayāditya; for, he is said to have burnt Chakrakūṭa and also Kiraṇapura where Kṛishṇa II and Saṅkila were then encamped. The former of these two places has been identified with the central portion of the Bastar District⁵ and the latter with a place of that name in the Balaghat District of Madhya Pradesh.⁶ Pāṇḍaraṅga, the general of Vijayāditya, pressed as far as Achalapura in Berar, which he is said to have stormed and burnt.⁷ Later, on however, Kṛishṇa II won notable successes as implied in the Kalachuri records. The Eastern Chālukyas themselves admit in their records that on the death of Vijayāditya III, their country was overrun by the forces of a kinsman of the Raṭṭa king⁸ and that the diadem of Chālukya-Bhīma I, the successor of Vijayāditya III, was struck at by Vallabha.⁹ These wars must have been waged during the period 880-890 A.C. Saṅkila or Saṅkaragaṇa, though described in some Chālukya records as the lord of the Ḍāhala country, was probably the crown prince at the time and was sent by his father to help his son-in-law in his wars with the Eastern Chālukyas.¹⁰

Another son of Kōkalla I, named Arjuna, seems to have helped Kṛishṇa II's son Jagattuṅga with a large army probably during his wars with the Gurjara-Pratīhāras on the northern frontier of the Rāshtrakūṭa kingdom.¹¹

The identification of Bhōja, the second prince helped by Kōkalla I, is more difficult. Kielhorn was of opinion that this Bhōja was the first prince of that name in the Gurjara-Pratīhāra dynasty,¹² who flourished from *circa* 835 to 885 A.C. Some scholars¹³ have, however, latterly advanced the view that the protégé of Kōkalla I was Bhōja II, the son and successor of Mahēndrapāla and grandson of Bhōja I. According to these scholars, there was a war of succession after the death of Mahēndrapāla. Kōkalla espoused the

¹ *S. I. I.*, Vol. I, p. 39. Fleet and Hultzsch rendered *Saṅkila* by 'a fire-brand', but the latter afterwards corrected his mistake in *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IV, p. 226.

² *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, p. 233.

³ *Ibid.*, Vol. IX, p. 51.

⁴ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XII, p. 265.

⁵ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IX, pp. 178 ff.

⁶ Altekar, *Rāshtrakūṭas*, etc., p. 95.

⁷ *A. R. S. I. E.* (1923), pp. 61 and 98. Achalapura was probably the capital of a feudatory Rāshtrakūṭa family which at this time owed allegiance to the Imperial Rāshtrakūṭas of Mānyakhēṭa. See also below, p. lxxiii.

⁸ *S. I. I.*, Vol. I, p. 40. The inscription has the word *dāyāda* (meaning 'an agnate') referring to this kinsman. He seems, therefore, to have been a Rāshtrakūṭa prince, perhaps of the Gujarat branch. It is noteworthy that the Masulipatam grant of Chālukya-Bhīma I mentions his defeat of a king of Lāṭa who was an ally of Kṛishṇavallabha. *A. R. S. I. E.* (1914), p. 84. If *dāyāda* was used in a wider sense, it might refer to Saṅkaragaṇa.

⁹ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 231.

¹⁰ Perhaps Saṅkaragaṇa had ascended the Kalachuri throne before these wars came to a close.

¹¹ See v. 16 of Cambay plates of Gōvinda IV. *Ep. Ind.* Vol. VII, p. 38. The verse occurs also in the Sāngli plates of the same king. *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XII, p. 250.

¹² *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, p. 253.

¹³ See, e. g., Altekar, *Rāshtrakūṭas*, etc., p. 101; Banerji, *Haiḥayas of Tripuri*, etc., p. 4; Tripathi, *History of Kanauj*, pp. 255-56.

cause of Bhōja II and succeeded in placing him on the throne of Kanauj. This prince, however, ruled only for a short time; for, we find Mahīpāla I succeeding him within two or three years of his accession.¹ It is, therefore, doubtful if Kōkalla's achievement in this case would at all be glorified by his successors as the erection of a column of victory in the north. Besides, there does not seem to be sufficient evidence to prove that there was a war of succession. Bhōja II is known only from one record, namely, the Asiatic Society of Bengal plate (dated V. 988) of Vināyakapāla, who is described therein as meditating on his feet. If Vināyakapāla is identical with Mahīpāla, as is generally held,² it looks strange that he should reverentially mention his predecessor Bhōja II, whom he is said to have dethroned. Besides, it is doubtful if Kōkalla I was living at the time of this supposed war of succession. As we have seen, he was fairly advanced in age in 880 A.C., as his son Saṅkaragaṇa was then sufficiently grown up to take the field against Vijayāditya III. It is, therefore, doubtful if he lived to meddle in the matter of succession to the Pratihāra throne thirty years later. As shown below,³ his grandson Yuvarājadēva I was a contemporary of Mahīpāla, and he was preceded by two other princes on the Chēdi throne. Kōkalla, therefore, seems to have died some time during the reign of the Pratihāra king Mahēndrapāla. The Bhōja whom he rendered help must consequently be identified with Bhōja I.

When did Bhōja I require the help of the Kalachuri king? This must plainly have been in the early part of his reign when he had to contend against the mighty Dēvapāla of Bengal (circa 810-855 A.C.). We know that Rāmabhadra, the father of Bhōja, was a weak king. That he lost a large part of his kingdom is clear from the Barah plate of Bhōja I, which confirms a grant in the Kālāṅjara *maṇḍala* which had been interrupted during the reign of Rāmabhadra,⁴ evidently due to the inroads of Dēvapāla. According to the Monghyr plates, the elephants of this Pāla king reached the Vindhya and his cavalry

¹ The last known date of Mahēndrapāla is V. 964 (907-8 A.C.), mentioned in the Siyāḍōṇī stone inscription. He may, therefore, have closed his reign about 910 A.C. The earliest known date of Mahīpāla is Ś. 836 (914 A.C.), furnished by the Haḍḍālā plates. So Bhōja II could have reigned only for two or three years.

² This identification is open to doubt; for, Mahīpāla nowhere in his inscriptions mentions Bhōja as his predecessor. It is more likely that Mahēndrapāla had three sons Mahīpāla, Bhōja II and Vināyakapāla, who succeeded him one after another. As Mahāmahōpādhyāya G. S. Ojha has pointed out, the dates of Mahīpāla and Vināyakapāla do not overlap. Besides, it seems clear from Āryakṣēmiśvara's *Chaṇḍakauśika* that Mahīpāla bore the name of Kārttikēya; for, the poet refers to his patron as Mahīpāla in the prologue of his play and as Kārttikēya in the last verse of the fifth Act. Mahīpāla is, therefore, not likely to have been known also by the name of Vināyakapāla or Hērambapāla. On the other hand, Vināyakapāla seems to have been a younger brother of Mahīpāla, as Gaṇēśa was of Kārttikēya. The only possible objection to this view is that unless we identify Mahīpāla with Vināyakapāla (or Hērambapāla), the statement in the Siyāḍōṇī inscription that Dēvapāla meditated on the feet of Mahīpāla would conflict with that in the Khajuraho inscription of Dhaṅga that Dēvapāla was the son of Hērambapāla. Ojha tries to solve this difficulty by taking the two Dēvapālas as distinct persons. He says that Dēvapāla who is called *Hayapati* (lord of horses) in the Khajuraho inscription could not have been a Pratihāra prince as *Hayapati* was never the accepted title of the Pratihāras of Kanauj. We have, however, to remember that according to the testimony of the Arab writer Sulaiman, the Pratihāras maintained a fine cavalry, and in contemporary records Bhōja is described as having an army of excellent and controllable horses (*sad-raḥya-sūb-āmvitah*); *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XII, p. 184. The Kuṭlur plates of the Gaṇḍa king Mārasimha state that the Rāshtrakūṭa king Kṛishṇa III crowned Mārasimha king before proceeding to the north to conquer Aśvapati who was proud of his horses (*A. R. A. S. M. for 1921*, p. 23). This passage also seems to use *Aśvapati* as a title of the Gurjara-Pratihāras. Perhaps the word *simu*, used in the Khajuraho inscription to state the relation of Dēvapāla to Hērambapāla, is employed in the wider sense of a nephew, just as *tāta* (father) sometimes denotes 'an uncle'.

³ See below, p. lxxviii.

⁴ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIX, p. 18.

roamed in the Kāmbōja country.¹ The Bādal pillar inscription states that Dēvapāla humbled the arrogance of the lord of the Gurjaras.² Bhōja seems to have ultimately succeeded in retrieving his position towards the end of Dēvapāla's reign.³ Like Guṇāmbhōdhi of the Sarayūpāra branch of the Kalachuri family,⁴ Kōkalla I apparently rendered help to the Gurjara Pratihāra king in these wars. The relations between the Rāshtrakūṭas and the Pratihāras seem to have been more or less amicable during the reign of the Rāshtrakūṭa king Amōghavarsha I, since much of the latter's time and energy was spent in quelling internal rebellions and in fighting with his eastern neighbours, the Chālukyas of Vēṅgi, as well as with his kinsmen who were probably the Rāshtrakūṭas of Gujarat.⁵ Notwithstanding his matrimonial alliance with Amōghavarsha I, therefore, Kōkalla I could render help to Bhōja I in strengthening his position in the north. It is also not unlikely that the help he gave to the mighty king of Kanauj has been exaggerated in the aforementioned inscriptions of his descendants.

After the conclusion of his war with the Pāla king, Kōkalla seems to have entered into a matrimonial alliance with him. From the Bhāgalpur grant of Nārāyaṇapāla, we learn that his father Vigrahapāla, the son of Jayapāla, married a princess named Lajjā who had adorned the family of the Haihayas.⁶ The inscription does not name any ancestors of Lajjā; but in view of Kōkalla's policy of making matrimonial alliances, it is not unlikely that she was his daughter or some near relative.

Śrī-Harsha and the lord of Chitrakūṭa, who also are said to have received protection from Kōkalla, are usually taken to be identical. Kielhorn identified this Harsha with the homonymous prince of the Chandēlla dynasty;⁷ but it is doubtful if his rule had at this time extended in the north as far as Chitrakūṭa. From the Khajuraho inscription dated V. 1011 (954 A.C.), we learn that it was Yaśōvarman, the son of Harsha, who first annexed the hill of Kālāñjara.⁸ Chitrakūṭa, which lies 25 miles north-east of Kālāñjara, seems then to have been, like the latter, held by the Gurjaras. It has, therefore, been suggested that the Harsha who received protection from Kōkalla was the Guhila prince of that name whose rule might have extended to Chitrakūṭa (modern Chitor in Mewad).⁹ According to the Chātsū inscription of Bālāditya, this Harsha conquered the kings of the north and presented horses to Bhōja who can be none other than the great Pratihāra Emperor. The identification, therefore, appears quite plausible in view of the alliance of both this Harsha and Kōkalla with Bhōja I.

Finally, Saṅkaragaṇa was identified by Kielhorn with Kōkalla's own son. There is, however, no point in saying that Kōkalla gave protection from fear to his own son. Saṅkaragaṇa is more likely to be the homonymous prince of the subordinate branch of the Kalachuri dynasty which had settled in the Gōrakhpur District of Uttar Pradesh. The Kahla plates of Sōḍhadēva state that this Saṅkaragaṇa was the father of Guṇāmbhōdhi. The same record tells us further that Guṇāmbhōdhi took away

¹ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 305.

² *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 163.

³ In the Gwalior *prastāvi* Bhōja is said to have remarried Lakshmi, the source of the fame of Dharma's (Dharmapāla's) son, who was evidently Dēvapāla. *Ibid.*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 109 and 113, n. 4.

⁴ See the Kahla plates of Sōḍhadēva (No. 74). This record states that Guṇāmbhōdhi deprived the Gauḍa king of his royal fortune.

⁵ Altekar, *Rāshtrakūṭas* etc., p. 77.

⁶ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XV, p. 305.

⁷ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. II, p. 301.

⁸ *Ibid.*, Vol. I, pp. 127-28.

⁹ *Ind. Hist. Quart.*, Vol. XIII, p. 486.

the fortune of the Gauḍa king, for which he received some territory from Bhōja. His father Śaṅkaragaṇa may, therefore, have received some help from Kōkalla I during the early part of the latter's reign.

The Amōdā plates¹ of Prīthvīdēva I, dated K. 831 (1079 A.C.), state that Kōkalla, an ancestor of Prīthvīdēva I, forcibly dispossessed the rulers of Kaṇṇāṭa, Vaṅga, Gurjara, Kōṅkaṇa and Śākambharī, the Turushkas and a descendant of Raghu, of treasures, horses and elephants, and erected a column of victory on the earth.² As shown below, this Kōkalla was probably the first king of that name who ruled at Tripurī; but it is doubtful how far the description of his conquests contained in this record, dated nearly two centuries after him, can be taken to be correct; for, we have no corroboration of it in other records of the Kalachuris of Ratanpur or even of Tripurī. Besides, we find that Kōkalla I formed alliances with the Rāshtrakūṭas and the Gurjara-Pratihāras, who are probably referred to here as the lord of Kaṇṇāṭa and a descendant of Raghu respectively. His hostility with these kings is, therefore, not likely.

Kōkalla I was succeeded by his son, who is called Mugdhatuṅga in the Bilhāri inscription and Prasiddhadhavalā in the Banaras grant. Both these appear to be *birudas* rather than personal names. The former of them was evidently suggested by his association with the Rāshtrakūṭas, who were fond of names ending in *tuṅga*. The personal name of Kōkalla's son and successor was probably Śaṅkaragaṇa. As we have already seen, the Maliapūṇḍi inscription calls Saṅkila (*i.e.*, Śaṅkaragaṇa) the lord of the excellent Dāhala country.³ The Kārḍā plates state that Śaṅkaragaṇa was the lord of Chēdi.⁴ There is no doubt, therefore, that Śaṅkaragaṇa ascended the Kalachuri throne; but no prince of this name is mentioned as Kōkalla I's successor either in the Bilhāri inscription or in the Banaras grant—the two records which are our main authorities for the early history of the Tripurī branch. Śaṅkaragaṇa must, therefore, be identified with Mugdhatuṅga-Prasiddhadhavalā. A third *biruda* of his, *viz.*, *Raṇavigrāha* is mentioned in some Rāshtrakūṭa records⁵, and is also known from a *śubhāśhita* of Rājaśēkhara cited in the *Sūktimuktāvali* of Jalhaṇa.⁶

The Bilhāri inscription states that Mugdhatuṅga conquered the lines of countries along the sea-shore and took away (the country of) Pāli from the lord of Kōsala.⁷ This statement is corroborated by a Prakrit *gāthā* about Prasiddhadhavalā, cited in the Banaras grant. It states that Prasiddhadhavalā took possession of Pāli, thinking that there would be born in his family (many) men eminent on account of their greatness in this world.⁸ This apparently means that the Kalachuri king conquered Pāli to provide an adequate field for the activities of the illustrious princes who would be born in his family. Several inscriptions⁹ of the Ratanpur branch of the Kalachuri dynasty state that Kōkalla had eighteen sons, of whom the eldest became the lord of Tripurī, and that he made his younger brothers the lords of *maṇḍalas* in the neighbourhood. If this Kōkalla is identified with

¹ No. 76, ll. 6-8.

² *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IX, p. 31.

³ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XII, p. 265.

⁴ The Cambay and Sangli plates of Gōvinda IV state that Lakshmī, the wife of the Rāshtrakūṭa prince Jagattuṅga, was the daughter of Raṇavigrāha (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VII, p. 38 and *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XII, p. 250), while the Kārḍā plates say that she was the daughter of Śaṅkaragaṇa, the lord of Chēdi (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XII, p. 264). Raṇavigrāha was, therefore, a *biruda* of Śaṅkaragaṇa.

⁵ Cf. *Nadīnāṁ Mēkālā-sūtā nṛpānāṁ Raṇavigrāhaḥ | Kavīnāṁ vha Suvānandah | Chēdi-maṇḍala-maṇḍanam || Sūktimuktāvali* (Gaekwad's Oriental Series), p. 47.

⁶ No. 45, l. 10.

⁷ No. 48, l. 13.

⁸ See, e.g., No. 76, ll. 8-9; No. 77, ll. 3-6 *etc.*

Kōkalla I, it becomes clear that Mugdhatuṅga-Prasiddhadhavalā conquered Pāli from the lord of Kōsala and placed one of his brothers in charge of it. This Kōsala is probably Dakṣhiṇa or Southern Kōsala, comprising modern Chhattisgarh and the adjoining country on the east. There is still a village named Pāli in the Bilaspur District, about 12 miles north of Ratanpur, which was no doubt situated in Dakṣhiṇa Kōsala. There is even now an exquisitely carved temple at Pāli, which testifies to its past importance. The surrounding territory was evidently called the country of Pāli, which was wrested by Mugdhatuṅga from the lord of Kōsala. The latter, as shown below,¹ must have been a prince of the Bāṇa dynasty, probably Vikramāditya I, called also Jayamēru, the son of Malladēva, who built the aforementioned temple of Śiva and has left an inscription incised over the door of its *garbhagriha*. As he flourished in the last quarter of the 9th century A.C.,² his date squares with that of Saṅkaragaṇa II *alias* Mugdhatuṅga who probably reigned from 890 A.C. to 910 A.C.

Saṅkaragaṇa II had a son named Bālaharsha, who succeeded him, and two daughters, Lakṣmī and Gōvindāmbā, both of whom married the Rāshtrakūṭa prince Jagattuṅga, the son of Saṅkaragaṇa's brother-in-law Kṛishṇa II. Jagattuṅga had, from Lakṣmī, a son named Indra III, who succeeded Kṛishṇa II,³ and from Gōvindāmbā, another named Baddiga-Amōghavarsha III, who also later on sat on the Rāshtrakūṭa throne.⁴ Some Rāshtrakūṭa records⁵ further mention Saṅkaragaṇa's brother Arjuna, who must have been ruling over a *maṇḍala* of the Chēdi kingdom. The latter's son Ammaṇadēva had a daughter named Vijāmbā, who married Indra III and bore him two sons, Amōghavarsha II and Gōvinda IV, both of whom succeeded their father, one after the other.

Saṅkaragaṇa II was followed by his son Bālaharsha. He is mentioned only in the Banaras plates, which give him a merely conventional praise. The Bilhāri inscription omits his name probably because he was a collateral. Bālaharsha sounds like a *viruda*, but we have now no means of knowing the personal name of this prince.

Bālaharsha had probably a very short reign (*circa* 910-915 A.C.). He seems to have died sonless; for, he was succeeded by his younger brother Yuvarājadēva I. No inscriptions of this prince also have yet been discovered; but from the records of other dynasties and especially from a play of his court-poet Rājaśekhara, we have more information about him than about any other early member of the Tripurī house.

The Bilhāri inscription states that Yuvarājadēva I fulfilled the ardent desires of the minds of the women of Gauḍa, sported with the ladies of Kaṇḍā, applied the ornamental mark to the foreheads of the women of Lāṭa, enjoyed the pleasures of love with the women of Kāśmīra, and was fond of the excellent songs of the women of Kaliṅga.⁶ This implies that Yuvarājadēva raided Bengal, Karnatak, Gujarat, Kashmir and Orissa, and married beautiful and accomplished ladies from these provinces. Curious as it might seem, the foregoing description in the Bilhāri inscription is corroborated by a passage in the Sanskrit play *Viddhaśālabhaṇjīkā* of Rājaśekhara, which was staged at Tripurī. Yuvarājadēva I himself is the hero of this play. From the fourth Act of it, we learn that the king had married the princesses of Magadha, Mālava, Pāñchāla, Avanti, Jālandhara

¹ Below, p. 418.

² The known dates of his son Vijayāditya-Prabhumēru range from Śaka 820 (898-99 A.C.) to Śaka 831 (909-10 A.C.). Vikramāditya I may, therefore, be referred to the period 870-895 A.C.

³ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XII, p. 265.

⁴ *Loc. cit.*

⁵ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VII, p. 38; *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XII, p. 250.

⁶ No. 45, ll. 10-11.

and Kērala.¹ In another Act of the same play, he is called *Ujjayinī-bhujāṅga*, which suggests his victorious raid on Malwa.² Even in an inscription of his enemies, Yuvarājadēva I is described as one who had planted his foot on the heads of famous kings.³ There is not, therefore, much exaggeration in what the Bilhāri inscription says of him—"Up to the Kailāsa mountain, where Pārvatī is constantly engaged in sport, up to the excellent eastern mountain from where rises the lustre of the sun, near the bridge (of the south) and then up to the western ocean, the valour of his armies caused unending oppression to his enemies."⁴ Yuvarājadēva assumed imperial titles. He is called *Paramēśvara* in the Bilhāri inscription and *Chakravartin* in the aforementioned play of Rājasēkhara. Another title *Trikalingādhipati*⁵ which indicates his supremacy in the north-east Deccan is known from the same play of Rājasēkhara.

Yuvarājadēva married Nōhalā, who became his chief queen. She belonged to the Chaulukya lineage and was the daughter of Avanivarman, who was the son of Sadhanva and grandson of Simhavarman. We have no information about the country where these princes were ruling. Perhaps Avanivarman was related to the king Avantivarman mentioned in the Ranōd inscription. As the latter is said to have donated certain places such as Raṇipadra (modern Ranōd in Madhya Bharat) to the Śaiva ascetic whom he invited to his country, it is plain that he was ruling in Central India. If Avanivarman, the father of Nōhalā, was related to Avantivarman, he also might have been ruling somewhere in the same part of the country.⁶

The Karḍā plates⁷ of the Rāshtrakūṭa king Karka II state that Yuvarājadēva gave his daughter Kandakadēvī in marriage to Baddiga *alias* Amōghavarsha III, the Rāshtrakūṭa king of Mānyakhēṭa. Baddiga was an old man when he ascended the throne after his nephew Gōvinda IV. As he was reigning from *circa* 935 A.C. to 939 A.C., his father-in-law Yuvarājadēva I might have flourished in the period 915-945 A.C.

Yuvarājadēva was a patron of men of letters. Rājasēkhara, a well-known Sanskrit poet, flourished in his court. In his early days Rājasēkhara was attracted by the more prosperous court of Kanauj, where he wrote his two Sanskrit plays *Bālarāmāyaṇa* and *Bālabhārata* (or *Prachandapāṇḍava*) and the Prakrit drama *Karpūramañjarī* during the reigns of the Gurjara Pratihāra Emperors Mahēndrapāla I and his son Mahipāla. But as the glory of the latter prince declined owing to the invasion of his kingdom by the Rāshtrakūṭa king Indra III and later on due to the raids of Yuvarājadēva I, Rājasēkhara seems to have returned to Tripurī, the home of his ancestors Akālalajalada and others, in the train of the victorious Kalachuri king. There he composed his third Sanskrit play *Viddhaśālabhaṇjikā* and the rhetorical work *Kāvyamīmāṃsā*.⁸ As already stated, the former was staged at

¹ *Viddhaśālabhaṇjikā* ed. by Arte, p. 113.

² *Ibid.*, p. 12. The same title of *Ujjenibhujāṅga* was borne by two captains of the Gaṅga prince Mārasimha, viz., Śudrakayya and Gōggyamma who also apparently had raided Malwa during the expedition of their master Mārasimha. *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. XI, p. 9.

³ Cf. *Vikhyāta-kṣhitipāla-mouli-rachanā-vinyasta-pādāmbujam*.....*Chāḍirājani*, in verse 28 of the Khajuraho inscription of Yaśōvarman. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, p. 127.

⁴ No. 40, ll. 11-12.

⁵ Mr. Arte's edition of the *Viddhaśālabhaṇjikā* has *Trilingādhipati* on p. 39, but it is evidently a mistake for *Trikalingādhipati*. As shown below, the same title was borne by several later Kalachuri kings.

⁶ It is not, however, known if Avantivarman belonged to the Chaulukya dynasty. The Ūnā plates dated Vikrama Samvat 936 (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IX, pp. 6 ff.) were issued by a Chālukya prince named Avanivarman II. He was thus a contemporary of Yuvarājadēva I; but he cannot be identified with Nōhalā's father, because his father and grandfather were Balavarman and Avanivarman I respectively.

⁷ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XII, pp. 263 ff.

⁸ K. B. Pathak *Commemoration Volume*, pp. 359 ff.

the Kalachuri court and contains a poetic account of certain political events of Yuvarājādēva I's reign, to which we may now turn. Its plot may be summarised as follows :—

"The king Vidyādharamalla *alias* Karpūrararsha of Tripurī receives at his court Virapāla *alias* Chāṇḍamahāsēna, the lord of Kuntala, who has been deprived of his kingdom by his relatives and falls in love with his daughter Kuvalayamālā. His minister Bhāgurāyaṇa, however, comes to know from astrologers that the king who would marry Mṛigāṅkāvalī, the daughter of the king Chandrarvarman of Lāṭa, would be the sovereign of the whole world. He, therefore, contrives to bring about the marriage of his lord Karpūrararsha with Mṛigāṅkāvalī. Chandrarvarman, her father, has no son, and so, since her childhood he has brought her up as a boy under the name Mṛigāṅkavarman. None but Bhāgurāyaṇa knows of this secret. He manages to have the pretended crown prince of Lāṭa brought to Tripurī to stay at the Kalachuri court. Karpūrararsha's chief queen Madanasundarī, who, though related to Chandrarvarman, is shown to be ignorant of the personation, used to dress occasionally the pretended boy in a female garb. When the king sees her once in a dream, he falls in love with her. The queen, in order to play a practical joke on the king, induces him to marry a sister of the pretended boy. This sister is none other than Mṛigāṅkāvalī herself, though the queen, who is ignorant of her real sex, takes her to be Mṛigāṅkavarman in a female garb. The king agrees and the marriage is performed. In the meanwhile, news comes from Chandrarvarman that a son has been born to him. He, therefore, requests his niece, the queen of Karpūrararsha, to bestow his daughter Mṛigāṅkāvalī, whom he has brought up as a son, on a worthy consort. The queen realizes her mistake when it is too late. To make the best of the situation, however, she bestows both Mṛigāṅkāvalī and Kuvalayamālā, the Kuntala princess, on the king. Just then comes a messenger bearing the following letter from the king's General Śrī-Vatsa :—

"Through the power of Your Majesty who is an ornament of the Karachulis, through the clear intellect of the great minister Bhāgurāyaṇa as well as through the execution of Your Majesty's orders by insignificant soldiers like myself, all the mighty kings of the east, the west and the north have already been subdued. Only those of the south did not submit. Virapāla, the lord of Kuntala, who had been deprived of his kingdom by his kinsmen, sought Your Majesty's protection. As Your Majesty ordered, we placed him at our head and encamped on the bank of the Payōshṇī."

The General then describes how his forces fought with a confederacy of several kings, *viz.*, those of Karṇāṭa, Siṃhala, Pāṇḍya, Murala, Āndhra, Kuntala, Kōṅkaṇa and others, defeated them and placed Virapāla on the throne. Finally, Bhāgurāyaṇa declares that the Karachuli king reigns supreme over the whole country 'from the milky ocean in the north to the sea filled with the water of the Tāmraparṇī in the south, from the western ocean, which receives the Narmadā, to the eastern sea, the shore of which is sanctified by the fall of the Gaṅgā.'

The *Viddhaśālabhaṅjikā* is a drama of harem-intrigue. The plot summarised above resembles in some respects those of the *Mālavikāgnimitra* of Kālidāsa, and the *Priyadarśikā* and the *Ratnāvalī* of Harsha. Still it is likely to have a historical basis. The play was staged at Tripurī before the court of Yuvarājādēva, who is none other than the first Kalachuri king of that name. He is also identical with the hero of the play, Vidyādharamalla, whose alternative name Karpūrararsha recalls Kēyūrararsha, the *biruda* of Yuvarājādēva I. Besides, Vidyādharamalla is called *Karachuli-tilaka*, an ornament of the Karachulis (*i.e.*, Kalachuris) and is represented as ruling at Nṛipurī which is plainly a mistake for Tripurī. He is again called *Trilingādhīpati*. This title corresponds to *Trikaliṅgādhīpati* assumed by

several later Kalachuri kings. Like the *Pārijātamañjarī* of Madana¹ and the *Karṇasundarī* of Bilhana, the *Viddhaśālabhañjikā* also seems to have been based on historical events in the career of the contemporary king. From the analysis of the play given above, it will be noticed that it mentions the following events :—

(1) Yuvarājadēva married the daughter of Chandravarman, the king of Lāṭa, and this matrimonial alliance apparently strengthened his position.

(2) He espoused the cause of Virapāla, the king of Kuntala, who had been dethroned by his kinsmen, and sent an army which fought with a confederacy of kings on the bank of the Payōshnī, defeated it and placed Virapāla on the throne of Kuntala.

It is not possible to say definitely if the first of these was a historical event. It is not stated to which royal family Chandravarman of Lāṭa belonged. In the *Bālarāmāyaṇa*, Rājaśekhara represents a Chaulukya king as ruling over Lāṭa and attending the *svayamīvara* of Sitā (Act III, verse 57). From the description of the several kings who attended the *svayamīvara*, which is full of anachronisms, it is plain that Rājaśekhara is referring to the state of affairs in his own times. So Chandravarman of Lāṭa may have been intended to be represented as a prince of the Chaulukya dynasty. From some inscriptions² and literary references³ we know that a Chaulukya chief named Bārappa was ruling over Lāṭa in the third quarter of the 10th century A.C. He was the son of Nimbārka. Earlier members of this line are not known. Perhaps Chandravarman was intended to represent the predecessor of Nimbārka. He would, in that case, be a contemporary of Yuvarājadēva I. This must, of course, remain a conjecture until positive evidence of the earlier rule of this family in Lāṭa becomes available.

The second event described in the *Viddhaśālabhañjikā* seems to have a foundation in fact. Virapāla whose cause was espoused by Yuvarājadēva I is called the king of Kuntala. Kuntala was the name of the country between the Bhīmā and the Vēdavati, comprising the Southern Maratha Country as well as some Kanarese districts of the Bombay, Madras and Mysore States. In many records the Rāshtrakūṭas are referred to as the kings of Kuntala. Virapāla was, therefore, apparently a claimant for the Rāshtrakūṭa throne. His claim seems to have been superseded, and so he sought Yuvarājadēva's help to gain his kingdom.

Was there such a war of succession about this time in the history of the Rāshtrakūṭas? The Karhad⁴ and Deoli⁵ plates of Kṛishṇa III tell us that Gōvinda IV, whose known dates range from 930 A.C. to 933 A.C., was the source of the sportive pleasures of love, his mind was enchained by the eyes of women, he displeased all men by his vicious courses, and when his health was undermined, he ultimately met with death. From some other records, however, we learn that Amōghavarsha III, the uncle of Gōvinda IV, fomented a rebellion among the feudatories of Gōvinda IV which resulted in the king's death. The Prince of Wales Museum plates⁶ of the Śilāhāra prince Chhadvaidēva say that Amōghavarsha completely uprooted Gōvinda IV, who was acting unjustly. There was thus a civil war in the Rāshtra-

¹ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VIII, pp. 96 ff.

² See the Surat plates of Kīrtirāja, dated Śaka 940 (*Vienna Oriental Journal*, Vol. VII, p. 88); also the Surat plates of Trilōchanapāla, dated Śaka 972 (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XII, pp. 201 ff.). As Bārappa was the grandfather of Kīrtirāja, he may be placed about 960 A.C.

³ Bārappa is called the king of Lāṭa in Hēmachandra's *Dvyāśrayakāya*, and the general of Tailapa, the sovereign of Tiliṅgaṇa, in the *Prabandhaśāntāmāṇī* and the *Rāsamālā*. In the *Sukṛitasāhīkṛtana* (Canto II, v. 1), however, he is said to have been the general of the lord of Kānyakubja.

⁴ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. V, p. 194.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, p. 283.

⁶ *Ibid.*, Vol. XXVI, pp. 282 ff.

kūṭa kingdom at the close of Gōvinda's reign. The aforementioned Deoli and Karhad plates further tell us that after the death of Gōvinda IV, the feudatory princes entreated Baddiga *alias* Amōghavarsha III to ascend the throne. This clearly indicates that there was some trouble about succession to the Rāshtrakūṭa throne at that time. Virapāla of the *Viddhaśālabhañjikā* was apparently a claimant for the throne, and when he failed to get it, he sought Yuvarājadēva's help. The latter had by that time made extensive conquests in the north, east and west, but as the play states, he could not, for some time, gain a footing in the south. This was evidently due to the increasing power of the Rāshtrakūṭas. Yuvarājadēva apparently thought that the civil war at the close of Gōvinda IV's reign afforded him an excellent opportunity to place his own protégé on the Rāshtrakūṭa throne. He sent a large army under his able general, who defeated the Kuntala king and his allies in the battle of the Payōshṇī, and placed Virapāla on the throne of Kuntala.

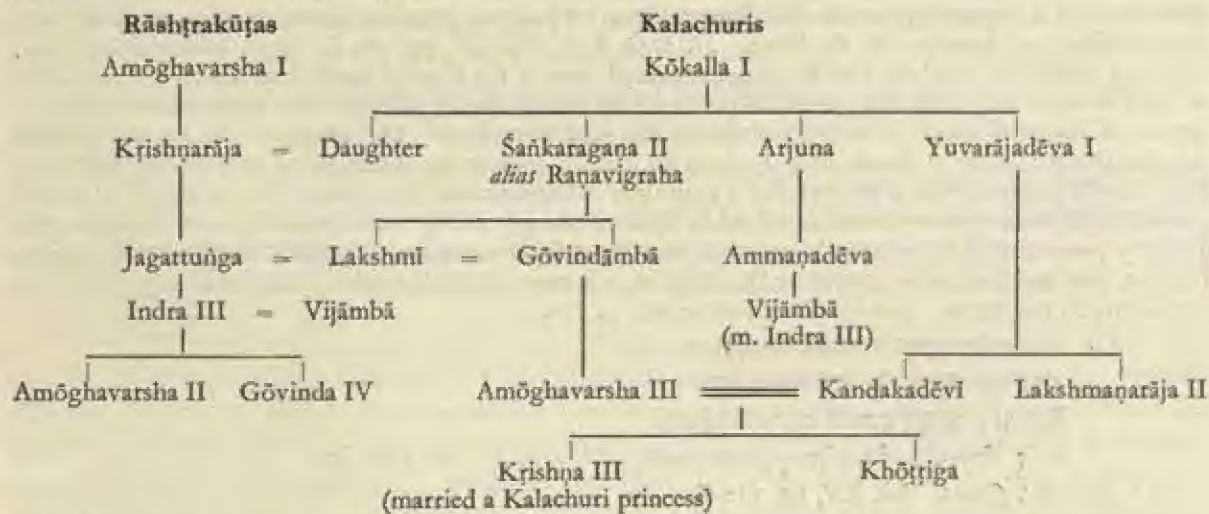
This Virapāla is probably Baddiga-Amōghavarsha III.¹ The latter, we know, was Yuvarājadēva's own son-in-law. The Kudlur² and Sudi plates³ further tell us that he was staying for some time at Tripuri where he celebrated the marriage of his daughter Rēvakanimmaḍī with the Gaṅga prince Pērmāḍi Būtuga II. Baddiga's son Kṛishṇa III also had married a Kalachuri princess. It is not, therefore, surprising that Yuvarājadēva espoused the cause of Baddiga.⁴ Rājaśēkhara has changed the names of the historical persons who figure as characters in the *Viddhaśālabhañjikā*. Kēyūrarvarsha, for instance, appears as Karpūrarvarsha, and his minister Bhākamiśra, as Bhāgurāyaṇa. So Baddiga may have been represented as Virapāla *alias* Chaṇḍamahāsēna.⁵

¹ Altekar, *Rāshtrakūṭas and Their Times*, pp. 109 ff.

² *A. R. A. S. M.* (1921), pp. 21-22.

³ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. III, p. 179.

⁴ Gōvinda IV also was a relative of Yuvarājadēva, but he was more distantly related to him than Amōghavarsha III; for, he was a grandson of his niece. The following table shows the matrimonial alliances of the Rāshtrakūṭas and the Kalachuris :—



⁵ I previously proposed to identify Virapāla with some other claimant for the Rāshtrakūṭa throne (e.g., Bappuva) on the following grounds—(i) The *Viddhaśālabhañjikā* represents that Yuvarājadēva afterwards married Virapāla's daughter. This would evidently be impossible if Virapāla represented Baddiga. (ii) The Karhad plates dated Ś. 880 (958 A.C.), state in verse 25 that Kṛishṇa III, while he was *Yuvarāja*, defeated Sahasrārjuna who was an elderly relative of his mother and wife. R. G. Bhandarkar first suggested that this Sahasrārjuna was a Kalachuri king as the Kalachuris traced their descent from the mythical hero Kārtavīrya-Sahasrārjuna. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IV, p. 284. This king could be none other than Yuvarājadēva I, who was the father-in-law of Amōghavarsha III, the father of Kṛishṇa III. As Amōghavarsha ruled only for about four years, this defeat of the Kalachuri king must have occurred within a year of the former's

The recently published Muruḍ plates of the Śilāhāra prince Aparājita state that Amōghavarsha III exterminated his wicked enemies in a fierce battle fought at the capital of the Rāshtrakūṭa prince Karkara.¹ The latter is probably identical with Karkarāja, the lord of Achalapura, mentioned in the Sudi and Kudlur plates as an antagonist of Būtuga, the son-in-law of Baddiga-Amōghavarsha III.² Achalapura, which is identified with Ellichpur³ in the Amaravati District of Madhya Pradesh, was, therefore, the scene of the battle. This town lies only about 10 miles west of the Pūrṇā (ancient Payōshnī). Rājāsēkhara's statement that the battle was fought on the bank of the Payōshnī is thus corroborated by independent inscriptional evidence.

This Karkara and his younger brother Bappuva were probably relatives and staunch supporters of Gōvinda IV. The Rāshtrakūṭa Emperor had made Bappuva the ruler of North Kārṇāṭaka, and placed Karkara in charge of Vidarbha. From the Mahākūṭa temple inscription⁴ we learn that Bappuvarasa (who is plainly identical with the aforementioned Bappuva) granted three rice-fields to Nandikēśvara in 933 A.C. In this inscription he is called *Mahāsāmanta* and is said to have attained the *pañchamabāśabda*. He is further described as a very Bhairava on a minor scale to the assemblage of the enemies of the brave Gōpāla. This Gōpāla is probably identical with the Rāshtrakūṭa Emperor Gōvinda IV. Bappuva seems to have taken a leading part in the civil war which raged in the Rāshtrakūṭa kingdom towards the end of Gōvinda IV's reign. He at first won some successes for his lord, but was afterwards defeated by the Chālukya chief Arikēśarin II, who, as stated in Pampa's *Vikramārjūnavijaya*,⁵ fought for Baddiga. Arikēśarin and other allies of Baddiga then seem to have marched on the imperial capital Mānyakhēṭa where they killed Gōvinda IV.⁶

In the meantime, Yuvarājadēva's army under his able general invaded the Rāshtrakūṭa kingdom from the north. Baddiga⁷ and probably his valiant son Kṛishṇa III also

(Continued from last page.)

accession; for, it is placed first among the achievements of Kṛishṇa III as crown prince. For these and some other reasons, it appeared plausible that Yuvarājadēva, on political grounds, backed up some other claimant than Baddiga, and fought with the latter. *A. B. O. R. I.*, Vol. XI, pp. 369 ff. Prof. Nilkanta Sastri has, however, recently pointed out that the aforementioned verse in the Karhad plates does not record any defeat of the Kalachuri king, but only glorifies Kṛishṇa III by stating that he excelled even Sahasrārjuna, the progenitor of the royal family in which his mother and wife were born. The passage from an unpublished manuscript cited below, p. lxxxiii, note 4, which has recently come to my notice, leaves no room for doubt that Prof. Sastri's interpretation is correct; for, it states that Amōghavarsha continued to stay at the Chēḍi capital even after his enemies were exterminated, while Kṛishṇa was governing the kingdom by his command. The difficulty presented by Rājāsēkhara's statement that Yuvarājadēva married Virapāla's daughter still remains. Perhaps, that incident, as suggested by Dr. Altekar, is a mere poetic invention intended to complicate the love affairs in the drama. See his *Rāshtrakūṭas*, etc., p. 110.

¹ Cf. श्रीमत्कर्कराष्टकूटककेऽसद्वंशसंघर्षतो
रोद्रोद्बुद्धवप्रतापमर्न निस्त्रिंशधाराजले ।
वेनाकारि समुद्रतेन्द्रवनुया भूवाश्मभिर्विद्युता
भाति श्रीमदमोघवर्षसुघनोऽसद्बुलिविध्वंसनात् ॥ *I. I. B. S.*, Vol. I, p. 47.

² *Ind. Hist. Quart.*, Vol. XV, pp. 612 ff.

³ The ancient place-name has now been restored.

⁴ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. X, p. 104; Vol. XVIII, p. 316.

⁵ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIII, p. 329.

⁶ See Pampa's *Vikramārjūnavijaya*, āśvāsa IX; *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIII, pp. 328-29. The description in the Deoli and Karhad plates that Gōvinda IV died early because his health was undermined by his dissolute life is a myth invented by his enemies. The Prince of Wales Museum plates recently edited by me (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXVI, pp. 282 ff.) state that Amōghavarsha III completely uprooted Gōjjiga (*i.e.*, Gōvinda IV) who had acted unjustly.

⁷ Rājāsēkhara states in his play that the General Vatsa placed Virapāla at the head, when he marched to the Payōshnī.

accompanied the forces. They marched on Achalapura, the capital of Karkara.¹ If the description in the *Viddhaśālabhañjikā* is correct, a large number of Gōvinda's feudatories and allies had assembled at Achalapura to oppose the invading forces.² A sanguinary battle was fought on the bank of the Payōshñī (modern Pūmā), which flows only about 10 miles east of the town. Karkara and other allies of Gōvinda were defeated. The Kalachuri army then marched on to Mānyakhēṭa, which Arikēsarin had already stormed and taken. He had also killed the Emperor Gōvinda IV. The feudatories that had gathered at Mānyakhēṭa then offered the crown to Baddiga and 'entreated him to accept it to maintain the greatness of the sovereignty of the Raṭṭas, and he too, being prompted by the god Śiva, ascended the glorious throne of heroes'.³ The last known date of Gōvinda IV is 933 A.C. and the earliest date of Baddiga-Amōghavarsha III is 937 A.C. The battle of the Payōshñī may, therefore, have been fought in 935 A.C. The *Viddhaśālabhañjikā* seems to have been staged at Tripurī in jubilation at this great victory over a formidable confederacy of southern kings. Yuvarājadēva I was now at the height of his power; for, he had attained the enviable position of *Chakravartin*.

The cordial relations of the Kalachuris and the Rāshtrakūṭas continued as before. Although some of the feudatories of Gōvinda IV had been defeated and the imperial capital had been occupied, peace and order were not established for some time in the Rāshtrakūṭa dominion. Baddiga, who was a man of quiet and saintly nature, preferred to return to the Kalachuri capital,⁴ while his son Kṛishṇa III, who was appointed *Yuvarāja*, subdued the rebellious feudatories. He killed Bappuva and his ally Dantiga,⁵ and governed the Rāshtrakūṭa empire in the name of his father, who continued to stay at Tripurī.

Soon after this, Yuvarājadēva I suffered a defeat, at the hands of Yaśōvarman, the Chandēlla king, who was ruling over the neighbouring kingdom of Jejābhukti. The Khajuraho inscription⁶ says that Yaśōvarman vanquished in battle a Chēdi king who had countless forces, who had planted his lotus-like foot on rows of diadems of famous kings and who was being protected by a multitude of angry and invincible bowmen riding elephants in rut that were marching along like huge mountains of collyrium. R. B. Hiralal thought that this battle took place at the time of the accession of Yuvarājadēva I.⁷ The latter was, however, a senior contemporary of Yaśōvarman. Besides, he is described in the aforementioned record as having already defeated a number of famous kings. The

¹ I have shown above (p. xlvii) that the Rāshtrakūṭas of Vidarbha were originally feudatories of the Early Kalachuris and later transferred their allegiance to the Chālukyas of Bādāmi. They were at first ruling from Nandivardhana near Nagpur. Later, Achalapura seems to have become their capital.

² It is not unlikely that the names of some of them were inserted for the sake of alliteration.

³ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IV, p. 284; Vol. V, p. 194.

⁴ The following verses which occur at the end of an unpublished commentary on a Śaiva work state that Vandyaga (*i.e.*, Baddiga) was staying at the Chēdi capital (Tripurī) after exterminating his enemies and that his son Kṛishṇa (III) was governing the kingdom by his order in the Śaka year 858 (936 A.C.) गतवति शककाले मङ्गलेश्वरसंख्ये शरदि विशदपक्षे चाश्विने शुक्रवारे । उडुनि सुरपतीसे योग आयुष्मतीयं तिथिरपि च गतानां पञ्चमी यत्र शुद्धा ॥ चेदिकुलराजधान्यां गतवति श्रीवन्द्यगे निहत्यारीन् । तच्छासनेन वसुधां परिरक्षति कुण्णराजेऽपि ॥ The *itihi* mentioned here, *शुक्र.*, Friday, Āśvina śu. di. 5, Śaka 858, regularly corresponds to the 23rd September 936 A.C., which leaves no room for doubt about the genuineness of the MS. and the correctness of the statements made therein. I owe this interesting reference to the courtesy of Dr. S. N. Sen, Keeper of the Nepal Museum.

⁵ This Dantiga is probably identical with Dantivarman who was defeated by Bātuga. The description in the Sudi and Kudlur plates suggests that he was a ruler of Banavāsi in North Kanara. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. III, p. 180; *A. R. A. S. M.* (1921), p. 22.

⁶ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, p. 127.

⁷ *A. B. O. R. I.*, Vol. IX, p. 287.

battle must, therefore, be dated towards the close of his reign.

Yuvarājadēva was a fervent devotee of Śiva. He invited a Śaiva ascetic named Prabhāvaśiva from Madhumatī which still survives as a small village under the name Mahuā, about a mile to the south of Tērahi in Madhya Bharat. He built for him a monastery at the expense of an enormous amount of money at Gurgi in the former Rewa State and donated several villages for the maintenance of the Śaiva ascetics residing there.¹ He also erected a temple of Śiva nearby. At Bhērā-Ghāt near his own capital Tripurī, he built a round hypæthral structure dedicated to the sixty-four Yōginis.² From the characters of the short inscriptions on their pedestals, it appears that most of the images of the Yōginis installed in the cells of this temple belong to the time of Yuvarājadēva I. This temple, therefore, is of the same age as the hypæthral granite structure at Khajuraho, which also was similarly dedicated to the sixty-four Yōginis. From its round shape, the temple was known as the Gōlakī Maṭha (Circular Temple). It became in its turn an important seat of Śaiva Āchāryas and spread its branches in Cudappah, Kurnool, Guntur and North Arcot Districts of the Madras State. In an inscription³ discovered at Malkāpuram in the Guntur District, it is stated that Yuvarājadēva gave, as *bhikṣhā*, three lakhs of villages to his *guru* Sadbhāvaśambhu of the Gōlakī Maṭha. This means that he assigned one third of the revenue of the Dāhala country which contained nine lakhs of villages.⁴ His queen Nōhalā was also equally devoted to the same Śaiva sect. She called another Śaiva ascetic named Īśvaraśiva and donated two villages to him as a reward for learning (*vidyā-dhana*). She erected a lofty temple of Śiva under the name of Nōhalēśvara⁵ and endowed it with the grant of seven villages situated in the neighbourhood.

Yuvarājadēva had a very learned, pious and capable Brāhmaṇa minister, named Bhāka-miśra. He is probably the prototype of Bhāgurāyaṇa who figures as the counsellor of the hero in the *Viddhaśālabhañjikā*. Another minister of his, who probably belonged to the Kāyastha caste, was Gōllāka, also known as Gauḍa, the son of Bhānu. He was a devotee of Viṣṇu, and caused colossal images of the Fish, Tortoise, Boar, Balarāma and Paraśurāma incarnations of Viṣṇu to be carved out of rocks at Bāndhōgarh where he has left his own inscriptions.

Yuvarājadēva I was one of the most powerful rulers of the Later Kalachuri Dynasty. He raided distant countries and made even famous kings feel the weight of his arm. It is difficult to say if his raids resulted in the permanent annexation of any territory; for, no inscriptions of his reign have been discovered outside the Chēdi country. But his titles *Chakravartin* and *Trikaliṅgādhipati* indicate that he occupied for a time the leading position among the powers of North and South India. This was evidently when the power of the Pratihāras declined in the north owing to the raids of Indra III and that of the Rāshtrakūṭas was on the wane in the south owing to dissensions in the royal family during the reign of Gōvinda IV. Yuvarājadēva was a pious man, a great builder, and a patron of religion and literature.

¹ No. 46, ll. 43 ff.

² Though the temple is called Chausaṭh Jōgini Temple, there are in all 81 cells, one of which contains an image of Gaṇapati, and the rest, those of Yōginis. Five of these are of an earlier, perhaps Kushāṇa, age. *H. T. M.*, p. 78.

³ *J. A. H. R. S.*, Vol. IV, pp. 152 ff.

⁴ This statement needs to be verified from other records. The records of the Śaiva Āchāryas themselves found in the Chēdi country make no mention of this munificent gift.

⁵ It is not known where this temple was situated. It is perhaps identical with the temple at Nōhatā on the main road between Jabalpur and Damoh. According to Cousens, it belongs at the latest to the 10th century A.C. See *A. R. A. S. I.* for 1903-4, p. 58.

Yuvarājadēva I was succeeded by Lakshmaṇarāja II, who was his son by his favourite wife Nōhalā. In the early part of his reign, Lakshmaṇarāja seems to have taken part in the northern campaign of the Rāshtrakūṭa king Kṛishṇa III. A Kanarese inscription¹ recently discovered at Jurā, 12 miles from the Maihar railway station, shows that Kṛishṇa III led an expedition in the north after he ascended the throne, and set up a monument in the Chēdi country. It is not dated; but as it mentions Kṛishṇa's extermination of the Chōla king, it must have been put up after 947 A.C.² It has been suggested that the erection of this monument implies defeat of the Chēdi king; but since there is no mention or even suggestion of it in the Jurā inscription, it seems that Kṛishṇa III set up the monument as he marched through the Chēdi kingdom. His relations with Lakshmaṇarāja II seem to have been as cordial as those of his father with Yuvarājadēva I.

Like his father, Lakshmaṇarāja also raided distant countries. The Kāritalāi inscription³ of his reign, which must have contained an account of his conquests, has unfortunately lost its initial historical portion; but in the records of his successors, he is described as one 'who was clever in routing the king of Bengal, who defeated Pāṇḍya, who was an adept in despoiling the king of Lāṭa, who vanquished the Gurjara king and whose foot-stool was honoured by the heroes of Kāśmīra.'⁴ There is no corroboration of Lakshmaṇarāja's raid in Bengal and Kashmir; but the Bilhāri inscription⁵ states that he defeated the lord of Kōsala (*i.e.*, South Kosala or Chhattisgarh) and pressed on as far as Orissa. He vanquished the ruler of this latter country also, and obtained from him an effigy of the (Nāga) Kāliyā, wrought with jewels and gold. As regards his victory in Lāṭa or Gujarat, we have the statement in the same inscription that Lakshmaṇarāja, in the course of his expedition in the west, worshipped the god Sōmēśvara, evidently identical with Sōmanātha near Verāval in Saurashtra and dedicated to the deity the aforementioned effigy of Kāliyā. His invasion of the Pāṇḍya country also seems to be corroborated by a mutilated line⁶ in the contemporary Kāritalāi inscription which mentions his forces encamped on the bank of the Tāmraparṇī. It seems rather strange that there should be no reference to Lakshmaṇarāja's victory over the Chōlas, who, and not the Pāṇḍyas, were supreme in the south in the latter half of the tenth century A.C., and who must have been attacked and defeated by Lakshmaṇarāja before he could press as far south as Tāmraparṇī in the Pāṇḍya country. We have, therefore, to suppose that the Chōlas had not recovered from the attack of the Rāshtrakūṭa prince Kṛishṇa III and that the Pāṇḍya king was raising his head and trying to re-establish his power with the help of the Rāshtrakūṭas,⁶ when his country was raided by Lakshmaṇarāja. Perhaps the object of the panegyrist was not to enumerate all kings defeated by Lakshmaṇarāja, and the Pāṇḍya king finds a mention because he was ruling in the extreme south.

The Gurjara king defeated by Lakshmaṇarāja must have been one of the weak successors of Mahīpāla, as pointed out by R. D. Banerji.⁷ The same scholar found corroboration of this victory in the statement of the Bilhāri inscription that Lakshmaṇarāja defeated the lord of Kōsala. He further identified this prince with his namesake mentioned at the head of the genealogy in the Kahla plates of Sōḍhadēva, and conjectured that he must

¹ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIX, pp. 287 ff.

² Mr. N. Lakshminarayan Rao ascribes it to 963-64 A.C.

³ No. 42.

⁴ No. 45, ll. 23-24.

⁵ No. 42, line 1.

⁶ Compare *Kṛitā daktṛiṇa-dig-jay-śyāta-dhiyā Chaul-āṇḍya-śmūlanam tad-bhūmim nija-bhṛitya-varzga-paritāḥ-Chēraṇma-Pāṇḍya-ādikān* in the Karhad plates of Kṛishṇa III; *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IV, p. 285.

⁷ *H. T. M.*, p. 13.

have placed one of his sons in charge of the country conquered from the Gurjaras. But these suppositions do not appear to be correct. As stated before, Lakshmaṇarāja's victory over the king of Kōśala is mentioned in connection with the despoilment of the lord of Odra (Orissa). This Kōśala appears, therefore, to be Dakṣiṇa Kōśala or Chhattisgarh and the adjoining country. Besides, Lakshmaṇarāja who founded the dynasty ruling in the Gōrākhpur District of the United Provinces must have flourished long before Lakshmaṇarāja II of the Tripurī house.¹

Lakshmaṇarāja sought to strengthen his position by a matrimonial alliance with the Chālukyas, who were the rivals of the Rāshtrakūṭas in the Deccan. He gave his daughter Bonthādēvī in marriage to Vikramāditya IV, whose son Tailapa II (*circa* 956-997 A.C.) later on overthrew the last Rāshtrakūṭa king Karka II in 973 A.C.

Like his father and mother, Lakshmaṇarāja was a devout Śaiva. The Bilhāri inscription states that he showed his devotion by presents sent by well-conducted messengers, and invited to his country the Śaiva pontiff Hṛidayaśiva, the spiritual successor of Chūḍāśiva. The latter ascetic seems to be identical with Sikhāśiva, whose disciple Prabhāvaśiva had already been invited by Yuvarājadēva I. Hṛidayaśiva received from Lakshmaṇarāja the monastery of the holy Vaidyanātha at Bilhāri. He then placed his disciple Aghōraśiva in charge of the aforementioned temple of Nōhalēśvara. Another Śaiva ascetic of the time was Praśāntaśiva,² the spiritual successor of Prabhāvaśiva. He became the head of the monastery at Gurgi in the former Rewa state. He built there a temple of Śiva near another built by Yuvarājadēva I, and installed in the shrines attached to it the images of Umā, Hara-Gaurī, Kārttikēya, Gaṇapati and Sarasvatī. He also built a monastery on the bank of the Sōṇa for the practice of Yōga, and another at Vārāṇasī (Banaras) for the performance of austerities.

The only record of Lakshmaṇarāja's reign discovered so far is the Kārītālāi stone inscription. It is not dated, but in view of the date of Yuvarājadēva I fixed above, we may place Lakshmaṇarāja II in the period 945-970 A.C.

Lakshmaṇarāja had a very learned, accomplished and pious minister named Sōmēśvara, the son of Bhākamiśra who had served his father in the same capacity. He is highly glorified in the aforementioned Kārītālāi inscription. He is said to have mastered the Vēdas, logic, *tantra* and *kāvya*, and to have been proficient in music and other fine arts. He built at Kārītālāi a temple of the Boar incarnation of Viṣṇu under the name Sōmēśvara and established eight Brāhmaṇas there, for whose maintenance he donated the village Dīrghaśākhika, modern Dighi, 6 miles south-east of Kārītālāi. The king Lakshmaṇarāja, his queen Rāhaḍā and the prince Saṅkaragaṇa, who is described as a devout worshipper of Viṣṇu, endowed the temple with gifts of several villages. Another minister of the king, who belonged to the Kāyastha caste, was mentioned in the Rewa stone inscription dated 1048-49 A.C., but his name is lost in the lower mutilated portion of it.

Lakshmaṇarāja II was succeeded by Saṅkaragaṇa III, who was his son probably from the queen Rāhaḍā. He is mentioned in both the Bilhāri inscription and the Banaras plates; but later inscriptions omit him, probably because he was a collateral. A stone inscription at Bargaon, 27 miles from Murwārā, records certain gifts in honour of the god Saṅkaranārāyaṇa. The deity was probably installed by Saṅkaragaṇa III and named after himself.³ It is noteworthy in this connection that he is called *parama-vaishṇava* or a devout worshipper of Viṣṇu in the Kārītālāi inscription.

¹ See below, p. cxii.

² He is mentioned in No. 44, ll. 8-9 and No. 46, ll. 11 ff.

³ Compare the name *Indranārāyaṇa* of the deity installed in a temple erected by the Rāshtrakūṭa king Indra III, as stated in the Bodhan stone inscription dated 1056 A.C. *H. A. S.*, No. 7.

Saṅkaragaṇa seems to have been involved in a conflict with the Chandēllas, whose kingdom was conterminous with his on the west. Kṛishṇa or Kṛishṇapa, son of Yaśōvarman and brother of Dhaṅga, was ruling over the south-western portion of the Chandēlla kingdom extending from Dudahi in the north to Bhilsā in the south.¹ From a stone inscription discovered by Dr. F. E. Hall many years ago at Bhilsa, we learn that Vāchaspati of the Kauṇḍinya *gōtra*, who was the chief minister of Kṛishṇa, conquered the lord of Chēdi and a Śabara chief named Sirmha and placed the kings of Rālā *maṇḍala* and Rōḍapādi on their thrones.² Another stone inscription discovered by Mr. M. B. Garde at Maser, 25 miles north of Bhilsā in the Gwalior State, mentions that Narasirmha of the Sulkī (*i.e.*, Chālukya) family initiated the wives of a Kalachuri king into widowhood by the command of Kṛishṇarāja.³ As the Chandēlla prince Kṛishṇa was a younger brother of Dhaṅga, for whom we have dates ranging from 952 to 1002 A.C., he can be referred to the period 960-985 A.C. The Kalachuri king, defeated and perhaps slain by his ministers, was probably Saṅkaragaṇa. It is significant that both the Bilhāri inscription and the Banaras plates have nothing but conventional praise for him. As his brother Yuvarājadēva II, who succeeded him, was a contemporary of Vākpati-Muṇja (*circa* 974-994 A.C.), Saṅkaragaṇa III seems to have had a short reign of about 10 years from *circa* 970 A.C. to 980 A.C.

Saṅkaragaṇa III probably left no issue; for, he was succeeded by his brother Yuvarājadēva II. About the political events of his reign we have very little information; for, though he is named in many later inscriptions, they bestow only conventional praise on him. The Karaṇbēl inscription⁴ alone states that he raided the countries in all quarters, and with great devotion, presented the wealth he obtained from their rulers to the god Sōmēśvara. As no other inscription mentions this achievement of Yuvarājadēva II, and as a similar one is described in connection with his father Lakshmaṇarāja II,⁵ one is inclined to look with suspicion on this description.

The prestige of the Kalachuris seems to have sunk very low during the reign of Yuvarājadēva II. From the Udaipur *prastāvi*⁶ we learn that the Paramāra king Vākpati Muṇja defeated Yuvarāja, slew his generals, and held his sword on high at Tripurī. Vākpati could not have occupied the Kalachuri capital for a long time; for, he soon found himself involved in a prolonged struggle with the Chālukyas on the southern border of his kingdom. He seems, therefore, to have made peace with the Kalachuri king and returned to his kingdom.

From a verse⁷ which occurs in some inscriptions of the Later Chālukyas of Kalyāṇī, it has long been believed that Tailapa II, the founder of the Later Chālukya dynasty, defeated a king of Chēdi.⁸ Rai Bahadur Hiralal went so far as to identify the Chēdi ruler with Yuvarājadēva II.⁹ As Yuvarājadēva's sister Bōnthādēvī was the mother of Tailapa,¹⁰

¹ Four inscriptions found at Dudahi name Kṛishṇapa, the son of Yaśōvarman who is plainly the well-known Chandēlla king of that name, the father of Dhaṅga. See *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 236-37.

² *J. A. S. B.*, Vol. XXXI, p. 111, n. 2.

³ *A. R. A. D. G. S.* (1930-31), p. 10.

⁴ Appendix, No. 3, v. 13.

⁵ No. 45, ll. 23-24.

⁶ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, p. 235.

⁷ *Hūṇa-prāṇabara-pratāpa-dabanō yātrā-trasan-Māraṇas-Chaidya-chchbīdy-akbila-kshamā-jaya-naya-vynt-panna-dhīr-Utpalāḥ | yēn-ātyugra-raṇ-āgra-darśita-va(ba)la-prāchurya-saury-ōdayaḥ kārāgāra-nivēṣitaḥ kavi-vriṣhā-janī varṇṇayan ghūrṇatē ||* This verse occurs in several inscriptions. See e.g. the Kauthe grant of Vikramāditya V, *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVI, p. 23; the Yēwur grant of Vikramāditya VI, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XII, p. 276; the Miraj grant of Jayasimha, *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VIII, p. 11 etc.

⁸ *E. H. D.*, p. 111; *H. T. M.* p. 14; *D. H. N. I.*, Vol. II, p. 770.

⁹ *A. B. O. R. I.*, Vol. IX, p. 291.

¹⁰ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XII, p. 276.

there is, of course, no chronological difficulty in this identification; but in view of Tailapa's close relationship with the Kalachuri king, his invasion of the Chēdi country appears improbable. As a matter of fact, the aforementioned verse describes the exploits, not of Tailapa II, but of a king named Utpala, whom he subjugated and threw into prison.¹ Dr. Fleet identified this Utpala who defeated a Chēdi king with Pāñchāla, a western Gaṅga prince, whom, according to some other inscriptions, Tailapa killed in battle.² From the *Navasāhasāṅkacharita*,³ however, we learn that Utpala was a name of the Paramāra king Vākpati-Muñja. So this defeat of the Chēdi king by Utpala is not different from that mentioned in the Udaipur *prastasti*, to which we have already referred.

As Yuvarājādēva II's grandson Gāṅgēyadēva closed his reign in 1041 A.C., we have to accommodate two reigns, viz., those of Yuvarājādēva II and Kōkalla II in the period 980-1015 A.C. Of these, Yuvarājādēva II had probably a shorter reign of about 10 years (circa 980-990 A.C.); for, his son Kōkalla II was very young when he came to the throne. The Jabalpur and Khairhā plates state that Kōkalla was placed on the throne by the chief ministers of Yuvarājādēva. This seems to suggest that he was a minor, when he began to rule. He may, therefore, have flourished from circa 990 to 1015 A.C.

The only record of Kōkalla II's reign is the Gurgi stone inscription,⁴ which is besides very much mutilated just where a *prastasti* of the Chēdi kings begins. Verse 34 of this inscription, which refers to the exploits of Kōkalla II, is somewhat better preserved. It intimates that the Gurjara king and the rulers of Gauḍa and Kuntala, being panic-stricken, evidently when they heard of Kōkalla's advance,⁵ deserted their kingdoms. The Gurjara king, who is said to have sought shelter in the Himālayas, must have been a ruler of the Pratihāra dynasty of Kanauj, probably Rājyapāla. The Gauḍa king was probably Mahipāla I (circa 992-1040 A.C.). The king of Kuntala, who was forced to leave his kingdom,⁶ was perhaps Vikramāditya V of the Later Chālukya Dynasty. The Jabalpur and Khairhā plates of Yaśaḥkarna describe that the progress of Kōkalla's four-membered army was checked only by their encountering the masses of waves of the four oceans. The vagueness of this description, however, makes it difficult to say if Kōkalla actually made successful incursions into the territories of the aforementioned kings.

That the Kalachuris had lost their place among the leading political powers of North India, during the reigns of Yuvarāja II and Kōkalla II, is also clear from the absence of any reference to them in the list of the prominent Hindu states which opposed Sabuktigin and Mahmud of Ghazni towards the close of the tenth and the beginning of the eleventh century A.C. When in about 989 A.C. Jayapāla resolved to make a supreme effort to save India from the aggressions of Sabuktigin, he summoned to his aid the rulers of Delhi, Ajmer, Kālañjar and Kanauj.⁷ Again in 1008 A.C. when Jayapāla's son, Anandapāla, thought of invoking the aid of his Hindu compatriots to stem the tide of Mahmud's invasion, he sent emissaries to the Rājās of Ujjain, Gwalior, Kālañjar, Delhi and Ajmer. In neither

¹ See my article 'Did Tailapa defeat a Chēdi king?' *Ind. Hist. Quart.*; Vol. IX, pp. 132 ff.

² *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVI, p. 18, no. 12.

³ Canto XI, v. 92.

⁴ No. 46.

⁵ Banerji thought that verse 34 of this inscription described the conquests of Gāṅgēyadēva; but this is incorrect; for, as has been pointed out by N. P. Chakravarti (*Ep. Ind.*, XXII, 129), the preceding verse (33) names Kōkalla (II). This leaves no room for doubt that the achievements glorified in verse 34 belong to him and not to Gāṅgēyadēva.

⁶ There is no reference to the ruler of Banavāsī, as wrongly supposed by Banerji.

⁷ *Tārīkh-i-Firishṭa*, Translation by Briggs, p. 18.

of these lists do we find any mention of the Kalachuris,¹ which shows that in this period they had ceased to count as a great political power in North India.

Kōkalla II was succeeded by his son Gāṅgēya in *circa* 1015 A.C. He was an aggressive and able king, and by his conquests raised his family to a high level of glory and prosperity. In the beginning of his reign, however, he occupied a comparatively subordinate position. This is indicated by the modest titles *Mabārha-mabā-mabattaka* and *Mabārāja*, with which he is mentioned in the Makundpur stone inscription, dated 1019 A.C. A Chandēlla inscription² at Mahōbā states that Bhōja and Kalachuri-chandra (the Moon of the Kalachuris) waited upon the Chandēlla prince Vidyādhara, the master of warfare, who had caused the destruction of the king of Kānyakubja, and who was lying on a couch. The Kalachuri-chandra is probably Gāṅgēya.³ The reference here is evidently to the attack on Rājyapāla for his abject submission to Mahmud, in which the Chandēlla prince Vidyādhara took a leading part. He was aided by some princes, one of whom, we know, was the Kachchhapaghāta ruler Arjuna.⁴ The Paramāra Bhōja and the Kalachuri Gāṅgēya also seem to have fought under the leadership of Vidyādhara in this expedition against Rājyapāla.⁵

In the south Gāṅgēya carried on the war with the Chālukyas, which had been commenced by his father. He seems to have achieved success for a time. In some records of his son Karṇa,⁶ Gāṅgēya is described as fond of defeating the king of Kuntala in a clever manner. The Khairhā and Jabalpur plates of Yaśaḥkarṇa state that wishing to run away in haste from Gāṅgēya, the king of Kuntala ceased to wield his spear. The king of Kuntala must, of course, be taken to mean the contemporary ruler of the Later Chālukya Dynasty, namely, Jayasirīha, who ruled from about 1015 A.C. to 1042 A.C. From the

¹ Firishṭa alone mentions this confederacy; but his statement may be incorrect in regard to Delhi and Ajmer. See Nazim, *Sultan Mahmud*, p. 89, n. 3.

² *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, p. 222. Prof. S. H. Hodivala has recently made the ingenious suggestion that Kulchand, mentioned by the Muhammadan historians as 'a Satanic leader who had assumed superiority over all other rulers, defeated, put to flight every one he had fought with, and possessed a great army, numerous elephants and strong forts which were secure from attack and capture, and who defended Mahāvan near Mathurā against Mahmud of Ghazni in 1018 A.C. is really Kōkalla Chid or Kōkalla II of Chēdi. *J. I. M. H.*, p. 146. This is, chronologically, not impossible; because the earliest known date of Gāṅgēya's reign is 1019 A.C. But Prof. Hodivala's other suggestion that he is identical with the Kalachuri-kula-chandra who helped the Chandēlla prince Vidyādhara in defeating the pusillanimous Rājyapāla does not seem to be correct for two reasons: (i) the Muhammadan historians say that Kulchand committed suicide after his defeat at Mahāvan, and (ii) in 1019 A.C. when Rājyapāla was defeated, Gāṅgēya, not Kōkalla II, was on the throne. See the Makundpur stone inscription, dated K. 772 (1019 A.C.).

³ Dr. Hultzsch and, following him, Dr. H. C. Ray identify him with Kōkalla II; but this is incorrect. See above, n. 2.

⁴ See the Dubkund inscription. *Ep. Ind.* Vol. II, p. 233.

⁵ The colophon of a *Rāmāyaṇa* Ms., discovered by Prof. Bendall in the Nepal Durbar Library, mentions *Mabārājādhirāja Puṇyāvalōka* Gāṅgēyadēva, born in the lunar family, as ruling over Tirabhukti in *samvat* 1076. Prof. Bendall referred the date to the Vikrama era and took it as equivalent to 1019-20 A.C. He identified Gāṅgēyadēva with the homonymous Kalachuri king, as the date falls in his reign. On the strength of this reference, it was believed for a long time that Gāṅgēya extended his sway to Tirhut early in his reign. The epithet *Puṇyāvalōka*, however, made this identification doubtful; for, Kalachuri kings are not known to have assumed such epithets ending in *avalōka*. I have recently drawn attention to another epithet *Garudādhoja* (previously misread by Bendall as *Gaṇḍadhvoja*) applied to Gāṅgēya in the same colophon. It clearly shows that this king of Tirhut was different from the Kalachuri Gāṅgēyadēva who was *paramamāhēsvara*, i. e., a devout worshipper of Śiva. For the identification of this Gāṅgēyadēva of Tirabhukti, see my article in *A. B. O. R. I.*, Silver Jubilee Vol., pp. 291 ff.

⁶ No. 50, l. 18 and No. 51, l. 9.

Kulenur inscription¹ it seems that Gāṅgēyadēva had formed a confederacy with the Paramāra Bhōja and the Chōla Rājendra to attack Jayasimha from three sides. Victory does not, however, appear to have always attended the arms of the allies; for, the Kulenur inscription records the defeat of their elephant squadrons by Jayasimha's cousin Chātṭadēva *alias* Kuntarāja. From another inscription we learn that the battle was fought on the bank of the Gautama-Gaṅgā or Gōdāvarī.² Bhōja and his allies appear to have sustained a disastrous defeat; for, the Balagamve inscription states that Jayasimha searched out, beset, pursued, ground down and put to flight the confederacy of the Mālava king.³

The alliance between the Kalachuris and the Paramāras seems to have been of short duration; for, we find that Bhōja soon attacked and defeated Gāṅgēya. In one of the Nāndī verses of the inscribed Sanskrit play *Pārijātamāñjarī*, Bhōja is said to have had his desires speedily fulfilled for a long time at the festive defeat of Gāṅgēya.⁴ The Udaipur *prastuti*⁵ and the Kalwan plates⁶ also refer to Bhōja's victory over a Chēdi king who can be none other than Gāṅgēyadēva.

Verse 19 of the Rewa stone inscription of Karṇa⁷ describes in a conventional manner Gāṅgēya's victory near the sea-coast. This may refer to his campaign in Orissa, which is specifically mentioned in the preceding verse. This latter verse says that Gāṅgēyadēva, strong as he was in the action of breaking open the frontal globes of the best of elephants, made his own arm the pillar of victory on the shore of the (eastern) ocean after vanquishing the king of Utkala. In this war Gāṅgēya was helped by the subordinate branch of the Kalachuri family established at Tummāna. The Amōdā plates of Prithivīdēva I⁸ record that Kamalarāja, an early prince of the Tummāna branch, vanquished the king of Utkala and gave his wealth to his lord Gāṅgēyadēva. The king of Utkala was, it seems, a member of the Kara dynasty, perhaps Subhākara II, as shown below. During this campaign Gāṅgēya seems to have also defeated Mahāśivagupta—Yayāti, the ruler of South Kōsala. In one of his grants Yayāti is said to have obtained a victory over the Chaidyas, *i.e.*, the people of the Chēdi country, and carried fire and sword into their home province of Ḍāhala.⁹ The war seems to have continued for some time, and victory sometimes leaned to one side and sometimes to the other. If Gāṅgēyadēva was ultimately victorious, he might have assumed the title of *Trikalingādhipati* after his success. We know that his son Karṇa mentions this title in his first known grant¹⁰ issued just a year after Gāṅgēya's death.

The invasions of Mahmud of Ghazni had shattered the power and prestige of the Pratihāras of Kanauj. Trilōchanapāla is the last known Pratihāra king who was exercising some loose authority over the Gangetic Doab till 1027 A.C.; for, his Jhusi grant¹¹ of that year records the donation of a village to the Brāhmaṇas of Pratishthāna. The power of the Chandēllas, the only other ruling family of Central India capable of thwarting the ambition of Gāṅgēya, was waning after the death of Gaṇḍa. Some time after 1027 A.C. Gāṅgēya seems to have embarked on a bold policy of conquest and annexation. Throwing

¹ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XV, p. 330.

² *Ibid.*, Vol. XVI, p. 359.

³ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. V, p. 17.

⁴ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VIII, p. 101.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 235.

⁶ *Ibid.*, Vol. XIX, p. 71.

⁷ No. 51.

⁸ No. 76, l. 13.

⁹ *J. A. S. B. (N. S.)*, Vol. I (1905), p. 4.

¹⁰ No. 48, l. 34.

¹¹ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 35 ff.

off the yoke of Chandēlla suzerainty, he overran the Doab and even carried his arms as far as the Kāngrā valley; for, he is said to have thrown into the cage of a prison the king of the Kira country.¹ Gāṅgēya's conquest of the Doab is corroborated by the find of his coins in Uttar Pradesh. He then fixed his residence in the holy city of Prayāga, which, with some interruption,² he held to the last.

Gāṅgēya next extended his sway to Banaras. Several powerful rulers seem to have vied with one another for the occupation of this ancient city, which was regarded as holy by the Buddhists as well as the Brāhmaṇas. Towards the close of the 10th century, it was in the occupation of the Chandēllas; for, a copper-plate inscription dated V. 1055 (998 A.C.) records the grant of a village which the powerful king Dhaṅga made at Kāśikā or Banaras.³ Thereafter, the city seems to have passed into the possession of the Pālas. The Sārnāth stone inscription⁴ dated V. 1083 (1026 A.C.) records that by the order of the Pāla Mahipāla I of Bengal, Sthirapāla and Vasantapāla established hundreds of precious monuments of glory in Kāśī. Some time after this date, the city seems to have again changed hands. The *Tārīkh-i-Baihaqi* describes a swift raid of Ahmad Niyal Tigin, the Governor of the Panjab, which he carried out in the summer of H. 424 (1033 A.C.).⁵ This raid was directed against the city of Banaras which belonged to the territory of Gaṅg. This Gaṅg is none other than Gāṅgēya, for, the date falls in his reign. The Muhammadan army plundered the city from morning to mid-day; but it could remain there no longer 'because of the peril.' This seems, therefore, to have been a surprise raid, and the invaders knew full well what risk they would run if they stayed there longer. They, therefore, left the city in haste and got back in safety.

After these conquests Gāṅgēya seems to have assumed the imperial titles of *Mahārājādhirāja* and *Paramēśvara*. These titles appear in the Piawan rock inscription of his reign dated K. 789 (1037-38 A.C.). His fame spread far and wide. Albērūnī, writing in 1030 A.C., mentions in his work that Gāṅgēya was the ruler of the Dāhala country, the capital of which was Tiaurī (Tripurī).⁶

Gāṅgēya's conquests brought him into conflict with the Chandēllas. An inscription from Mahōbā⁷ states that when Gāṅgēya thought of the impending fierce fight (with the Chandēlla Vijayapāla), even he who had slighted and conquered the whole world felt that the lotus of his heart had the knot of martial pride closed. This seems to imply that the redoubtable Gāṅgēya submitted to the Chandēlla king. Judging by subsequent events, however, victory seems ultimately to have rested with the Kalachuri king.

In the east Gāṅgēya carried his arms as far as Aṅga and Magadha. The copperplate grants of his son Karṇa record that he looked radiant with the mass of wealth of the king of Aṅga⁸ (modern Bhagalpur and Monghyr Districts). The expedition against Magadha seems to have occurred towards the close of Gāṅgēya's reign. It was led by his son Karṇa. From the Tibetan accounts we learn that the army of Karṇa advanced as far as Gayā. The Pāla king Nayapāla was then ruling over Magadha. Karṇa's troops sacked some of the

¹ No. 50, l. 18; No. 51, l. 9.

² The Karā inscription (V. 1093) of Yaśahpāla, whose lineage is not known, records the grant of a village in the Kauśāmba *maṇḍala*, *J. R. A. S.* (1927), p. 694. Yaśahpāla had the title of *Mahārājādhirāja*. He seems to have dispossessed Gāṅgēya of Allahabad for some time.

³ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVI, pp. 201 ff.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Vol. XIV, pp. 139 ff.

⁵ *E. D. H. I.*, Vol. II, p. 123.

⁶ Sachau, *Alberuni's India* (1914), Vol. I, p. 202.

⁷ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, p. 222.

⁸ This may have been Mahipāla I (988-1038 A.C.). *H. B.*, Vol. I, p. 141.

sacred Buddhist institutions and killed altogether five men, out of whom four were ordained monks and one an *upāsaka*. Ultimately, through the efforts of the renowned Buddhist monk Atiśa Dīpaṃkara, who risked his life several times in crossing the rivers that lay between the contending parties, a treaty was signed, by which friendship was established between the two kingdoms.¹ This expedition seems to have taken place some time before 1040 A.C., which is the approximate date of Atiśa's departure for Tibet. As Gāṅgēya was ruling till the beginning of 1041 A.C., the invasion of Magadha cannot be placed in the reign of Karṇa himself. It seems to have occurred towards the end of Gāṅgēya's reign. In that case Karṇa may have been obliged to patch up a peace with the king of Magadha as his presence was required elsewhere by the approaching end of Gāṅgēya.

Gāṅgēya was fond of residing at the foot of the holy banyan tree at Prayāga,² which became his second capital. He died at the same place. His hundred wives are said to have immolated themselves on his pyre. The date of his death can be accurately determined from that of his first annual *śrāddha* which was performed by his son Karṇa at Prayāga. According to Karṇa's Banaras grant, which was made on the occasion, the *śrāddha* was performed on the second *tithi* of the dark fortnight of Phālguna in the Kalachuri year 793. Gāṅgēya must, therefore, have died on Phālguna va. di. 2 of the Kalachuri year 792, corresponding to the 22nd January 1041 A.C.

Gāṅgēya was one of the most illustrious members of the Kalachuri dynasty. When he ascended the throne, Kalachuri power was weak and effete. By his valour and diplomacy, he revived the imperial glory of his family. He extended his kingdom so far in the north as to include a major part of the modern Uttar Pradesh. As the Pratihāras were too weak to defend the holy places of the north against the attacks of the Muslim iconoclasts, he took them under his own protection, and to guard them effectively, he made Prayāga his second capital.³ From the grants of his grandson Yaśaḥkarṇa, we learn that he assumed the coveted title of *Vikramāditya*.⁴ Even in the records of his enemies he was called a world-conqueror (*jīta-viśva*).⁵ At his death, he left a fairly large empire, which was further extended by his son Karṇa.

Gāṅgēya was an ardent Saiva. According to the Bhērā-Ghāt inscription of Nara-simha,⁶ he erected a matchless temple of the Mēru type, which was probably dedicated to Siva. His Piawan rock inscription also seems to have recorded the installation of a *Siva-līṅga*.⁷

Gāṅgēya introduced the Lakshmī type of coinage, which became very popular in North India. The obverse of these coins is wholly occupied by the king's name in bold Nāgarī characters in three lines, and the reverse, by the figure of Lakshmī sitting cross-legged. Gāṅgēya's coins exist in all the three metals, gold, silver and copper, and in four denominations which Smith calls dramma, half-damma, quarter-damma and one-eighth dramma.⁸

¹ J. B. T. S., Vol. I, pp. 9 ff.

² See Nos. 56 and 57, v. 12.

³ Kalachuri inscriptions make no mention of Gāṅgēya's encounter with Mahmud of Ghazni, whose contemporary he was. Prof. Hodivala makes the ingenious suggestion that Kābakari, who ruled the country bordering on the territory of Nanda (*i.e.*, the Chandēlla Gaṇḍa) and who sent some wonderful presents to Mahmud after the latter's generous treatment of the Chandēlla ruler, was Gāṅgēya. He is said to have been a master of 1000 elephants. *S. I. M. H.*, pp. 73 ff.

⁴ See Nos. 56 and 57, v. 11.

⁵ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, p. 222.

⁶ No. 60, v. 9.

⁷ Appendix, No. 1.

⁸ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXXVII, p. 147.

The Lakṣmī type introduced by Gāṅgēya was subsequently copied by the Chandēllas, the Gāhaḍavālas and the Tomars, and was introduced even in distant Kashmir.¹

As stated above, Gāṅgēyadēva was succeeded by his son Karṇa in 1041 A.C. From several inscriptions of his reign as well as from references in literary records, Sanskrit and Prakrit, we can form a general idea of the main political events of his reign.

The Rewa stone inscription² dated in K. 800 (1048-49 A.C.) shows that in the first seven years of his reign, Karṇa attained remarkable victories in the east, south and west. He seems to have first proceeded to the east. Verse 26 of the aforementioned inscription states that the ship of the king of the eastern country, being driven by the storm of unparalleled arrogance, was submerged in the ocean of Karṇa's forces, its joints being rent by dashing against the promontories of the mountains which were his elephants. This verse clearly implies that Karṇa obtained a decisive victory over the king of the eastern country, who lost his life in the encounter. Who was this king of the eastern country? He could scarcely have been the contemporary Pāla king; for, the kingdom of the Pālas, as shown by their own inscriptions and those of their contemporaries, was restricted to parts of Bihar and North-West Bengal. From the Bhērā-Ghāt inscription of Narasimha,³ on the other hand, we learn that when Karṇa gave a full play to heroism, the Vaṅga trembled with the Kaliṅga. Karṇa's victory seems, therefore, to have been obtained over the king of Vaṅga or Eastern Bengal. The tenour of the description suggests that the ruling family was supplanted and the kingdom was either annexed by Karṇa or placed in charge of his own nominee. As a matter of fact, we find the Vermans supplanting the Chandras in Eastern Bengal in the eleventh century A.C. Gōvindachandra, the last king of the Chandra dynasty known from inscriptions found in Bengal,⁴ is also mentioned in the Tirumalai rock inscription⁵ of Rājendra Chōla I as the ruler of Vaṅgāla-dēśa. He was defeated in *circa* 1021 A.C. by Rājendra I, the illustrious Chōla Emperor (1014—1044 A.C.). When Karṇa invaded Eastern Bengal, either this prince or his successor was on the throne. After the overthrow of the Chandra king, Karṇa placed Vajravarman in charge of the newly acquired territory and gave his daughter Viraśrī in marriage to his son Jātavarman to cement the political alliance. The latter distinguished himself in one of the later campaigns of Karṇa in the country of Aṅga.⁶ The Rewa inscription shows that the dynastic revolution must have been effected in any case before 1048-49 A.C.

Karṇa next turned his attention to the south. Verse 25 of the aforementioned Rewa inscription describes Karṇa's southern campaigns in a figurative style. It states that 'over-running the district of Kāñchī, he thoroughly enjoyed the southern direction in which the fortune of the Kuntala was shaken by forcible seizure and the low Pallavas were destroyed; as though covering the hips of a woman he was ravishing her, the beauty of whose hair was marred by forcible seizure and whose tender lower lip was wounded (by kissing).'⁷ It is difficult to say how far this figurative description correctly represents historical facts. Besides, the Pallavas, over whom a decisive victory is claimed for Karṇa in this verse, had long ceased to be supreme in the south, their kingdom having been annexed by the Chōlas in 890 A.C.⁷ A branch of the Pallavas, no doubt, continued to rule in the Nōlamba-

¹ *J. N. S. I.*, Vol. III, p. 26.

² No. 51.

³ No. 60, l. 10.

⁴ *H. B.*, Vol. I, p. 196. See the Paikpārā inscription of his reign. *Ind. Cal.*, Vol. VII, pp. 403 ff.

⁵ *S. I. I.*, Vol. I, p. 99.

⁶ *I. B.*, Vol. III, p. 20.

⁷ K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, *The Chōlas*, Vol. I, p. 136.

vāḍi 32000 down to the eleventh century A.C.;¹ but they had no control over the territory round Kāñchī and a victory over them would not have brought much glory to Karṇa's arms. Besides, Karṇa's victory over the Pallavas is not referred to in the fairly long list of his conquests in the records of his descendants. So far as the reference to the Pallavas is concerned, the description in the verse appears to be more fanciful than real.

The reference to the invasion of the district of Kāñchī is perhaps intended to signify the defeat of the Chōlas; for, though the capital of the Chōlas had been removed to Gaṅgā-purī or Gaṅgaikōṇḍachōlapuram since its foundation by Rājendra Chōla I, Sanskrit poets continued to mention Kāñchī as the Chōla capital.² Karṇa's victory over a Chōla king is intimated in a verse in the Karaṇbēl inscription of Jayasīnha.³ R. D. Banerji conjecturally identified the Chōla king defeated by Karṇa with Vīrarājendra Rājakesarivarman, who was reigning between 1062 and 1067 A.C. The reference to the invasion of Kāñchī in verse 25 of the Rewa inscription, if historically true, would show that the victory had already been attained in 1048-49 A.C. Karṇa's adversary must, therefore, be identified with Rājādhirāja I, the son and successor of Rājendra Chōla I, who ruled from 1044 to 1054 A.C.

While Karṇa was in the south, he seems to have encountered the king of Kuntala. As already observed, Kuntala was then under the rule of the Later Chālukyas of Kalyāṇī. The battle does not seem to have ended in a decisive victory for either side; for, both the belligerents claimed success for themselves. As stated above, the Rewa inscription speaks of the fortune of the Kuntala king being seized by Karṇa. Bilhaṇa, on the other hand, records in his *Vikramāṅkadēvacharita* that Ahavamalla (*i.e.*, Sōmēśvara I) utterly destroyed the power of Karṇa, after which glory never embraced the country of Dāhala.⁴

Karṇa seems to have come into conflict with the king of the Gurjara country also. Verse 27 of the Rewa inscription says that when Karṇa approached the Gurjara country, tears mixed with collyrium flowed on the cheeks of Gurjara women living in the neighbourhood and colour-marks indicative of their non-widowhood slipped, as it were, from their foreheads. This description indicates that Karṇa had raided Gujarat before 1048 A.C. This is also corroborated by an Apabhraṃśa verse in the *Prākṛita-Paiṅala* which states that Karṇa had exterminated the forces of a Gurjara king. This may have been followed by negotiations for peace as subsequent events show.

Though Karṇa had thus raided different parts of India in the first seven years of his reign, he was not yet able to annex any territory to his kingdom. His success during the next two or three years was much greater. His contemporary on the throne of Malwa was the illustrious Bhōja, who was as much distinguished for valour as for learning. He had also raided different countries and defeated the rulers of Karṇāṭa, Lāṭa, Gurjara, Kōṅkaṇa and others. The defeat he had inflicted on Gāṅgēyadēva must have been rankling in Karṇa's mind. The latter, therefore, formed an alliance with Bhīma of Gujarat.⁵ The allied forces invaded Malwa from the east and the west. Just about this time Bhōja died, and as he did not leave any son, the kingdom was in a state of disturbance owing to the

¹ *H. I. S. I.*, pp. 371-2.

² See, e. g., *VDCH.*, Canto I, v. 115; Canto III, v. 76; Canto IV, v. 28 etc. Bilhaṇa mentions Gaṅgākuṇḍapura also as a Chōla capital, *Ibid.*, Canto VI, vv. 21-24.

³ Appendix, No. 3, l. 10.

⁴ *VDCH.*, Canto I, vv. 102-3.

⁵ Mērutuṅga in his *PCH.* (p. 51) states that Karṇa, promising Bhīma a half of the Mālava kingdom, invited him to attack Bhōja in the rear. Though Mērutuṅga's account contains much fanciful matter, this statement may be true. Sōmēśvara's *Kīrtikāumudī* (II, 18) states that Bhīma spared the life of Bhōja though the latter had fallen into his hands.

risings of the scions of the Paramāra family. It fell an easy prey to the invaders, who soon captured Dhārā, the capital of Malwa,¹ and dethroned Jayasinha, the successor of Bhōja.² According to Merutuṅga's account, Karṇa violated the previous agreement and annexed the whole of Malwa.³ This enraged Bhīma, who invaded the Chēdi country. Hēma-chandra in his *Dvyāśrayakāvya* states that Bhīma, penetrated to the capital of the Chēdi country; but Karṇa made peace with him by presenting him horses, elephants and the golden *maṇḍapikā* of Bhōja which he had carried away.⁴

Karṇa next turned his attention to the Chandēlla kingdom. The Chandēlla dynasty had produced several powerful princes, some of whom such as Yaśōvarman, Vidyādhara and Vijayapāla had exacted submission from the Kalachuris. But at this time the throne was occupied by a weak ruler named Dēvavarman, son of Vijayapāla. The only inscription of his reign is a copper-plate record⁵ discovered at Nanyaurā in the Hamirpur District of Uttar Pradesh. It registers the grant of a village which Dēvavarman made in V. 1107 (1051 A.C.) on the occasion of the anniversary of his mother's death. Soon after this, he seems to have succumbed to an attack by Karṇa. Bilhaṇa, in his *Vikramāṅka-dēvacharita* (Canto XVIII, v. 93), speaks of Karṇa as 'Death to the lord of Kālañjara' who was evidently Dēvavarman.⁶ After this victory, Karṇa incorporated the country of Jajjhauti into his own dominion.

About this time Karṇa also invaded North-Western Bengal. This was his second invasion of the Pāla kingdom. On this occasion he pressed as far as Paikore in the Birbhum District of Bengal. His route must have lain through South Bihar. The Pāla king, who must have been Vīgrahapāla III, seems to have soon capitulated to the invader. Karṇa's invasion of the Pāla dominion is attested to by the discovery of an inscribed decorative pillar which the Chēdi king dedicated to a goddess during his stay at Paikore.⁷ The Karaṇbēl stone inscription⁸ intimates that the king of Gauḍa submitted to Karṇa. Hēma-chandra⁹ records that the king of Gauḍa entreated Karṇa to save his life and throne in return for a large treasure which he presented to him. The *Rāmacharita* of Sandhyākaranandin (Canto I, v. 9), however, claims a victory for the Pāla king Vīgrahapāla. Whatever may have been the actual result of the war, the two families were afterwards united by a matrimonial alliance. Karṇa gave his daughter Yauvanaśrī in marriage to Vīgrahapāla and thus turned the Pāla adversary into a faithful ally.¹⁰

¹ PCH. p. 51. The Vaḍnagar *prastāvi* also states that with his cavalry Bhīma captured Dhārā, the capital of the Mālava Chakravartin. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, p. 297.

² In the *VDCH.* (Canto III, v. 67) Bilhaṇa states that the king of Mālava, evidently Jayasinha, sought the help of Sōmēśvara when he lost his kingdom.

³ PCH., p. 51.

⁴ DK., Canto IX, v. 57. Mērutuṅga also quotes a traditional verse which states that Bhīma received from Karṇa, *inter alia*, a golden *maṇḍapikā*. See PCH., p. 52. The words *rājñā Rēvā na laṅghy-ēti*, which occur in v. 54 of Canto IX in DK., have been taken by Mr. A. Ghosh to mean that the king (Karṇa or Bhīma) promised not to cross the Narmadā. *Ind. Cul.*, Vol. VII, p. 17. This is incorrect. The words occur in the speech of Karṇa addressed to Dāmōdara, the ambassador of Bhīma. Karṇa says that he would have gone forth to meet and receive Bhīma, but the astrologers had advised him not to cross the Rēvā.

⁵ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVI, pp. 204 ff.

⁶ V. Smith thought that it was Kīrtivarman, the brother of Dēvavarman, who was driven by Karṇa from the throne. But the description in the *VDCH.* and the *PCHU.* clearly indicates that Karṇa not only drove the lord of Kālañjara from the throne but also exterminated him. He could, therefore, be none other than Dēvavarman; for, Kīrtivarman lived to regain his throne as described below.

⁷ No. 49, l. 5. Cf. the Apabhraṃśa verse cited below, p. xcvi, n. 1.

⁸ Appendix, No. 3, l. 11.

⁹ DK., Canto IX, v. 38.

¹⁰ RCH., Canto I, v. 9. This *kāvya* states that Vīgrahapāla vanquished Karṇa, but saved him by making with him a treaty of peace which an old commentator of the work calls *kapālasandhi*. In this *sandhi* a large sum of money is required to be paid the conqueror. See RCH., Introd., p. x.

In 1052 A.C. Karṇa was thus at the height of his power. He had under his sway practically the whole of Central India including the erstwhile kingdoms of the Pratihāras, the Paramāras and the Chandēllas. In the east the Pāla and Varman kings were matrimonially allied with him. In the north his authority was recognized as far as the Kāngrā valley,¹ the ruler of which had submitted to him. In the west, the only foe worthy of his steel was Bhīma of Gujarat; but as stated already, Karṇa had made peace with him. In the south, he had inflicted a defeat on the Chōlas and the Chālukyas, though his campaigns do not seem to have resulted in the permanent annexation of any territory. His authority was in any case unquestioned in North India,² and if Bilhaṇa's account can be believed, the mere sound of his horses' hoofs routed the forces of his enemies.³

To proclaim his attainment of the position of *Chakravartin* or Universal Emperor, Karṇa seems to have crowned himself again in the Kalachuri year 804 (1052-53 A.C.). His regnal year, mentioned in the Rewa stone inscription⁴ of his general Vappulla, is counted from this second coronation.

On account of his ambition and successful military campaigns, Karṇa is called Hindu Napoleon. And like the great French Emperor, he suffered serious reverses in the latter part of his career. He could not retain his hold on Malwa for a long time. Jayasimha, the successor of Bhōja, who was dethroned and driven out of Malwa, sought the Chālukya king Somēśvara I-Āhavamalla's aid against the powerful confederacy of Bhīma and Karṇa. The Chālukyas and Paramāras were inveterate foes, and their hostilities continued for several generations. Āhavamalla had himself previously stormed Dhārā, from which the king Bhōja had to flee.⁵ But on this occasion Āhavamalla thought it politic to reverse his policy towards the Paramāra house; for, he realized that if Karṇa was allowed to retain possession of the Paramāra territory, he would become a menace to the northern frontier of the Chālukya kingdom. He, therefore, resolved to support the cause of Jayasimha, and directed his valiant son Vikramāditya to lend his aid to Jayasimha to regain his throne.⁶ It would appear that in his northern campaigns, Vikramāditya was not always successful; for, an Apabhraṃśa verse mentions Karṇa's victory over the mighty Vikrama, evidently

¹ See Appendix, No. 3, l. 11.

² In his *DK*, (Canto IX, vv. 33 ff), Hēmachandra makes Bhīma's ambassador Dāmōdara refer to several other victories of Karṇa, *viz.*, those over the rulers of Daśārṇa and Kaliṅga and the kings Bhadrabhaṭa, Yanti, Nanti, Ganti, Hanti, Vanti and Manti. Hēmachandra seems to have distorted the names of kings to illustrate grammatical rules. It is also not unlikely that these are altogether fictitious names.

³ *VDCH*, Canto XVIII, v. 93. As Mr. A. Ghosh has already pointed out, *tukkhāra* in this verse does not mean any race, but denotes a particular breed of superior horses, probably the Tokharian horses. *Ind. Cult.*, Vol. VII, p. 19.

⁴ No. 53. The date of this inscription is Śaivāt 812, Thursday, the tenth day of the bright fortnight of Māgha in the ninth regnal year. This date regularly corresponds to Thursday, January 4th, 1061 A.C. As this date fell in the ninth regnal year, Karṇa must have been crowned a second time in 1052 A.C. Some scholars have attempted to reconcile this date with the first coronation which occurred in 1041 A.C. (See below, pp. 239 ff.) D.R. Bhandarkar thought that *navame* in the Rewa inscription of Vappulla was a mistake for *navadate* and that the inscription was put up in the nineteenth regnal year. But the month of Māgha in the nineteenth regnal year should fall in K. 811, not in K. 812; for Māgha of the first regnal year fell in K. 793, as the Kalachuri year began in Kārttika. A. Ghosh has suggested that the regnal year is correctly mentioned, but the figures of the *saivāt* were wrongly written as 812 instead of 802. This explanation also is not of any help; for, the month of Māgha in the ninth regnal should fall in K. 801, not in K. 802. We must, therefore, suppose that the second coronation of Karṇa did take place some time in 1052 A.C.

⁵ *VDCH*, Canto I, vv. 91-94.

⁶ *Ibid.*, Canto III, v. 67.

Vikramāditya VI, the son of Somēśvara I-Āhavamalla.¹ However, Vikramāditya eventually succeeded in placing Jayasimha on the throne of Malwa. He carried his victorious arms even as far as Gauḍa and Kāmarūpa,² for which he must have overrun the Chēdi country. These encounters must have occurred before 1055 A.C.; for, we find Jayasimha secure on the throne in the month Āshāḍha of that year.³

The Chandēlla kingdom also soon slipped out of Karṇa's hands. Kirtivarman, the brother of Dēvavarman, soon succeeded in regaining his ancestral territory. Verse 26 of a Chandēlla inscription discovered at Mahōbā⁴ records the victory of Kirtivarman over Lakshmīkarṇa in the following words—"Just as Purushōttama (Vishṇu), having produced the nectar by churning, with the mountain (Mandara), the rolling (milk) ocean, whose high waves had swallowed many mountains, obtained (the goddess) Lakshmī together with the elephants (of the eight regions),—he (*viz.*, Kirtivarman), having acquired fame by crushing with his strong arm the haughty Lakshmīkarṇa, whose armies had destroyed many princes, obtained splendour in this world together with elephants." Lakshmīkarṇa is, no doubt, identical with the Kalachuri Karṇa. In the Ajayagaḍh rock inscription⁵ of the Chandēlla Viravarman (dated V. 1317), Kirtivarman is described as the pitcher-born (Agastrya) in swallowing the ocean in the form of Karṇa, and as the lord of Creatures (Brahmā) in creating anew (his) kingdom. The *Prabōḍbachandrōdaya*, which also refers to this event in its prologue, calls this Karṇa *Chēdīpati* (Lord of the Chēdi country). From this work we learn that Kirtivarman's victory was mainly due to the bravery of his Brāhmaṇa general, Gōpāla. The play was performed before Kirtivarman to commemorate this brilliant victory of the Chandēllas. In the prologue of the play, Gōpāla is eulogised as the Great Boar who raised the earth which was submerged in the great ocean of world-destruction in the form of a multitude of powerful kings.⁶ In another passage he is said to have obtained the goddess of victory after exterminating the army of Karṇa, even as Vishṇu obtained Lakshmī by churning the ocean of milk.⁷ In a third passage, Gōpāla's anger is said to have been roused to re-establish on the earth the sovereignty of the kings of the lunar race, which (sovereignty) had been uprooted by the lord of Chēdi who was Rudra and Kālāgni (the Fire of world-destruction) to the families of all kings.⁸ In a subsequent passage of the same prologue, Gōpāla is said to have caused the rise of the illustrious Kirtivarman after vanquishing the powerful Karṇa, even as discrimination leads to right knowledge after dispelling strong delusion.⁹ The multiplicity of references to this victory suggests the stupendous nature of the task accomplished by Gōpāla. Another chief who also claimed credit for saving Kirtivarman from Karṇa was mentioned in a fragmentary inscription¹⁰ found at Jhānsi; but, unfortunately, his name is lost.

The date of the restoration of Chandēlla power cannot be definitely fixed; for, the only known date of Kirtivarman's reign is that furnished by a rock inscription at the Deogarh Fort, *viz.*, V. 1154 (1098 A.C.).¹¹ This inscription states that Vatsarāja, the chief

¹ Cf. जे गंजिज गोलाहवइ राउ उईड ओहु जमु भज पराउ । गुरुविक्रम विक्रम जिनिज जुज्जता कण्ण परक्कम कोइ न बुज्ज ॥ *Prākṛita Paingala*, I, 126.

² *VDCH.*, Canto III, v. 74.

³ See the date of his Māndhātā grant; *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. III, pp. 46 ff.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 222.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 327.

⁶ *PCHU.*, p. 11.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 18.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 19.

⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 21-22.

¹⁰ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, p. 216.

¹¹ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 257 ff.

minister of Kirtivarman, wrested the surrounding district from the enemy and built the fort which he named Kirtigiri, evidently in honour of his lord Kirtivarman. The unnamed enemy is probably Karṇa himself. Karṇa's defeat must, however, have occurred long before the date of this inscription. Vincent Smith approximately dates the accession of Kirtivarman in 1060 A.C.¹ If this date is correct, Karṇa must have been in occupation of the Chandēlla kingdom for seven or eight years.

Towards the close of his reign, Karṇa made another attempt to wipe out the neighbouring state of Malwa. The political situation in the Deccan had considerably changed in the meanwhile. Āhavamalla was dead and was succeeded by his eldest son Sōmēśvara II. The latter was afraid of his ambitious younger brother, Vikramāditya VI, and, therefore, must have readily allied himself with the powerful Kalachuri Emperor and helped him in his invasion of Malwa. This time the allied arms attained a greater success. The Nagpur Museum stone inscription very graphically describes in verse 32 the terrible disaster that befell the Mālava country at the time. It says that when Bhōja had become Indra's companion and when the realm was overrun by floods in which the sovereign was submerged, his brother Udayāditya became king. Delivering the earth which was troubled by kings such as the lord of Karṇāṭa and Karṇa, who swept over it like great oceans, this (prince) did indeed act like the holy Boar.² The expression *rājyē cha kuly-ākulē* in this verse is significant. Besides the meaning given above, it signifies another, *viz.*, that the kingdom was in a state of disturbance owing to the rising of the scions of the (Paramāra) family. Even though Jayasīṃha had ascended the throne with the help of the Chālukya king Āhavamalla, it seems that there were some members of the Paramāra family (*kulyas*) who did not acquiesce in it. It is not known how Jayasīṃha was related to Bhōja. In his records he, no doubt, describes himself as meditating on the feet of Bhōja, but this does not necessarily indicate that he was his son. Perhaps he was his brother as conjectured by Dr. Altekar.³ In that case there may have been other members of the Paramāra family who thought that they had an equal or even a better claim to the throne. So long as Jayasīṃha had the support of the powerful Chālukya Emperor, Sōmēśvara I-Āhavamalla, they could not do anything; but on the death of the Emperor, they must have risen in revolt. Perhaps these risings were fomented by the ambitious Kalachuri Emperor Karṇa, who had so far been foiled in his attempt to annex Malwa permanently. When he found that the Malwa kingdom was torn by a civil war, he made his alliance with Sōmēśvara II, the son of Āhavamalla, and invaded Malwa. The wording of the aforementioned verse of the Nagpur Museum inscription shows that the invaders were more than two. This is corroborated by a stone inscription of the Paramāra prince Jagaddēva, recently discovered at Dōṅgargaon in the Yeotmal District of Berar, which states that Malwa was invaded by a confederacy of three kings.⁴ Two of these were, of course, the Kalachuri

¹ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXXVII, p. 149.

² *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. II, p. 183. Kielhorn read the second hemistich of this verse (32) as येनोद्भूत्य महार्णवोपमिलत्कण्टिकर्णप्रभुमुर्वीपालकद्विंता भुवमिमो श्रीमद्वराहायितम् ॥ C. V. Vaidya ingeniously conjectured that the correct reading should be कर्णप्रभुमुर्वीपाल- and I find from the original stone deposited in the Nagpur Museum that this is the actual reading. This reading suits the metre and yields a better sense. It shows that Malwa was invaded at that time by a confederacy of more than two kings. This is corroborated by the Dōṅgargaon inscription of Jagaddēva (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXVI, p. 183), as stated above.

³ *Ibid.*, Vol. XXIII, pp. 132 ff.

⁴ See the verse ततो रिपुत्रयस्कन्दैर्मन्ना मालवमेदिनीम् । उद्धरन्नुदयादित्यस्तस्य भ्राता अयवर्द्धत ॥ *ibid.*, Vol. XXVI, p. 183.

Karṇa¹ and the Karṇāṭa king (Sōmēśvara II)² as stated in the Nagpur Museum inscription. The third member of the confederacy was probably the Western Gaṅga king Udayāditya. From several records in the Kanarese country, we know that this Udayāditya and his feudatory, the valiant Hōysaḷa prince Eṇṇayaṅga joined Sōmēśvara II in his attack on Malwa. Eṇṇayaṅga, in particular, is said to have trampled down the Mālava army, plundered the Mālava king's fort, and burnt and devastated Dhārā.³

Jayasīmha succumbed to this attack, and for a time it seemed as if the Paramāra kingdom had been completely wiped out. The terrible disaster which befell the Mālava country at this time is graphically described in the Nagpur Museum inscription, which likens it to the catastrophe of the destruction of the world when mighty oceans sweep over and submerge the earth. The Udaipur *prāśasti* compares it to the dense darkness which envelopes the world when the sun sets.⁴ Both the similes indicate the gloom of despondency which had then overpowered the adherents of the Paramāra family. This invasion of Malwa occurred early in the reign of Sōmēśvara II (1069-1075 A.C.), in *circa* 1070 A.C.

It is not known how the invaders divided the spoils. Karṇa may have annexed Malwa and given the country to the south of the Narmadā to Sōmēśvara II.⁵ The Kalachuri Emperor could not, however, retain his hold on Malwa for a long time. Udayāditya, one of the brothers of Bhōja,⁶ rescued the country from the grip of Karṇa. The Nagpur Museum inscription compares him with the primeval Boar who uplifted the earth at the time of *pralaya*. The Udaipur *prāśasti* describes him as another Sun, as it were, who, destroying the dense darkness, namely, the exalted foes, with the rays issuing from his strong sword, gladdened the hearts of the people by his splendour. In the latter half of the *prāśasti* recently discovered at Udaipur, Udayāditya is credited with the total destruction (*saṁhāra*) of the king of Dāhala (*Dāhalādhīśa*), who is plainly the Kalachuri Karṇa.⁷ The restoration of the Paramāra rule in Malwa may be dated in *circa* 1075 A.C.⁸ The Jabalpur

¹ Latterly the view has been advanced that he was the Chaulukya king Karṇa of Gujarat, the successor of Bhīma. Some late Sanskrit works, no doubt, state that the Chaulukya Karṇa defeated a king of Malwa, but they do not state that the latter was Jayasīmha. On the other hand, the Kalachuri Karṇa's extermination of the royal family of Malwa is mentioned in an Apabhraṁśa verse cited in the *Prākṛita-Paiṅgala*. This view is again corroborated by the latter part of the recently discovered Udaipur *prāśasti* which states that Udayāditya inflicted a crushing defeat on the lord of Dāhala. D. C. Ganguli's statement that Udayāditya, by defeating Gujara Karṇa, obtained Mālava (*H. P. D.*, p. 132 and *I. H. Q.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 266) is based on a wrong interpretation of a verse in the *Prithvīrājavijaya*.

² The Sudi stone inscription dated Śaka 996 (1075 A.C.) mentions Sōmēśvara II as a blazing fire to the ocean which is the race of the Mālavayas. The reference is clearly to his extermination of the Paramāra Jayasīmha.

³ *H. P. D.*, pp. 128-29.

⁴ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, p. 236.

⁵ Siyaka seems to have extended his kingdom to the south of the Narmadā. In the time of Muṇja the Gōdāvarī was the southern boundary of the Paramāra dominion, and though Tailapa may have annexed some territory to the north of this river, it was soon recovered by Sidhurāja as stated in the *NSCH.*, Canto I, v. 74. A copper-plate inscription of Bhōja's feudatory Yaśovarman has been found at Kalvan in the Nasik District (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIX, pp. 69 ff), indicating that the country continued to be held by the Paramāras. After this time no records of the Paramāras except those of Jagaddēva have been found in Mahārāshṭra. Jagaddēva is now known to have been a feudatory of Vikramāditya VI. *Ibid.*, Vol. XXVI, pp. 177 ff.

⁶ It was believed for a long time that Udayāditya was a distant relative of Bhōja; but the Dōṅgar-gaon inscription, which calls him the *bhrātā* of Bhōja, has put the matter beyond doubt.

⁷ *A. R. A. D. G. S.* (1925-26), p. 13.

⁸ The earliest known date of Udayāditya is V. 1137 (1080-81 A. C.) furnished by the Udaipur inscription (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XX, p. 83). An earlier date (V. 1116) of the king also occurs at the same place; but it is given by a very late record of the 16th century A. C., which Dr. F. E. Hall calls 'a horribly incorrect scrawl' (*J. A. O. S.*, Vol. VII, p. 35).

and Khairhā plates of Yaśaḥkarṇa state that Karṇa himself crowned his son Yaśaḥkarṇa.¹ We do not know why he abdicated the throne in favour of his son. It may be because of discomfiture at the failure of his schemes to bring the whole of India under one royal umbrella; or, he may have been forced to do so by the powerful rulers of Malwa, Jajjhauti and Gujarat, all of whom were now up in arms against him. His reign seems to have come to an end in 1073 A.C.; for, the earlier of the two known grants of his son Yaśaḥkarṇa was made in 1076 A.C.² As it mentions Yaśaḥkarṇa's expedition against an Andhra king, the Kalachuri emperor must have come to the throne at least two or three years earlier. We may, therefore, place his accession and the abdication of his father in circa 1073 A.C.

Karṇa was the greatest king of the Kalachuri dynasty. In the early part of his career, he seems to have carried everything before him and to have become the undisputed *Chakravartin* of North India.³ In the Goharwa plates, which he issued in the seventh regnal year (1047 A.C.), he is seen to have assumed, besides the usual imperial titles, *Paramabhaṭṭāraka*, *Mahārājādhirāja* and *Paramēśvara*, two high-sounding ones, viz., *Trikaliṅgādhipati* (Lord of the Three Kalingas) and *Nijabhuj-ōpārjit-āśvapati-gajapati-narapati-rāja-tray-ādhipati(tya)*, (he who by his arms has acquired overlordship over the three *rājās*, viz., the lord of horses, the lord of elephants and the lord of men). Of these two titles, *Trikaliṅgādhipati* seems to have been first assumed by his ancestor Yuvarājadēva I.⁴ It may have been revived by Gāṅgēyadēva after his conquest of Utkala;⁵ for, some contemporary kings of the Sōma-varṁśi dynasty ruling over Kōsala and Utkala proudly mention this title in their records.⁶ The other title 'Overlord of the three *Rājās* etc.' was for the first time assumed by Karṇa.⁷ It continued to be used not only by his descendants⁸ but by several kings of other dynasties also, such as the Gāhaḍavālas,⁹ the Sēnas¹⁰ and the Chandēllas.¹¹ Originally, it seems to

¹ Nos. 56 and 57, verse 16. This seems to conflict with the statement in the latter part of the Udaipur *prafastī* which speaks of the total destruction of Karṇa by Udayāditya. Karṇa may have been killed on the battlefield.

² The plates give the date (K.) 823; but the details do not work out satisfactorily, and it seems that their correct date is (K.) 827. Besides, if Yaśaḥkarṇa really made the grant in K. 823 (1172 A.C.), we shall have to suppose that Sōmēśvara II's accession, his alliance with Karṇa and invasion of Malwa, the devastation of Dhārā and killing of Jayasīrṇha, the defeat of the allies by Udayāditya, Karṇa's abdication of the throne, Yaśaḥkarṇa's coronation and subsequent invasion of the Andhra country—all these events happened in the brief period of four years from 1068 A.C. (the accession of Sōmēśvara II) to 1072 A.C. (the supposed date of the Khairhā plates). This seems to be extremely unlikely.

³ He is called the seventh *Chakravartin* of the world in the Gōpālpur stone inscription. Appendix, No. 5, l. 9.

⁴ See above, p. lxxviii.

⁵ See above, p. xc.

⁶ See, e.g., the Sonpur grant of Mahāśivagupta (*J. B. O. R. S.*, Vol. II, pp. 45 ff.). This grant describes the king as the self-chosen lord of Kalinga, Kōṅgōḍa, Utkala and Kōsala, and further as the lord of Trikaliṅga which he conquered with his own arms. This makes it clear that Trikaliṅga was different from the other countries named in it. According to R. C. Majumdar, Trikaliṅga denoted 'the hilly tract to the west of Kalinga.' *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXIII, pp. 69-70. He has drawn attention to some passages in which Trikaliṅga (or Trikaliṅgāṭavī) has been coupled with Vēṅgī. A similar expression (viz., *sa-Kaliṅga-trayāṁ Vēṅgīṇī*) occurs in the Parbhāṇi plates (Ś. 888) of Arikēśarin (*G. H. Khare's S. M. H. D.*, Vol. II, p. 49).

⁷ Prof. Rapson, who has examined this question in detail (*W. C. V.*, pp. 196 ff.), has come to the conclusion that 'during the period of its use from c. 1040 to 1240, it (*i.e.*, the title) denoted the overlord of the Allahabad District, the region of the once famous kingdom of Kauśāmbī, and that it passed by conquest from one possessor of this region to the next.' It may, however, be noted that Karṇa's own Banaras plates, dated K. 1042, do not mention this title though he undoubtedly held Allahabad at the time.

⁸ See, e.g., No. 56, ll. 23 ff; No. 61, ll. 3 ff; No. 63, l. 21.

⁹ See, e.g., *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IV, p. 100. The Gāhaḍavāla kings from Gōvīndachandra to Hariśchandra used this title.

¹⁰ The Sēna kings Lakshmanasēna and his two sons Viśvarūpasēna and Kēśavasēna adopted this title.

¹¹ The Chandēlla king Trailōkyavarman bore this title. *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVII, p. 232.

have signified Karna's suzerainty over the Gurjara-Pratihāras of Kanauj, the Gaṅgas of Kālīṅga and the Pālas of Bengal. The Gurjara-Pratihāras maintained a fine cavalry and are sometimes referred to in inscriptions as *Aśvapati* or *Hayapati*.¹ Kālīṅga was known for its breed of elephants.² Its rulers are occasionally referred to as *Gajādhīras* or Lords of Elephants.³ The king of the east received, according to Yuan Chwang, the title of the lord of men.⁴ As we have already seen, Karna had vanquished all these kings and in his case the title was significant; but in the case of his descendants and of some kings of the other dynasties who imitated him, it was clearly an empty boast.

According to the *Rāsamālā*, one hundred and thirty-six kings were in attendance upon Karna.⁵ The Bhērā-Ghāt inscription of Narasiṃha states that the Pāṇḍya and Hūṇa kings and the rulers of Mūṛa, Kuṅga, Vaṅga, Kālīṅga and Kīra were panic-stricken when Karna gave a full play to his valour.⁶ The Karaṇbēl stone inscription says that Chōḍa, Kuṅga, Hūṇa, Gauḍa, Gurjara and Kīra used to wait upon him.⁷ It may be that the names of some of these kings have been inserted in the verses by the writers of the *prafastis* for the sake of alliteration; but the foregoing account of Karna's conquests based on incontrovertible inscriptional and literary evidence testifies to the general correctness of the description. In the records of his enemies, Karna's whirl-wind campaigns are likened to the flooding waters of the oceans at the time of world-destruction. On account of the aggressive and ruthless policy which he pursued towards contemporary rulers, he is called Rudra and Kālāgni (Fire of world-destruction) in the Sanskrit play *Prabōdhachandrōdaya*. These similes and metaphors vividly portray the terror he struck in the hearts of his adversaries.

Great as Karna was in war, he was greater in peace. He gave a liberal patronage to religion and literature. At Banaras he built a high twelve-storeyed temple called *Karṇa-mēru*, which was probably dedicated to Śiva;⁸ for, he was himself a Śaiva and called himself *paramamāhēśvara* in his grants. He built a *ghāt* called *Karṇa-tīrtha* at Prayāga where his Goharwa grant was made. He established a settlement of learned Brāhmaṇas, which he named Karṇāvati after himself. This place is generally identified with Karaṇbēl, now a small village adjoining Tewar; but from the description in the grants of Yaśaḥkarna that it was, as it were, the crown of the heavenly river (Gaṅgā), it would appear that it was situated somewhere on the bank of the Gaṅgā. Though Karna thus extended his patronage to the Vedic and Puraṇic Hinduism, he was no sectarian. There was religious toleration in his kingdom. The Sārnāth stone inscription⁹ dated K. 810 shows that Buddhist monasteries continued to flourish during his reign.

Karna made the holy city of Banaras his capital. It was at Banaras that the Sanskrit poet Bilhaṇa met him.¹⁰ Learned Brāhmaṇas received liberal gifts at his hands. A verse which is repeated in both of his known grants states that the world was deafened by the engraving of copper-plates which he granted to Brāhmaṇas.¹¹ Even now stories about

¹ See above, p. lxxiv, n. 2.

² *KAS.*, Prakaraṇa 20.

³ See, e.g., No. 100, v. 8.

⁴ *B. R. W. W.*, Vol. I, p. 13.

⁵ *RM.*, Vol. I, p. 89. See also *PCH.*, p. 30.

⁶ No. 60, v. 12.

⁷ Appendix, No. 3, v. 21.

⁸ Nos. 56 and 57, v. 13.

⁹ No. 52.

¹⁰ *VDCH.*, Canto XVIII, v. 93.

¹¹ No. 30 v. 30 and No. 51, v. 32. The same verse with a slight change in one expression and the substitution of *Chandira* for *Karna* occurs in the Chandrāvati plates (V. 1150) of the Gāhaḍavāla Chandradēva. *Ep. Ind.* Vol. XIV, p. 195.

the munificence of Karṇa Dahārīā are current in Banaras.¹ Bilhaṇa, the well-known Sanskrit poet of Kashmir, received a great honour in his court. He says that he defeated one Gaṅgādhara and composed a beautiful *kāvya* in praise of Rāma while at Karṇa's court.² Other poets of Karṇa's court, known from Sanskrit anthologies, are Vallāṇa, Nāchirāja, Karpūra and Vidyāpati. Several verses of these poets are included in the *Kavindravachana-samuchchaya* and other anthologies.³ Karṇa patronised Prakrit poets also. Some anonymous Mahārāshṭrī and Apabhraṁśa verses in praise of him are cited in the *Prākṛita-Paiṅgala*.⁴ Kanakāmara, the author of the Apabhraṁśa *kāvya* *Karakaṇḍacharin*, says in his concluding verses that he used to delight, by his verses, the mind of the king Karṇa.⁵

Karṇa married a Hūṇa princess named Āvalladēvi.⁶ Hūṇa kings are known from references in the records of several kings. They appear to have been ruling somewhere in Central India; for, there are occasional references to defeats inflicted on them by Pratihāra, Paramāra, Pāla and Kalachuri kings or their feudatories. But the exact location of their kingdom has not been fixed. Karṇa had, from Āvalladēvi, a son named Yaśaḥkarṇa, who succeeded him. Two of his daughters Viraśrī and Yauvanaśrī are also known. The former, who is named in the Bēlāvā plates of Bhōjavarman,⁷ married Jātavarman of Eastern Bengal. Yauvanaśrī is mentioned as the wife of Vighrahapāla of North-East Bengal in the *Rāmacharita* of Sandhyākaranandin.⁸

Yaśaḥkarṇa succeeded his father in *circa* 1073 A.C. Only two records of his reign are known, *viz.*, the Khairhā⁹ and the Jabalpur plates.¹⁰ Both contain an identical eulogistic portion which was first drafted in Banaras. The only historical event which they mention is Yaśaḥkarṇa's invasion of the Andhra country. Verse 23 of these grants says that 'extirpating with ease the lord of Andhra, the graceful movements of whose arms were flawless, he (*i.e.*, Yaśaḥkarṇa) worshipped, with the offerings of many ornaments, the holy Bhīmēśvara, near whom the Gōdāvarī with her dancing eye-brows of waves sings his glory with the seven notes of her streams, sweet with the cries of intoxicated swans.' There are several temples of Bhīmēśvara in the Gōdāvarī District, but the foregoing description suits especially the temple at Drākshārām in the Rāmchandrapuram *tāluka*, which contains a particularly big Śiva-*linga*, fourteen or fifteen feet high. The temple is not on the bank of the Gōdāvarī as suggested in the above verse, but the reference may be to the tank at Drākshārām which is called *Sapta-Gōdāvarī* and which is popularly supposed to contain the waters of the seven mouths of the Gōdāvarī. The Andhra king defeated by Yaśaḥkarṇa was probably Vijayāditya VII, who ruled from 1061 to 1076 A.C. In this campaign, Yaśaḥkarṇa seems to have been aided by Jājalladēva I of the Ratanpur branch of the Kalachuri dynasty ruling over Dakṣiṇa Kōsala; for, the latter in his Ratanpur

¹ For an interesting story about Karṇa which Sir G. Grierson heard in Banaras, see *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVI, pp. 46 ff.

² *VDCH.*, Canto XVIII, vv. 93-94.

³ *KVS.* (ed. by F. W. Thomas), *Introd.*, pp. 100 ff. A *subhāshita* mentions Vidyāpati as the court-poet of Karṇa. See *Subhāshitāvalī* (ed. by Peterson), v. 186. Merutuṅga also mentions Vidyāpati, Karpūra and Nāchirāja as poets at Karṇa's court.

⁴ See *C. W. B.*, Vol. II, pp. 334 ff.

⁵ *Karakaṇḍacharin* (ed. by Prof. H. Jain), p. 107.

⁶ See Nos. 36 and 37, v. 13.

⁷ *I. B.*, Vol. III, p. 20.

⁸ *RCH.*, Canto I, v. 9.

⁹ No. 36.

¹⁰ No. 37 and Appendix, No. 2.

inscription dated K. 866 boasts that the lord of Chēdi had sought his friendship by means of presents.¹

Soon after Karna's death, Yaśaḥkarna seems to have lost Kanauj and the surrounding territory. The Basāhi plate says that when king Bhōja became a guest of the eyes of the celestial damsels and Karna existed only in renown, and when the earth was sorely troubled, the husband whom she chose from love and took with confidence as the protector was Chandradēva.² The aforementioned Ratanpur inscription of Jājalladēva dated K. 866 (1114 A.C.) mentions the king of Kānyakubja as different from the lord of Chēdi. This clearly indicates that the latter had lost his control over Kanauj, as it had passed into the possession of the Gāhaḍavālas.

As stated before, the eulogistic portion of the Jabalpur plates is an almost exact copy of that of the Khairhā plates. The date of the former is now lost as the second plate is not forthcoming, but there are grounds to suppose that it was K. 836 (1084 A.C.).³ If the description in the plate could be relied on, Yaśaḥkarna was master of Banaras till that date. Soon thereafter, he seems to have lost that city also to the Gāhaḍavālas; for, the Chandrāvati plates, which record the earliest grant of the Gāhaḍavālas found in the Banaras District, are dated V. 1148 (1090 A.C.).⁴

In the latter part of his career, Yaśaḥkarna seems to have made a supreme effort to regain his lost possessions in the north. He carried his arms as far as Champāraṇya (modern Champāran in Bihar) and devastated the country;⁵ but he did not probably succeed in annexing any territory; for, after 1090 A.C. we have several grants of the Gāhaḍavālas from the Banaras District, which shows that they were securely established there.⁶ This conclusion receives an additional support from a copper-plate inscription dated V. 1177 (1122 A.C.) which records the sanction of the Gāhaḍavāla king Govindachandradēva to the transfer of two villages in the Antarālapattalā (*i.e.*, Antarvēdī or Gaṅgā-Yamunā Doab) which had been previously granted by Yaśaḥkarna to the Saiva ascetic Rudraśiva.⁷ This clearly shows that the Kalachuris did not succeed in regaining possession of the Doab during the reign of Yaśaḥkarna.

With the loss of the northern provinces, the kingdom of Yaśaḥkarna seems to have shrunk to the home province of Dāhala, and Tripurī again became his sole capital. From the Nagpur *prasthiti* we learn that the city was stormed by the Paramāra king Lakshmadēva (*circa* 1086-1094 A.C.), who annihilated his warlike and spirited adversaries, and encamped on the bank of the Rēvā, his elephants allaying the fatigue of the battle by bathing in the stream of the river.⁸

Yaśaḥkarna seems to have suffered another defeat at the hands of the Chandēlla Sallakshaṇavarman (*circa* 1100-1110 A.C.); for, in an inscription of the latter's descendant Viravarman, Sallakshaṇavarman's sword is said to have robbed the Chēdis of their

¹ No. 77, v. 20.

² *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIV, p. 103.

³ See below, pp. 301 ff.

⁴ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IX, pp. 304 ff.

⁵ For a possible motive of this raid, see below, p. cxiv.

⁶ Jayaswal, who thought that the Jabalpur plates of Yaśaḥkarna were dated in K. 874 (1122 A.C.), advocated the view that Yaśaḥkarna regained Banaras some time after the 21st July, 1122 (the date of Gōvinda-chandra's Kamauli plate H, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IV, p. 110) and before the 14th August 1124 A.C. (the date of Gōvinda-chandra's Banaras grant), but this does not seem to be correct.

⁷ *J. A. S. B.*, Vol. XXXI, p. 123.

⁸ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. II, p. 186.

fortune.¹ Yaśaḥkarṇa was also unsuccessful in his encounter with the Chālukya Vikramāditya VI.²

It is difficult to state definitely the limits of Yaśaḥkarṇa's reign. The earlier of his two grants seems to have been issued in K. 827.³ He must have been reigning then for about 3 years and, therefore, may have come to the throne in *circa* K. 824. The only date of his son and successor Gayākarṇa is K. 902. Gayākarṇa's reign seems to have closed soon thereafter; for, in K. 907 he was dead and his son Narasiṃha was on the throne. So the period of about 80 years (K. 824 to K. 904) is covered by only two reigns. It seems probable that Yaśaḥkarṇa had a longer reign than his son, of whose achievements very little is known. He may, therefore, be referred to the period K. 824 to K. 874 (1073-1123 A.C.).

Yaśaḥkarṇa assumed the same imperial titles as Karṇa; but he had neither the ambition nor the military genius of his father. During his reign the Kalachuri kingdom lost the northern provinces of Kanauj, Prayāga and Banaras, and became very much circumscribed. He tried to regain his possessions by forming alliances⁴ and even invaded northern and southern countries; but his raids produced no permanent effect and did not extend the limits of his dominion. The Paramāra invasion of his capital must have dealt a shattering blow to his power and prestige.

Yaśaḥkarṇa was succeeded by his son Gayākarṇa. Only two inscriptions of his reign are known. The earlier⁵ of these, dated K. 902, which was discovered at Tewar, records the erection of a temple dedicated to Śiva by the Pāśupata ascetic Bhāvaabrahman. The second inscription⁶ is from Bahuribandh in the north of the Jabalpur District. It has partially lost its date.⁷ It mentions Gōlhaṇadēva of the Rāshtrakūṭa family as the *Mahāsāmantādhipati* (Chief Feudatory) of Gayākarṇa. He was evidently a descendant of a scion of the Rāshtrakūṭa family which had settled in the Chēdi country in the 8th or 9th century A.C., when the Kalachuris and the Rāshtrakūṭas were matrimonially connected. The proper object of the inscription is to record the erection of a temple of the Jina Śāntinātha by a private individual named Mahābhōja.

These inscriptions, both of which come from the Jabalpur District, do not help us in determining the extent of Gayākarṇa's kingdom. The discovery⁸ of a hoard of the Chandēlla Madanavarman's silver coins at Panwar in the Teonthal *taluk* of the former Rewa state in 1910 seems to indicate that Gayākarṇa had lost the territory north of the Kaimur range. That he had come into a conflict with the Chandēllas is clear from an inscription found at Mau which says that 'the Chēdi king, being vanquished in a fierce fight, runs away in haste at the mention of Madanavarman's name.'⁹ As Madanavarman was ruling from *circa* 1124 A.C. to 1164 A.C., the Chēdi king defeated by him was probably Gayākarṇa.

¹ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, p. 327.

² *A. R. A. S. M.* (1929), pp. 133 and 137. The *Mahāmaṇḍalīśvara* Āchugi II, a feudatory of Vikramāditya VI, is said to have conquered the Māle or Highlands of the Ghāts and to have defeated a king of Dāhala. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIX, p. 230. As Āchugi II was ruling in 1122-23 A.C. (*Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. I, part ii, p. 452), the king of Dāhala defeated by him must have been Yaśaḥkarṇa.

³ See above, p. c. n. 2.

⁴ Notice the expression *aina-saṅgraha-kṛitā* applied to him in the Ratanpur inscription of Jājalladēva I, No. 77, v. 20.

⁵ No. 38.

⁶ No. 39.

⁷ For a discussion of its date, see below, p. 310.

⁸ *J. A. S. B. (N. S.)* (1914), pp. 199 ff.

⁹ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, p. 198.

Gayākarna seems to have suffered another defeat at the hands of Ratnadēva II of Dakṣhiṇa Kōsala. The latter belonged to an offshoot of the Kalachuri house of Dāhala. The early princes of this branch owed allegiance to the Kalachuri Emperors ruling at Tripuri and fought their battles. We have already seen that in his war against the king of Utkala (Orissa), Gaṅgēyadēva received valuable help from Kamalarāja of Tummāṇa.¹ Prithvidēva I, the earliest prince of this branch whose inscriptions have been found in Chhattisgarh, does not claim in his Amōdā plates a higher title than *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara*.² He was plainly a feudatory of the contemporary ruler of Dāhala. But his descendants began gradually to assert their independence. Jājalladēva I, the son of Prithvidēva I, boasts in his inscription that the contemporary lord of Chēdi, who was Yaśaḥkarna, sought his friendship, and that the rulers of Kānyakubja and Jejābhukti honoured him with presents of wealth.³ The crushing defeat that Ratnadēva II, the son and successor of Jājalladēva I, inflicted on the mighty Gaṅga king Anantavarman Chōḍagaṅga⁴ increased his power and prestige. He seems to have openly renounced subordination to Gayākarna. The latter sent a large force against him; but it suffered an ignominious defeat. In a Ratanpur inscription dated V. 1207 (1149-50 A.C.), Ratnadēva II is described as the fierce submarine fire to the matchless ocean of the arrayed and hard-to-be-subdued hosts of the Chēdi king.⁵ The latter must have been no other than Gayākarna.

Gayākarna married Alhaṇadēvī, the daughter of Vijayasimha, the Guhila prince of Prāgvāṭa or Mevad and Śyāmaladēvī, who was herself the daughter of Udayāditya, the lord of the Mālava *maṇḍala*.⁶ This alliance, which in a way united the royal families of the Kalachuris and the Paramāras, healed the sores of many generations. Alhaṇadēvī had two sons, Narasimha who succeeded his father, and Jayasimha who 'like Lakshmaṇa did marvellous service to his elder brother.' Gayākarna's spiritual preceptor was Śaktiśiva.⁷

As stated before, Gayākarna's reign seems to have come to a close soon after K. 902 (1151 A.C.); for, when the Bhērā-Ghāt inscription was incised in K. 907, he was already dead and his son Narasimha was on the throne.

Only three inscriptions of the reign of Narasimha have been discovered so far. The aforementioned Bherā-Ghāt inscription, dated K. 907 (1155 A.C.), records the construction, by Alhaṇadēvī, of a temple of Śiva under the name Vaidyanātha together with a monastery, a hall of study and a row of gardens attached to it. She endowed the temple with the gift of two villages and placed it in charge of the Pāsupata ascetic Rudrarāśī. The other two inscriptions were discovered north of the Kaimur range—one⁸, dated K. 909 (1158 A.C.), at Lāl Pahād near Bharhut, and the other⁹, dated V. 1216 (1159 A.C.), near the foot of Alha-Ghāt, 'which is one of the natural passes of the Vindhya hills by which the Tons river finds its way from the table land of Rewa to the plain of the Gaṅgā.' The former of these records the construction of a *vaha* or water-channel by one Ballāladēva, who was the son of an officer of Narasimha, while the second registers the erection of a temple of Ambikā and the construction of a *ghāt* by the *Rāṇaka* Chhīhula. The discovery of these lithic records north of the Kaimur range indicates that Narasimha succeeded in recovering from the Chandēllas a portion of his ancestral

¹ Above, p. xc.

² No. 76, l. 25.

³ No. 77, ll. 19-20.

⁴ No. 93, l. 6; No. 97, l. 4; No. 98, l. 6.

⁵ No. 93, l. 5.

⁶ No. 60, ll. 5 ff.

⁷ No. 64, l. 10.

⁸ No. 61.

⁹ No. 62.

dominion which had been lost by his father. He continued to use the same high-sounding titles as his ancestors Kārṇa and Yaśaḥkārṇa had done, though his kingdom had become very much circumscribed.

Like his ancestors, Narasimha was a devotee of Śiva. His spiritual preceptor was Kīrtiśiva, the disciple of Saktiśiva, who is said to have contributed to his prosperity.¹ A stone inscription from Jabalpur states that his fame had spread in all directions. He is identical with Kīrtiśambhu, the disciple of Saktiśambhu mentioned as the head of Gōḷakī Maṭha in an inscription discovered at Malkāpuram in the Guntur District.²

Narasimha was probably an old man when he came to the throne; for, his father Gayākārṇa and grandfather Yaśaḥkārṇa had unusually long reigns. He seems to have died without a son, as he was succeeded by his brother Jayasimha. As the earliest known date of the latter is K. 918, Narasimha seems to have ruled from K. 905 to K. 915 (1153-1163 A.C.).

Jayasimha seems to have been a brave and ambitious prince. The Jabalpur plates of his reign have the following verse about him which is also found repeated in the Kumbhī grant of his son Vijayasimha:—"On hearing of the coronation of the illustrious Jayasimha-dēva, the Gurjara king disappeared, the Turushka lost the strength of (his) arms, the lord of Kuntala suddenly renounced all love-sports, and other kings also leaving the earth through apprehension crossed the ocean."³ We have no means to ascertain whether Jayasimha actually raided the countries of these kings. But that he led at least one expedition is known from an inscription at Shēorinārāyaṇ.

This invasion was directed against Jājalladēva II, the contemporary ruler of Ratanpur. The Shēorinārāyaṇ inscription tells us that Ulhaṇadēva, who was descended from a collateral branch of the Ratanpur Kalachuris, routed with his arrows the army of the Chēdi-king. Seeing that his forces were being exterminated, the Chēdi king Jayasimha, whose name is partially preserved in the inscription, advanced in person, being highly enraged like a serpent trodden under foot.⁴ From the subsequent description it appears that Ulhaṇadēva lost his life in the fight. It is not stated how the battle ended. Probably Jayasimha was defeated and had to sue for peace; for, there is no mention of this battle in the subsequent records of the Kalachuris of Tripurī. The battle must have been fought soon after Jayasimha's accession which we have conjecturally placed in K. 915; for, the aforementioned Shēorinārāyaṇ inscription, which describes it, is dated K. 919.

Five inscriptions of the reign of Jayasimha have been found. The earliest of them is his Jabalpur grant.⁵ It is dated K. 918 and records the gift of the village Agarā which Jayasimha made on the occasion of a lunar eclipse which occurred on the full-moon day of Āśvina (the 30th September 1167 A.C.). Another Jabalpur inscription⁶ of his reign is dated K. 926 (1174-75 A.C.). The proper object of it is to record that Vimalaśiva, the spiritual preceptor of Jayasimha, erected a temple of Śiva under the name of Kīrtiśvara, and that Jayasimha endowed it with certain villages on the occasion of a solar eclipse.

Like his elder brother, Jayasimha continued to hold to the last the valley of the Tamasā or Tons; for, the Rewa plate of the *Mahārāṇaka* Kīrtivarman, the ruler of Karkarēḍī, which is dated K. 926, mentions him as suzerain with full titles of paramountcy.⁷

¹ No. 64, ll. 11-12.

² *J. A. H. R. S.*, Vol. IV, pp. 152 ff.

³ No. 63, ll. 18-19; Appendix, No. 4, v. 25.

⁴ No. 98, ll. 16 ff. The name of the king is partially preserved in line 16.

⁵ No. 63.

⁶ No. 64.

⁷ No. 65, ll. 2-4.

The latest date of Jayasimha's reign is K. 928, which is furnished by a stone inscription at Tewar recording the erection of a temple of Siva by a private individual named Kēśava.¹ The next known date is K. 944, which belongs to the reign of his son and successor Vijayasimha.² Jayasimha, therefore, seems to have reigned from K. 915 to K. 940 (1163-1188 A.C.). Towards the close of his reign Jayasimha seems to have been forced to pay homage to the Chandēlla king Paramardin. In a fragmentary Mahōbā inscription dated V. 1240 (1184 A.C.), it is stated that the lord of Tripurī fainted whenever he heard the songs of the valour of Paramardin's arms.³ Paramardin flourished from *circa* 1165 A.C. to 1203 A.C. The Kalachuri king who submitted to him was probably Jayasimha.

Like his predecessors, Jayasimha assumed the imperial titles *Paramabhaṭṭāraka*, *Mahārājādhirāja* and *Paramēśvara* as well as 'Lord of Trikaliṅga' and 'Overlord of the three Rājās, the lord of horses etc.' These titles had then become quite conventional and meaningless. He was a devotee of Siva, and as stated before, made some gifts of villages to that deity. His spiritual preceptor was Vimalaśiva.⁴

Jayasimha had two queens—Kēlhaṇadēvī mentioned in his Jabalpur plates,⁵ and Gōsaladēvī known from the Kumbhī plates⁶ and the Bhērā-Ghāt inscription.⁷ The village Gōsalapur, about 19 miles north by east of Jabalpur, was evidently founded in the name of the latter queen.

As stated before, Jayasimha was succeeded by his son Vijayasimha. It seems that in the beginning of his reign the ruler of Karkarēḍī attempted to throw off his yoke. As we have already seen, Kīrtivarman, who was ruling over Karkarēḍī in K. 926, was a vassal of Jayasimha. His brother Salakshaṇa, who succeeded him, revolted against his overlord, but he was promptly subdued by Malayasimha, another feudatory of Vijayasimha, in the battle of Karkarēḍī. This event is mentioned in the Rewa stone inscription⁸ of Vijayasimha, dated K. 944 (1193 A.C.). In the Rewa plate, issued two years later in V. 1253 (1195 A.C.), Salakshaṇavarman acknowledges the suzerainty of Vijayasimha and names him with the usual Kalachuri titles of paramountcy.

The aforementioned Rewa stone inscription states that Malayasimha routed another chief named Vikrama; but the latter cannot be identified as no further details are given.

The last record of Vijayasimha's reign is the Rewa stone inscription, the date of which is partially effaced.⁹ From the first two figures which are not altogether illegible, it seems that the record was incised in K. 96 (x). As the Dhurēti plates¹⁰ show that the Chandēlla Trailōkyamalla or Trailōkyavarman was in occupation of the territory round Rewa in K. 963 (1212 A.C.), Vijayasimha seems to have lost the northern portion of Baghelkhand in K. 961 or K. 962.

Vijayasimha seems also to have submitted to the Yādava king Simhaṇa. In the

¹ No. 66.

² No. 67.

³ मधुरति बले लये च त्रिपुरीपतिः । मूर्च्छन्तामेव संवत्से गीते यद्भुजविक्रमे ॥ in l. 7 of the Mahōbā stone inscription (BK. p. 438). There is a play on the word *mūrccchbanā* used in the verse. It means (1) a swoon and (2) a melody. So the other meaning is that the king of Tripurī sings a melody in praise of Paramardin.

⁴ No. 64, ll. 14 ff.

⁵ No. 63, l. 22.

⁶ Appendix, No. 4.

⁷ No. 69, l. 1.

⁸ No. 67, l. 12.

⁹ No. 70.

¹⁰ No. 72.

Puṇḍra stone inscription¹, which seems to be dated in 1200 A.C., Simhaṇa is called *Ḍāhala-bṛit-kutūhala* 'a very curiosity of the heart of (the people of) the Ḍāhala country'. The expression is perhaps intended to signify that when Simhaṇa invaded Ḍāhala, the people of the country flocked together out of curiosity to see him.

It is not known when Vijayasimha's reign came to an end. The Kumbhī plates² and the Bhērā-Ghāt inscription³ mention Ajayasimha as *Mahārājakumāra*, or crown prince. He was plainly Vijayasimha's son, but whether he actually ascended the throne is not known. Vimalaśiva seems to have continued as *Rājaguru* during the reign of Vijayasimha.⁴

We have already seen that towards the close of his reign, Vijayasimha lost the northern portion of Baghelkhand. The western portion, consisting of the Saugor and Damoh districts, was also soon occupied by the Chandēllas.⁵ A stone inscription⁶ dated V. 1344 (1287 A.C.), found at Hindoria, 11 miles from Damoh, states that the local chief Vāghadēva owed allegiance to Bhōjavarmaḍēva of Kālāñjara. Another stone inscription, found at Bamhani⁷ in the same district and dated V. 1364 (1308 A.C.), mentions the same chief as a feudatory of Hammīravarman of Kālāñjara, who had in the meantime succeeded Bhōjavarman. No inscriptions of the Chandēllas have, however, been discovered in the Jabalpur District in which Tripurī, the Kalachuri capital, was situated.⁸ If the Kalachuris retained their hold on this district, they must have owned the suzerainty of the Chandēllas.

The recently discovered Purushōttampurī plates⁹ of the reign of the Yādava king Rāmachandra, dated Śaka 1232 (1310 A.C.), state that Rāmachandra had defeated in a moment the king of the great and extensive Ḍāhala country. The inscription does not name the king, nor does it state to which royal family he belonged. Perhaps the Chandēlla king Hammīravarman who had a large part of Ḍāhala under his sway was the king defeated by Rāmachandra.

In the meanwhile, Muslim power was slowly penetrating Baghelkhand. Nāsirud-dīn Mahmud (1246-66 A.C.) appointed Malik Julachī Governor of the Chēdi country. The latter's son Hisām-ud-dīn, placed Jallāla Khōjā in charge of the country now comprised in the Damoh District. An inscription of the latter, dated V. 1385 (1328 A.C.), has been discovered at Baṭihāgarh, 21 miles north-west of Damoh.¹⁰ The discovery of this inscription in the vicinity of Damoh indicates how precarious was the hold of the Chandēlla rulers on Ḍāhala. After 1310 A.C. we have no records of the Chandēllas or the Kalachuris from the Chēdi or Ḍāhala country.

¹ *S. M. H. D.*, Vol. II, p. 62.

² Appendix, No. 4.

³ No. 69, l. 3.

⁴ No. 70, l. 12. The Kumbhī plates (Appendix, No. 4), however, mention Vidyādēva as the *Rājaguru* of Vijayasimha.

⁵ A stone inscription found at Rāhatgarh (Saugor District, Madhya Pradesh), dated V. 1312 (1256 A.C.) mentions *Mahārājādhirāja* Jayavarman II of Dhārā. *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XX, p. 84. This shows that the Paramāras had penetrated earlier into the Saugor District.

⁶ *I. C. P. B.* (second ed.), p. 36.

⁷ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XVI, p. 10, n. 4.

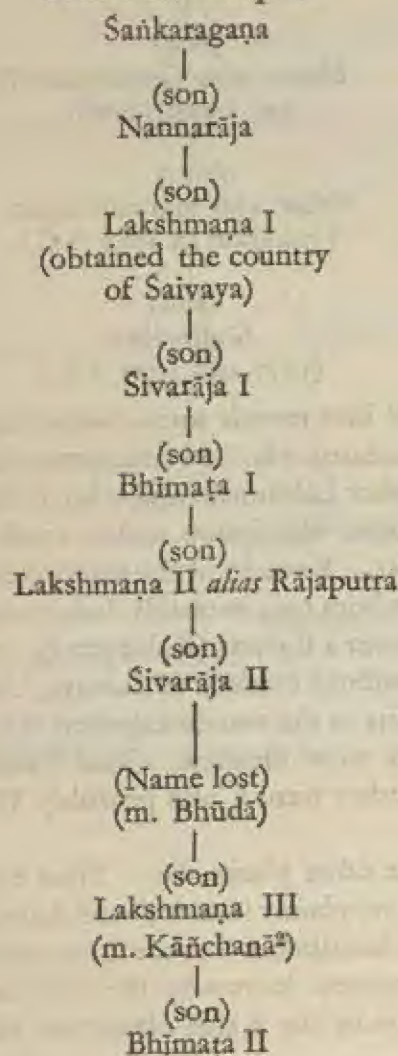
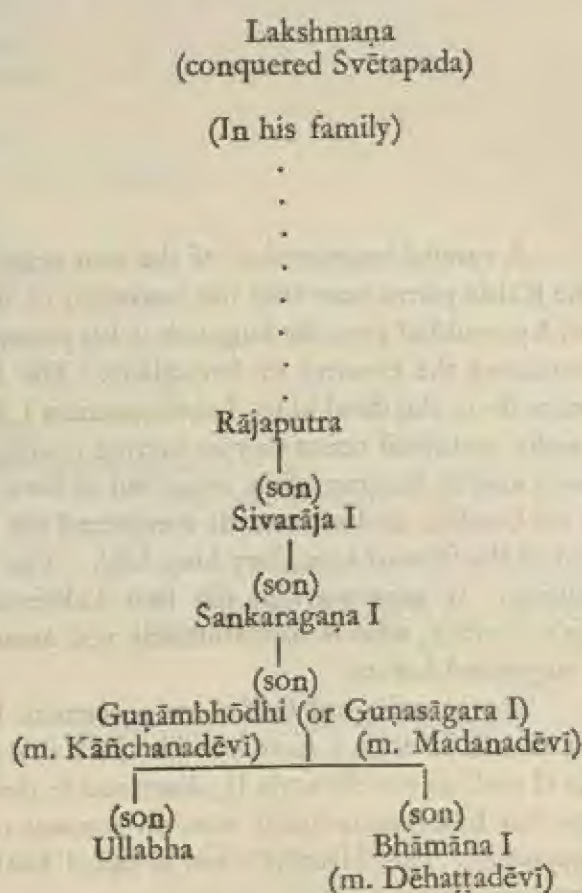
⁸ The Malkāpuram stone pillar inscription dated Ś. 1183 (1261 A.C.) states that the Śaiva *Āchārya* Viśvēśvaraśambhu was the *dīkṣā-guru* of the Kalachuri kings. He was second in spiritual descent from Vimalaśiva, the *Rājaguru* of Vijayasimha. If the statement of the Malkāpuram inscription is correct, the Kalachuris may have been holding Tripurī and the surrounding territory till 1240 A.C. at least. A fragmentary inscription incised in characters of about the 12th century A. C. found at Tewar mentions Bhīmapāla. *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XX, p. 85. But this name is not noticed in any genealogies of the period.

⁹ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXV, p. 211.

¹⁰ *I. C. P. B.*, p. 38.

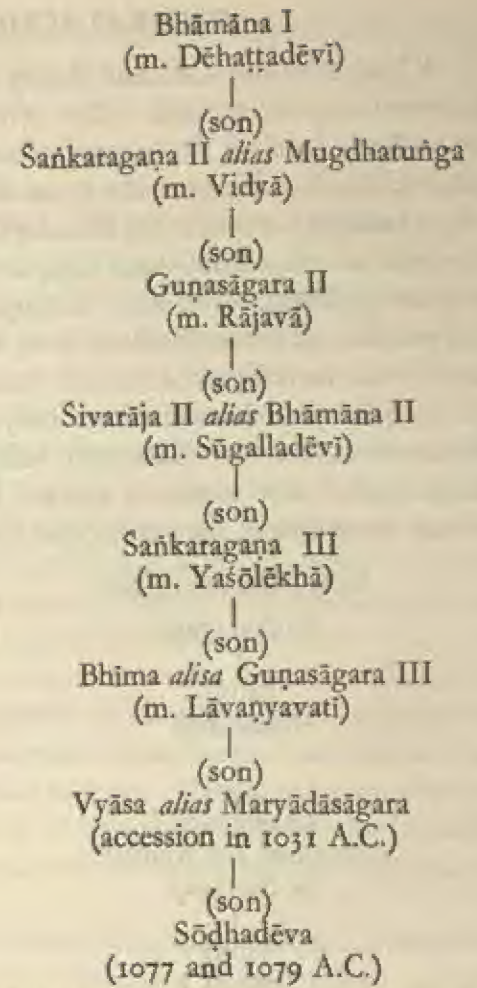
THE KALACHURIS OF SARAYUPARA

A branch of the Kalachuri family which established itself in the Sarayūpāra country is known from two records. One of them is a stone inscription found in the Buddhist ruins at Kasiā (ancient Kuśīnagara) where Gautama Buddha entered the Mahāparinirvāṇa, while the other is a copper-plate grant discovered at Kahla, a few miles to the north of the Ghōgrā (ancient Sarayū) in the Dhuriāpār *parganā* of the Gorakhpur District. The copper-plate grant contains three dates, viz., 1031, 1077 and 1079 A.C., the details of which work out quite regularly. The stone inscription is, unfortunately, very sadly mutilated in the lower portion. If it contained any date, it is now lost for ever; but on the evidence of palæography, it can be referred to the 10th century A.C. The two places Kasiā and Kahla where these records were discovered are only about 40 miles distant from each other. *Prima facie*, therefore, the two Kalachuri ruling families mentioned in them should be related to each other, if not identical; but no points of contact have yet been noticed.¹ To facilitate comparison, the genealogies mentioned in the two records are given below—

Kasiā Stone Inscription*Kahla Plates*

¹ D. R. Sahnī remarked in his edition of the Kasiā inscription in the *Ep., Ind.*, "This is the only record so far known of the branch of the Kalachuri family to which it belongs." Following him, H. C. Ray calls this branch 'Kasiā Kalachuris' to distinguish it from the other branch which he names 'Kahla Kalachuris'. See *D. H. N. I.*, Vol. II, 741.

² Verse 26 of the Kasiā inscription which mentions this lady is almost completely obliterated. So



A careful examination of the two genealogical lists reveals some connecting links. The Kahlā plates state that the ornament of the Kalachuris who had conquered Kālāñjara and Ayōmukha¹ gave the kingdom to his younger brother Lakshmaṇarāja, who, in his turn, conquered the country of Svētapada. The Kasiā stone inscription makes similar statements about the third king, Lakshmaṇarāja I, of its list. Verse 17 of the inscription which is sadly mutilated refers to two uterine brothers, of whom one, probably Lakshmaṇarāja I mentioned in the preceding verse, out of love made over a fortress (Kālāñjara?), evidently to his brother, and afterwards conquered the mountainous country of Saivaya, the home land of the famous legendary king Śibi. The similarity in the two descriptions is certainly striking. It suggests that the two Lakshmaṇarājas were identical. This Lakshmaṇarāja's brother, who is unfortunately not named in either record, was probably Vāmarāja as suggested before.

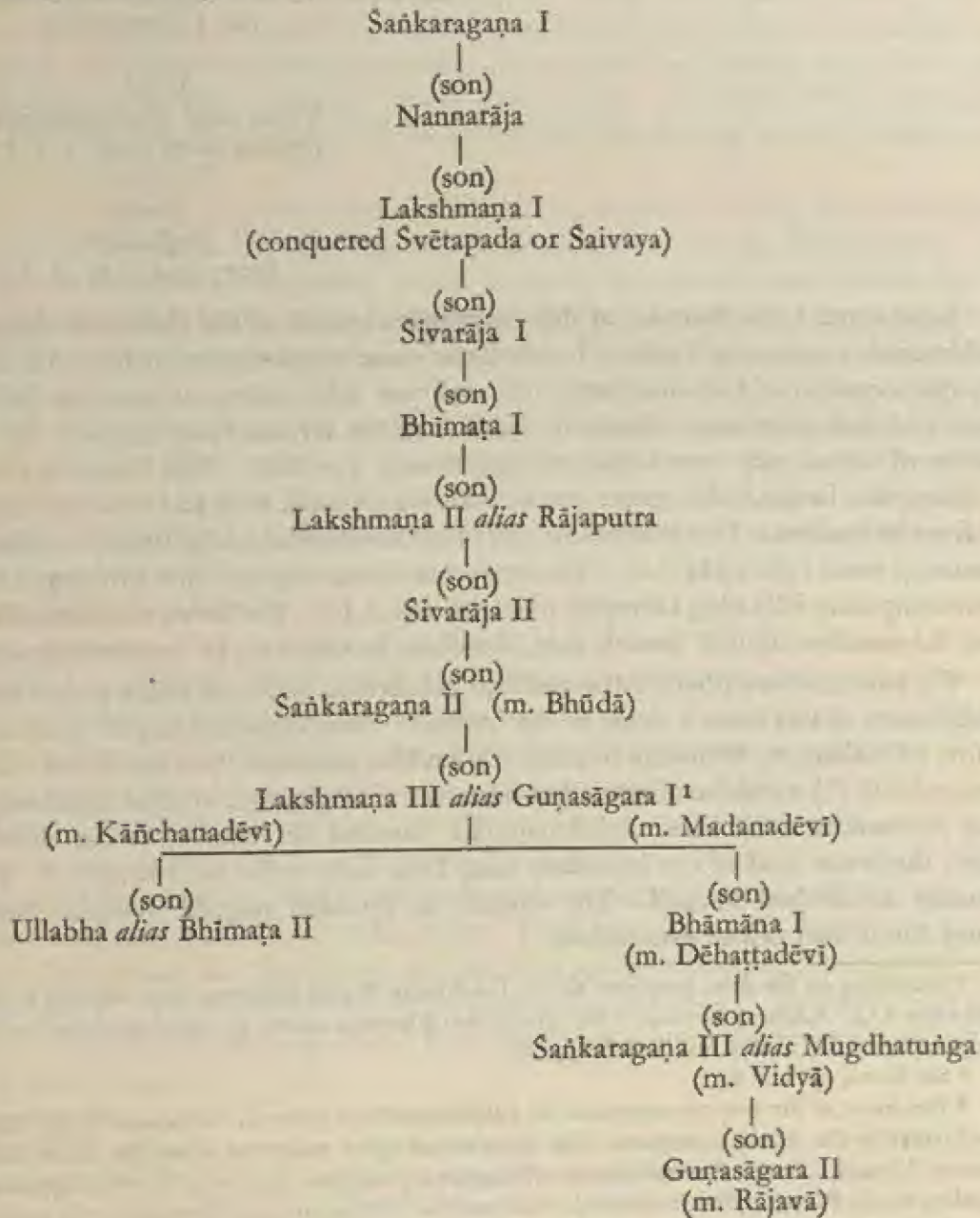
The genealogical lists show agreement in some other places also. Thus Rājaputra and his son Śivarāja I, mentioned in the Kahlā plates, are plainly identical with Lakshmaṇarāja II and his son Śivarāja II, described in the Kasiā inscription; for, the latter inscription says that Lakshmaṇarāja II was, on account of his merits, known by the other name of *Rājaputra*.² This Śivarāja's son is called Saṅkaragaṇa in the Kahlā plates; but his name

her relationship to Lakshmaṇa III mentioned in the preceding verse is uncertain. But a comparison with the corresponding portion of the Kahlā grant leaves no room for doubt that she was his wife.

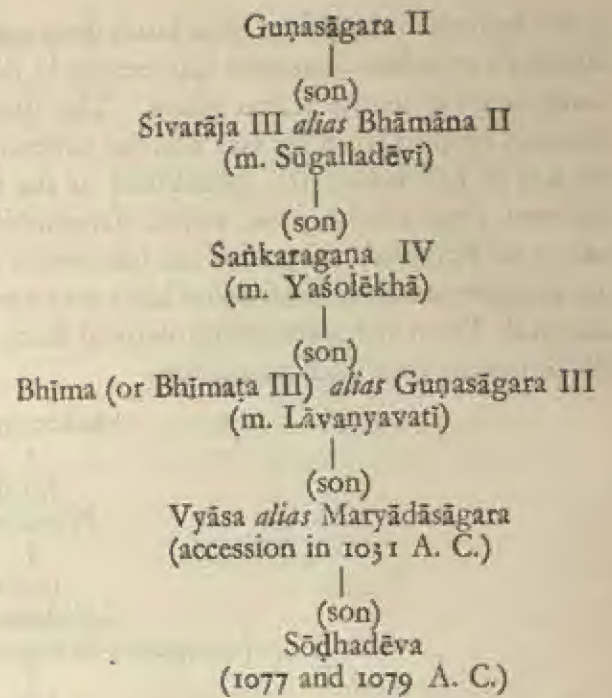
¹ Prof. Kielhorn's statement that the Kalachuri king subdued the Krathas is based on a mislection, for which see below, p. 383, n. 2.

² H. C. Ray's conjecture that '*Rājaputra* Lakshmaṇa probably did not reign' does not appear to be correct; for, according to the Kahlā plates, the title was given to Lakshmaṇa on account of his merits.

is lost in Kasiā inscription. The latter does not, therefore, give any clue to identification. Śivarāja's grandson is named Lakshmaṇa in the Kasiā inscription and Guṇāmbhōdhi (or Guṇāsāgara I) in the Kahla plates. The latter is apparently a *biruda*. This conjecture receives support from the fact that the wives of both were named Kāñchanā. Bhīmaṭa II, the son of Lakshmaṇa III, mentioned in the Kasiā inscription, may not, therefore, be different from Ullabha, the son of Guṇāmbhōdhi, named in the Kahla plates. The names of Bhīmaṭa's successors are lost owing to the mutilation of the Kasiā inscription; but the agreements noticed above leave no room for doubt that the two royal families were identical. From the information derived from the two records, we can, therefore, form the following combined genealogy—



¹ The Kahla plates give the *biruda* as Guṇāmbhōdhi which is a synonym of Guṇāsāgara (an ocean of excellences). As Guṇāsāgara is repeated in the later stages of the genealogy, I have called this king Guṇāsāgara I.



Lakshmaṇa I, the founder of this Sarayūpāra branch of the Kalachuri dynasty, was the thirteenth ancestor of Vyāsa. As the latter came to the throne in 1031 A.C., we may place the accession of Lakshmaṇarāja I in *circa* 700 A.C., taking 25 years as the average duration of each generation. Similarly, Lakshmaṇarāja III *alias* Guṇasāgara I, the seventh ancestor of Vyāsa, may have begun to reign in *circa* 850 A.C. This date is supported by the description in the Kahla plates that he defeated a Gauḍa king and obtained some territory from Bhōjadēva. This Bhōja is no other than the Pratihāra king Bhōja I, whose known dates range from 836 to 882 A.C. We know that he was engaged in a prolonged war with the contemporary Pāla king Dēvapāla (*circa* 810-850 A.C.). The dates conjecturally assigned to the members of this branch may, therefore, be taken to be substantially correct.¹

We have reviewed before the political conditions in North India which led to the establishment of this branch so far to the north.² After consolidating his position in the hill-fort of Kālāñjara, Vāmarāja overran Ayōmukha, (modern Partāpgarh and Rai Barelli Districts of U. P.) which he afterwards made over to his younger brother Lakshmaṇarāja I. Using Ayōmukha as his base, Lakshmaṇarāja invaded the country to the north of the Sarayū, the home land of the legendary king Śibi, famous for his liberality.³ There he ultimately established himself. The dynasty he founded reigned over the Sarayūpāra country for at least fifteen generations.

¹ According to the dates proposed above, Lakshmaṇa II *alias* Rājaputra was reigning in the period *circa* 775-800 A.C. Kielhorn also was of the opinion that Rājaputra cannot be placed later than the beginning of the 9th century A. C. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VII, p. 88.

² See above, pp. lxiii ff.

³ The name of the country conquered by Lakshmaṇarāja is given as Śvētapada by the Kahla plates and as Śaivaya by the Kasiā inscription. The latter record again states that it was the home land of Śibi, the son of Uśinara. From the *Mahābhārata* (Vanaparvan, adhyāya 130, v. 20) Śibi appears to have been ruling in the Panjab. The Buddhist Jātakas mention Ariṭṭhapura and Jeṭuttara as the capitals of the Śibi country. Elsewhere, the capital of Śibi is said to be Śivipura. As Dr. Vogel has shown, modern Shōrkōṭ in the Panjab marks the site of ancient Śivipura. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XVI, p. 16. *Śaivaya* may be derived from *Śvētapada* through the intermediate stages of *Sēvāṇ* and *Senaya*. The context shows that the province of Śvētapada was included in Sarayūpāra, and there may have been a tradition, wrong of course, associating it with the ancient king Śibi, 'the paragon of charity and self-sacrifice.'

The Kahla plates begin the royal genealogy with this Lakshmaṇarāja I; but the Kasiā inscription carries it two generations backward and names Saṅkaragaṇa and Nannarāja as the grandfather and father respectively of Lakshmaṇarāja I. We have already stated the reasons for our view that these two kings were ruling not in Sarayūpāra, but in their home province of Anūpa.

We have no knowledge of the political events in the reign of Sivarāja I and Bhīmaṭa I, who succeeded Lakshmaṇarāja I, one after the other. The description of them, given by the Kasiā inscription, is quite conventional.¹ Bhīmaṭa I was succeeded by Lakshmaṇa II, who, on account of his merits, was known by the second name of *Rājaputra*. About this prince the Kahla plates say that he took captive Vāhali, the Lord of horses, gave no respite to the king of the East and by his achievements lowered the fame of ancient princes like Arjuna.² Vāhali is not otherwise known. He was probably a feudatory of the Pratihāras of Kanauj, who were noted for their fine cavalry. The king of the East against whom Lakshmaṇa fought must have been a king of the Pāla dynasty, perhaps Dharmapāla, who was his contemporary.

About Sivarāja II, who succeeded Lakshmaṇa II, we have nothing but conventional praise in both the records. His son Saṅkaragaṇa II is mentioned in the Kahla plates. His name is lost in the Kasiā inscription, which, however, supplies the information that his wife was Bhūdā. This Saṅkaragaṇa is probably identical with the homonymous prince who received protection from Kōkalla I of Tripurī.³ Perhaps his country was threatened at the time by his eastern neighbour, the Pāla king Dēvapāla. Saṅkaragaṇa wisely allied himself with the powerful kings of the time, Bhōja I of Kanauj and Kōkalla I of Tripurī, to stem the tide of the Pāla invasion. He sent his son Lakshmaṇa III *alias* Guṇāmbhōdhi (or Guṇasāgara I) to fight in the Pratihāra Emperor's campaigns against Dēvapāla. If the description in the Kahla plates can be relied upon, Lakshmaṇa took away the fortune of the Gauḍa king and received as reward some territory from Bhōjadēva who can be none other than Bhōja I of Kanauj.

From his wives Kāñchanā and Madanadēvī, Lakshmaṇa III had the sons, Ullabha and Bhāmāna I respectively. The former, who was apparently elder, abdicated the throne in favour of Bhāmāna I. Bhāmāna came into conflict with the contemporary king of Dhārā and inflicted a crushing defeat on his forces. The Paramāra adversary is not named, but he may have been Muñja (*circa* 974-995 A. C.). Perhaps the Kalachuri king Yuvarājadēva II had asked for his help when his territory was invaded by the Paramāra king,⁴ and it was now the turn of the Sarayūpāra family to go to the rescue of the main house.

From his queen Dēhattadēvī, Bhāmāna had a son named Saṅkaragaṇa III, who succeeded him. He had the *viruda* Mugdhatuṅga. From his wife Vidyā, Saṅkaragaṇa had a son named Guṇasāgara II. The latter's son from his queen Rājavā was Sivarāja III, also called Bhāmāna II. His son from Sūgalladēvī was Saṅkaragaṇa IV. The latter's son from Yaśōlēkhā was Bhīma (or Bhīmaṭa III). We have nothing but conventional praise in the case of all these kings.

¹ *Kīrti* which occurs in v. 16 was taken by Sahni as a proper name. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 157, n. 4. Ray has suggested that he might be the Chandēlla Kīrtivarman (*D. H. N. I.*, Vol. II, p. 730); but the identification is impossible as Kīrtivarman flourished long after. *Kīrti* in that verse is *not* a proper name. It has the ordinary sense of 'fame' or 'glory'.

² *Kīrti* in v. 7 of the Kahla plates is taken by some to be the name of a historical personage; but the intended sense seems to be that by his valour Rājaputra eclipsed the fame of the illustrious kings of yore like Arjuna.

³ See above, p. lxxv ff.

⁴ Above, p. lxxxvii.

It seems that there was some trouble during the reign of Bhīma which caused him the loss of his throne. The nature of the trouble is, however, not known.¹ Perhaps, there was an invasion of the country by some enemy. When the enemy retired or was ousted from the country, Vyāsa, the son of Guṇasāgara, got himself crowned at the capital of Gōkulaghāṭṭa on the 31st May 1031 A.C.

Kielhorn identified Guṇasāgara, the father of Vyāsa, with Guṇasāgara II, who was the great-grandfather of Vyāsa's predecessor Bhīma.² Vyāsa would thus have come to the throne after his grand-nephew. This seems improbable. Besides, Vyāsa apparently began to reign when young; for, his successor Sōḍhadēva was ruling at least till 1079 A.C., which date is 48 years later than that of Vyāsa's accession. It seems better, therefore, to suppose that Guṇasāgara was a *biruda* of Bhīma, the predecessor of Vyāsa.³ This conjecture receives support from the description in the plates that Vyāsa was established on his *father's* throne.

Vyāsa *alias* Maryādāsāgara was succeeded by Sōḍhadēva who issued the Kahla plates on the occasion of the Uttarāyaṇa-Saṅkrānti in 1077 A.C. In these plates both he and his father are mentioned with full imperial titles, *viz.*, *Paramabbattāraka*, *Mahārājādhirāja* and *Paramēśvara*. The period of their rule falls in the heyday of Kalachuri imperialism when the mighty emperors Gaṅgēyadēva and Kaṭṭa had extended their dominion to the Banaras District, south of the Sarayū. The assumption of imperial titles by these rulers of Sarayūpāra plainly indicates that they did not owe allegiance even to Gaṅgēya and Kaṭṭa. The use of the Vikrama instead of the Kalachuri Samvat in dating the Kahla grant points to the same direction. The relations of the two Kalachuri families may, however, have continued to be friendly and they may have gone to each other's rescue in times of difficulties.

Sōḍhadēva is the last known prince of this Sarayūpāra branch. Soon after the issue of his Kahla plates, he seems to have lost the support of the Tripurī Kalachuris; for, Yaśaḥkaṭṭa was then ousted from the Banaras District by the Gāhaḍavāla king Chandradēva. The Chandrāvati plates dated V. 1148 (1090 A.C.), which are the earliest record of the Gāhaḍavālas discovered in the Banaras District, plainly indicate that Yaśaḥkaṭṭa had lost Banaras to Chandradēva before that date.⁴ The Gāhaḍavālas may have next pressed further to the north and supplanted the Kalachuris in the Sarayūpāra country. Perhaps the Rāshtrakūṭas ruling on the other side of the Gaṇḍakī played⁵ their part in the extermination of their neighbours. Yaśaḥkaṭṭa's raid against Champāraṇya, which was plainly directed against these Rāshtrakūṭas and in the course of which he devastated their country, may have been prompted by a feeling of vengeance. Yaśaḥkaṭṭa did not, however, succeed in restoring the Sarayūpāra country to his kinsmen. This Kalachuri family thus disappeared from history in the last decade of the eleventh century A.C.

¹ The Kahla plates ascribe the loss of the throne to the misfortune of Bhīma. If there was an invasion of the country, it may have been by *Mahārājādhirāja* Gaṅgēyadēva, a Rāshtrakūṭa king ruling over the neighbouring country of Tirabhukti on the other side of the Gaṇḍakī. A MS. of the *Kishkindhā-kāṇḍa* of the *Rāmāyaṇa* deposited in the Nepal Durbar Library mentions the date, V. 1076 (1019 A.C.), of this king's reign. For the identification of this Gaṅgēyadēva, see *A. B. O. R. I.* (Silver Jubilee Number), pp. 291 ff. and above, p. lxxxix, n. 5.

² *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VII, p. 86.

³ Another similar case is that of *Maryādāsāgara* which from l. 33 of the Kahla plates appears to be a *biruda* of Vyāsa, though this is not stated explicitly in the plates.

⁴ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IX, pp. 302 ff.

⁵ I have shown elsewhere that a Rāshtrakūṭa family was ruling over Tirabhukti (modern Tirhut) in the tenth and eleventh centuries A.C. *A. B. O. R. I.* (Silver Jubilee Number), p. 301.

THE KALACHURIS OF SOUTH KOSALA

In ancient times Dakṣiṇa Kōsala (South Kōsala) comprised modern Chattisgarh and the adjoining territory in the State of Orissa up to the boundary of the Katak District.¹ In the Purāṇas this country is mentioned with Traipura (the tract round Tripurī near Jabalpur), Kaliṅga (part of the State of Orissa) and Mēkala (the region near the source of the Narmadā).² These countries are further said to be situated on the back, *i.e.*, the table-land of the Vindhya mountain. To distinguish this Kōsala from another territory of the same name, the capital of which was Ayōdhyā in the State of Uttar Pradesh, it was called Dakṣiṇa Kōsala or South Kōsala. The feminine form of the name, *viz.*, Kōsalā, is occasionally met with in literature and inscriptions.³ The ancient capital of this country was Kuśāvati, founded by Kuśa, the elder son of Rāma, the hero of the *Rāmāyaṇa*. This city, the Purāṇas tell us, was situated on a peak of the Vindhya mountain, but its exact location has not yet been determined.

Our knowledge of the history of Chattisgarh before the advent of the Kalachuris is very meagre. In the beginning of the sixth century A.C., the country was ruled by Bhīmasēna II whose copper-plate grant dated in the Gupta year 182 (501-2 A.C.) has been discovered at Āraṅg.⁴ He or his successor was ousted by a king of the Śarabhapura dynasty. Mahā-Pravararāja, the last known king of this family, was overthrown by Indrabala of the Sōmavarṃśis. The Sōmavarṃśis ruled in Chhattisgarh for some generations. Mahāśivagupta *alias* Bālārjuna, the last known king of this dynasty, flourished in the beginning of the seventh century A.C. He had a long reign of more than 57 years and was on the throne when the Chinese traveller Yuan Chwang visited Dakṣiṇa Kōsala.⁵

About this time, Pulakēśin II of the Early Chālukya dynasty invaded Kōsala after conquering the three Mahārāṣṭras. The Aihōlē inscription of his reign, dated 634 A.C., states that the people of Kōsala, like those of Kaliṅga, were overawed by the invading forces.⁶ The ruling king evidently submitted to the mighty emperor, who allowed him to govern his kingdom as his vassal.

Some time after Pulakesin II's invasion, the Sōmavarṃśis were ousted from the Raipur District by their southern neighbours, the Nala kings, who held the Bastar District of Madhya Pradesh and the adjoining parts of the Vishakhapatam District of the Madras State. A stone inscription of this dynasty, still existing at Rājim in the Raipur District, mentions three kings, *viz.*, Prithvīrāja, Virūparāja and Vilāsatuṅga. The last of these erected the temple of Rājivalōchana at Rājim for the religious merit of his son who had died. The inscription can be referred to about 700 A.C. on the evidence of palæography.⁷

We do not know how long the rule of the Sōmavarṃśis and the Nalas lasted in Chhattisgarh. An inscription on the architrave of the door of the sanctum in an exquisitely carved temple of Śiva at Pāli, about 12 miles north of Ratanpur in the Bilaspur District, records the construction of the temple by Vikramāditya, son of Malladēva. This inscription, which was deciphered by Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar fifty years ago, has not received from

¹ The Sōmavarṃśi kings whose copper-plates record grants of land in the former Patna State and Sambalpur District call themselves 'lords of Kōsala'.

² *Vāyupurāṇa*, adhyāya 45, v. 133.

³ MBH., (Cr. Ed.), Āraṇyakaparvan, adhyāya 83, v. 10; *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IX, p. 271.

⁴ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IX, pp. 342 and plate. I have shown that the correct reading of the date is G. 182, corresponding to 501-2 A.C. *Ibid.*, Vol. XXVI, p. 228.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Vol. XXIII, pp. 118 ff.; Vol. XXVII, p. 325.

⁶ *Ibid.*, Vol. VI, p. 6.

⁷ *Ibid.*, Vol. XXVI, pp. 49 ff.

scholars the attention it deserves.¹ As the names Malladēva and Vikramāditya occur in the dynastic list of Bāṇa kings, Dr. Bhandarkar made at the time the ingenious suggestion that this Vikramāditya might be one of the Bāṇa kings.² He could not, however, definitely identify him; for, no such Vikramāditya, son of Malladēva, was then known. From the Gudimallam plates³ discovered later, Dr. Hultzsch has shown that there were three Vikramādityas in the Bāṇa dynasty, of whom the first, also called Jayamēru, was the son of Malladēva. He is identical with the Bāṇa Vidyādhara mentioned in the Udayēndiram plates. As the known dates of his son Vijayāditya Prabhumēru range from Śaka 820 (898-99 A.C.)⁴ to Śaka 831 (909-10 A.C.),⁵ Vikramāditya I may be referred to the period 870-895 A.C.⁶

The Bāṇa kings are known from records found in the North Arcot District. The province over which they ruled is called Pērumbāṇappāḍi in later Tamil inscriptions.⁷ As R. B. Venkayya has shown, this province extended from Puṅganūr in the west to Kālahasti in the east.⁸ It is, however, surmised that the Bāṇas were originally settled further north in the Telugu country. From there they seem to have penetrated further to the north and carved out a kingdom for themselves in the Bilaspur District of Chhattisgarh, from where they ousted the Sōmavarṁśis, who were obliged to move to the east and settle at Vinītapura (modern Binkā in the Sonpur State). This invasion of the country to the north of the Gōḍāvarī appears to have occurred in connection with the northern campaign of Udayachandra, a general of the Pallava king Nandivarman II—Pallavamalla (*circa* 710-775 A.C.)⁹. The Udayēndiram plates¹⁰ state that Udayachandra pursued a Nishāda chief called Purushavyāghra, who, desiring to become very powerful, was running after the horse of the *Aśvamēdha*, defeated him and ordered him out of the district of Viṣṇurāja, which he subjected to the Pallava king. This Purushavyāghra may have been ruling over the country now comprised in the Bastar District.¹¹ Viṣṇurāja, whose country he had invaded, has been identified with Viṣṇuvardhana III (709-746 A.C.). The Bāṇa chiefs, who were feudatories of the Pallavas, seem to have pressed still further to the north and established themselves in the Bilaspur District with Pāli as their capital. We have no record of the early Bāṇa kings who founded this kingdom. Nandivarman is the earliest king known from the Udayēndiram plates.¹² As shown above, his great-grandson Vikramāditya I was ruling from *circa* 870 A.C. to 895 A.C. Nandivarman may, therefore, have flourished about 800 A.C. Either he or his father may have been the founder of the Bāṇa kingdom in

¹ I drew attention to its importance in an article entitled 'An Ancient Dynasty of Mahākōśala' published in *P. I. H. C.* (1939), pp. 319 ff.

² *P. R. A. S., W. C.* (1903-4), p. 52.

³ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XVII, pp. 1 ff.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Vol. XI, p. 227.

⁵ See No. 99 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1899.

⁶ Sewell says that Vikramāditya I's accession date (872 A.C.) is derived from an inscription which mentions the year Vijaya (873-74 A.C.) as being in the second year of Bāṇa Vidyādhara. *H. I. S. I.*, p. 328. He has, however, not given the exact reference of this record. T. V. Mahalingam places Vikramāditya I in the period 850-895 A.C.

⁷ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XI, p. 230.

⁸ *Ibid.*, Vol. XI, p. 238.

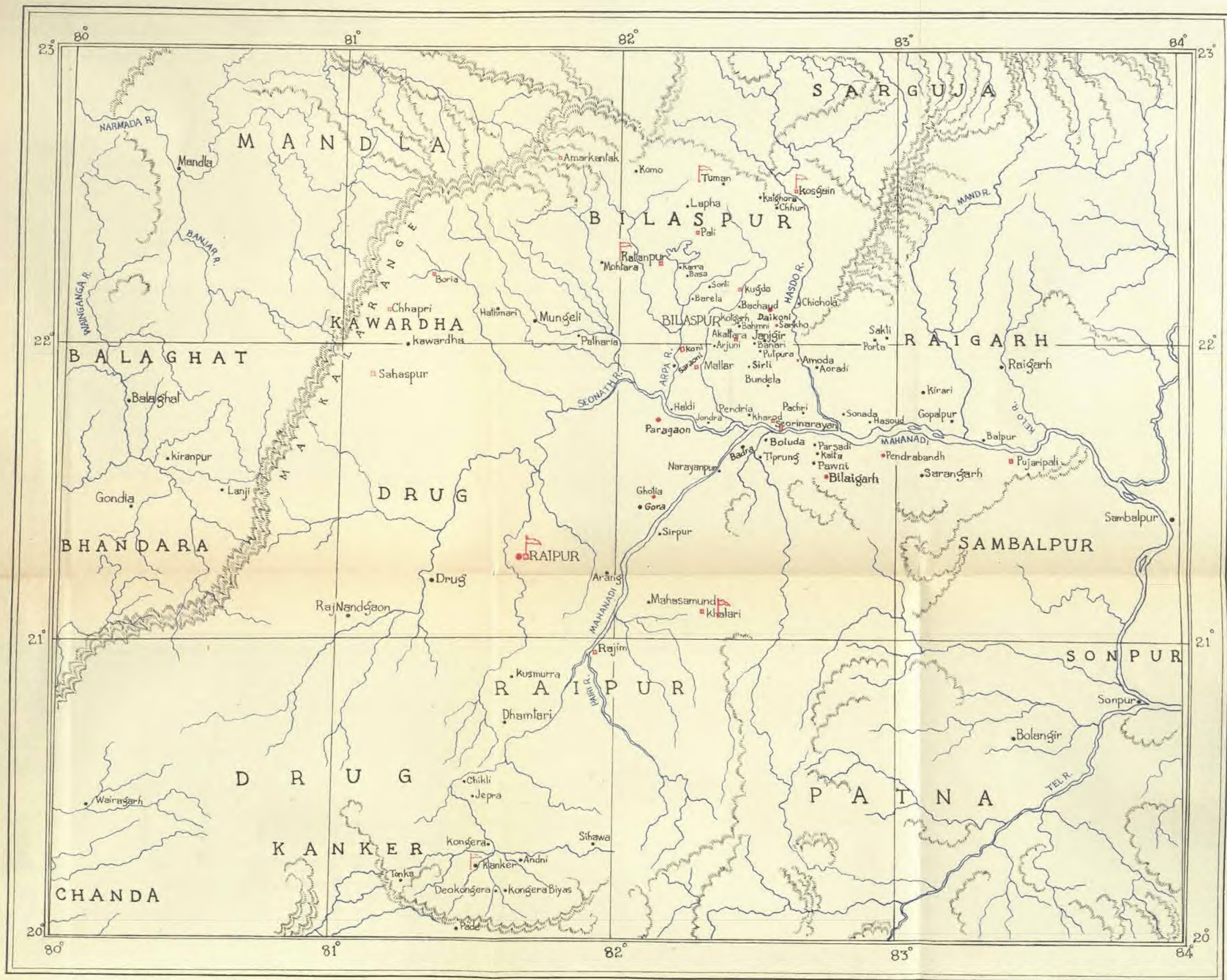
⁹ See *H. P. K.*, p. 119. Jouveau-Dubreuil gives the reign-period as 717-779 A.C.

¹⁰ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VIII, pp. 274 ff.

¹¹ Compare the name Vyāghrarāja of the ruler of Mahākāntāra mentioned in the Allahabad pillar inscription of Samudragupta, *C. I. I.*, Vol. III, p. 7. This Mahākāntāra probably corresponds to the Bastar District.

¹² *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. III, pp. 74 ff.

MAP SHOWING PLACES MENTIONED IN THE INSCRIPTIONS
OF THE
KALACHURI ERA
FROM CHHATTISGARH



Scale $\frac{1}{1,000,000}$ OR 1:014 Inches to 16 Miles.
Miles 10 0 10 20 30 40 Miles

Index
 ■ Capitals.
 • Find-spots of Copper plates.
 ■ Find-spots of Stone inscriptions.



Chhattisgarh. His descendants seem to have held the country down to the time of Vikramāditya I, who built the aforementioned temple of Śiva at Pāli in the Bilaspur District.

In many records¹ of the Ratanpur branch of the Kalachuri dynasty, it is stated that Kōkalla had eighteen sons, of whom the eldest became the lord of Tripurī and made his brothers the lords of *maṇḍalas* in the neighbourhood. In the family of one of these younger brothers was born Kaliṅgarāja, the first known king of the Ratanpur branch. Kaliṅgarāja's son was Kamalarāja, who was a contemporary of Gāṅgēyadēva, whom he helped in his campaign against the king of Utkala. The wording² of the passage describing the relationship of Kaliṅgarāja to Kōkalla shows that the former was separated from the latter by some generations. This Kōkalla, therefore, is the first king of that name who ruled from *circa* 850 A.C. to 890 A.C. This conclusion receives confirmation from a statement in some inscriptions of the Tripurī branch. As we have already seen, the Bilhāri stone inscription states that Mugdhatuṅga, the son and successor of Kōkalla I, conquered the lines of countries along the eastern sea-shore and took (the country of) Pāli from the lord of Kōsala.³ The Banaras plates of Karṇa say that Prasiddhadhavalā (who is none other than Mugdhatuṅga) took possession of Pāli, thinking that in his family there would be born men, eminent on account of greatness in this world.⁴ This plainly means that the Kalachuri king conquered Pāli to provide an adequate field for the activities of the illustrious princes who would be born in his family. The country of Pāli which was conquered from the king of Kōsala was probably the territory round Ratanpur; for, the village of Pāli which contains the aforementioned exquisitely carved temple of Śiva with an inscription of the Bāṇa king Vikramāditya I lies only 12 miles to the north of Ratanpur.⁵ The king of Kōsala from whom the country of Pāli was wrested is not named in the aforementioned Kalachuri inscription, but the foregoing discussion must have made it plain that he was probably a Bāṇa king. As Mugdhatuṅga-Prasiddhadhavalā flourished from *circa* 890 A.C. to 910 A.C., his Bāṇa adversary may have been Vikramāditya I (*circa* 870-895 A.C.).

After conquering the country round Ratanpur, Mugdhatuṅga placed it in charge of one of his younger brothers. There is a gap of nearly a century in the history of this Kalachuri branch, for which no records have come to light. We do not, therefore, know even the name of this founder of the Kalachuri branch of Dakṣiṇa Kōsala. But from a statement in the Ratanpur stone inscription⁶ it seems that the Kalachuri capital in that age was Tummāṇa, which has been identified with Tumāṇ, a small village in the former

¹ No. 76, l. 10; No. 77, l. 6; No. 83, l. 8, *etc.*

² Almost all the early inscriptions say that Kaliṅgarāja was born in the family of a younger son of Kōkalla, thus indicating that a long period of time separated him from Kōkalla. (See, *e.g.*, No. 76, l. 10; No. 77, l. 6; No. 83, l. 8 *etc.*) Only two records, the Shēorinārāyaṇ plates of Ratnadēva II (No. 82), and Kharōd stone inscription of Ratnadēva III (No. 100), make Kaliṅgarāja a son of Kōkalla himself. Mr. A. Ghosh ingeniously suggests that *Vaṅkṣ-Tummāṇa-bhūbbujah* in l. 9 of No. 82 is a mistake for *vaṅṣṭ Tummāṇa-bhūbbujah*. D. R. Bhandarkar *Volume*, p. 261, n. 2.

³ No. 43, l. 10.

⁴ No. 48, l. 13.

⁵ It is supposed by some that this temple was erected by Jājalladēva I; for, there are five inscriptions of the king in the *maṇḍapa* of the temple. Two of these inscriptions are incised on the walls of the *maṇḍapa*, one on a stone built into the rebuilt doorway of the temple and another on a pilaster to support a broken beam. The inscriptions are identical in wording and purport to register some *kīrti* (meritorious work) of Jājalladēva. Their positions clearly indicate that they were meant to record the repairs, not the construction, of the temple by Jājalladēva I. As a period of more than two centuries had passed since the time of the Bāṇa king Vikramāditya I, it is not surprising that the temple had fallen into disrepair in the time of Jājalladēva I.

⁶ Verse 7 of No. 77 says that Kaliṅgarāja chose Tummāṇa as his capital because it had been made the seat of their government by his forefathers.

Lāphā Zamindārī of the Bilaspur District. The Kalachuris seem to have reigned there for two or three generations (from *circa* 895 A.C. to 950 A.C.), but were ultimately ousted by some enemy, perhaps a Somavamśī king ruling over the eastern parts of Dakṣhiṇa Kōsala. The Kalachuri prince, when ousted from Chhattisgarh, apparently returned to his ancestral country of Dāhala. From the Bilhāri stone inscription we learn that Lakshmaṇarāja II (*circa* 945-970 A.C.) defeated the rulers of Kōsala and Odra. Lakshmaṇarāja's campaign may have been undertaken to punish the king of Kōsala and his ally, the king of Odra, for having ousted the scions of his family from Kōsala. His victory was not, however, a decisive one and does not seem to have led to the re-establishment of Kalachuri power in Chhattisgarh.

It was probably in the reign of Kōkalla II that the Kalachuris renewed their attempt to conquer Dakṣhiṇa Kōsala. The Ratanpur stone inscription of Jājalladēva I states that in order to augment his unimpeded prowess and treasure, Kaliṅgarāja, descended from a younger son of Kōkalla I, left his ancestral country (evidently Dāhala)¹ and conquered the country of Dakṣhiṇa Kōsala by the prowess of his arms.² As Kaliṅgarāja's son Kamalarāja was a junior contemporary of Gāṅgēyadēva (*circa* 1015-1040 A.C.), Kaliṅgarāja's conquest of Dakṣhiṇa Kōsala may be dated in *circa* 1000 A.C.

Kaliṅgarāja selected the old Kalachuri capital Tummāṇa as the seat of his government. As the Ratanpur inscription says, while staying there, he destroyed his enemies and increased his splendour. During his reign there was an invasion of the country by Sindhurāja, a well-known Paramāra king of Dhārā (*circa* 995-1015 A.C.). Some years later, he led a second expedition in connection with a love affair which forms the theme of the beautiful Sanskrit *kāvya* *Navasāhasāṅkacharita* of his court-poet Padmagupta *alias* Parimala.³ The story of the *kāvya* briefly told is as follows:—

"Sindhurāja, while hunting on the slopes of the Vindhya mountain, sees and falls in love with Saśiprabhā, the daughter of the snake king Śaṅkhapāla. After her meeting with the king, Saśiprabhā is carried away by invisible snakes to Bhōgavatī in the nether world. The king flings himself into the stream of the Narmadā to follow her and on the other side reaches a golden palace. The river goddess Narmadā receives him hospitably and tells him how he should win Saśiprabhā. When she was born, it was predicted that she would become the wife of a ruler of the middle world and bring about the death of Vajrāṅkuśa, a mighty enemy of the snakes. Her father had laid down the following condition for her marriage, *viz.*, that her suitor should bring the golden lotus flowers, which grow in the pleasure garden of Vajrāṅkuśa. Narmadā tells Sindhurāja that at a distance of fifty *gavyūtis* lies the town of Ratnavatī built by Maya, the architect of Asuras, where reigns Vajrāṅkuśa, the prince of demons. Finally, Narmadā prophesies that the king will meet the sage Vaṅku on his way to Ratnavatī. Then the king, accompanied by his minister Yaśōbhata, also called Ramāṅgada, starts for Ratnavatī. On the way they reach the grove of the sage Vaṅku. There they converse with the sage and meet Śaṅkhaṇḍa, the son of Sikhaṇḍakētu, king of the Vidyādhara, who had been transformed

¹ Owing to a wrong *paṭa-chebbāda* in vv. 4 and 6 of No. 77, it was supposed by Kielhorn and other scholars who followed him that Kaliṅgarāja hailed from the country of Tritasaurya. But no such country is known. See *Kans Festschrift*, pp. 290 ff.

² The country under the rule of the Kalachuris is called Dakṣhiṇa Kōsala in some records and Tummāṇa-dēśa in others. See No. 77, v. 6; No. 93, v. 8; No. 100, v. 5, *etc.* Tummāṇa was, of course, included in Dakṣhiṇa Kōsala, but sometimes the latter denoted the eastern part of it under the rule of the Sōmavamśīs. See, e.g., No. 77, v. 23.

³ For a detailed discussion of the historical data of this *kāvya*, see my article in the *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. LXII, pp. 101 ff.

into a monkey, but regained his original form by the favour of Sindhurāja. In gratefulness Śaśikhanda brings his troops to help the king in his expedition. The allied armies surround the town Ratnavatī. A battle is fought. Ramāṅgada, the minister of Sindhurāja, kills Viśvāṅkuśa, the son of Vajrāṅkuśa. The king himself kills Vajrāṅkuśa. The town Ratnavatī is stormed and taken. A snake youth named Ratnachūḍa is made the Governor of the kingdom of the Asura king. The king takes possession of the golden lotus flowers and proceeds towards Bhōgavatī. He presents the golden flowers to Śaśiprabhā and marries her. Śaṅkhaṇḍa makes the king the present of a crystal Śivaliṅga made by Tvaṣṭri. The king returns to Ujjayinī and then to Dhārā where he establishes the crystal Śivaliṅga."

The foregoing brief analysis of the *Navasāhasāṅkacarita* will show that the poem was intended to celebrate Sindhurāja's victory over Vajrāṅkuśa in which he was aided by a Vidyādhara prince and a Nāga chieftain, and his matrimonial alliance with the latter. This campaign of Sindhurāja must be placed late in his reign, probably towards the end of the first decade of the eleventh century A.C.; for, he is described in this work as having already vanquished the kings of Kuntala, Kachchha, Lāṭa, Aparānta and Kōśala as well as a Hūṇa prince.¹ The poet's description that he had to cross the Narmadā on the way shows that the country of Vajrāṅkuśa lay to the south of the river. Vajrāṅkuśa was not a prince of the demons, but a chief of the aborigines, perhaps Goṇḍas, whose capital Ratnavatī must be looked for in the hilly regions not far from the Narmadā; for, we have a valuable hint for its location in the speech of the river goddess that it lay at a distance of 50 *gavyūtis* or 100 *krōśas*, i.e., about 200 miles from the place where Sindhurāja crossed the river. Like Rājaśekhara, Padmagupta seems to have slightly altered the names of the historical characters and places that figure in his poem. Vajrāṅkuśa, the demon king, is, therefore, probably identical with Vajjūka² (also called Vajuvārman in one record³), the lord of the Kōmō *maṇḍala*. He was a powerful chief, as his matrimonial alliance with the Kalachuris is mentioned in several Kalachuri records. He flourished in the same period as Sindhurāja; for, his daughter Nonallā was married to Ratnarāja, the son of Kamalarāja who, as we have seen, was a contemporary of the Kalachuri Gāṅgēyadēva.⁴

The identification of Vajjūka with Vajrāṅkuśa is rendered probable by the mention of the hermitage of the sage Vaṅku, which lay on the way to Ratnavatī, the capital of Vajrāṅkuśa. The name of the sage appears to be connected with that of the god Vaṅkēśvara whose temple was erected in Tummāṇa.⁵ Knowing as we do that the names of deities are often derived from those of the individuals who instal them or erect temples in their honour, we can easily conjecture that Vaṅkēśvara may have been installed by some one named Vaṅku and that he may well have been a sage as stated in the *Navasāhasāṅkacarita*.

Vajrāṅkuśa's capital was Ratnavatī, which it is tempting to identify with the Kalachuri capital Ratnapura, but the identification is open to the objection that Ratnapura was founded by Ratnadēva I⁶ and hence it could not have been in existence in this period. According

¹ NSCH., canto X, vv. 14-20.

² No. 77, l. 13.

³ No. 76, l. 17.

⁴ The identification may be open to the objection that if Vajjūka was killed in battle as stated in the NSCH., canto XVII, v. 69, he could not have given his daughter to Ratnadēva I who flourished two generations later. Perhaps Vajrāṅkuśa is meant to represent the grandfather of Vajjūka, who may have borne the same name. In India grandsons are often named after their grandfathers.

⁵ Vaṅkēśvara was the tutelary deity of the Kalachuris of Dakṣiṇa Kōśala. They believed that they owed their kingdom to the grace of the god. See l. 23 of No. 76. Chakravarti has shown that *Vaṅka* is a Prakrit form of Sanskrit *Vakra*, a name of Śiva. *Ep. Ind.*, XIX, Additions etc., p. viii.

⁶ See v. 11 of No. 77.

to a tradition recorded by Mr. Beglar,¹ the ancient name of Ratnapura was Mañipura, which is mentioned in the *Mahābhārata* as the capital of a Nāga king.² As our poet has slightly changed the names of places, Ratnavatī in the *Navasāhasāṅkacarita* may represent ancient Mañipura, which came to be known as Ratnapura when Ratnadēva made it his capital. If Sindhurāja crossed the Narmadā near Māndhātā,³ Ratanpur would be about 200 miles from the place as described in Padmagupta's poem.

In his battle with Vajrāṅkuśa, Sindhurāja's ally was the Vidyādhara prince Śikhaṇḍakētu. He probably represents the Śilāhāra king Arikēsarin *alias* Kēśidēva, the ruler of North Konkan; for, the Śilāhāras traced their descent from Jimūtavāhana, the mythical prince of the Vidyādharas.⁴ The similarity of the names Kēśidēva and Śikhaṇḍakētu confirms the identification.

Finally, the Nāga king Saṅkhaṇḍa, whose daughter was loved and ultimately married by Sindhurāja, was probably a ruler of Chakrakōṭya in the Bastar District. The princes of Chakrakōṭya call themselves Nāgavāṇśīs and lords of Bhōgavatī, the best of towns. This dynasty produced some powerful rulers towards the end of the eleventh and the beginning of the twelfth century A.C. Their capital Chakrakūṭa or Chakrakōṭya often figures in inscriptions and literature.⁵ This shows the strategic importance of that territory.⁶ These Nāga princes were often at war with the Kalachuris of Ratanpur. The existence of a Nāga chieftain, ruling in the Bastar District in the beginning of the tenth century A.C., who was hostile to Vajrāṅkuśa or Vajjūka of the Kōmō *maṇḍala*, is not, therefore, unlikely.

The historical basis of the *Navasāhasāṅkacarita* thus seems to be that the Nāga ruler of Chakrakōṭya sought the powerful Paramāra king Sindhurāja's aid against Vajjūka of the Kōmō *maṇḍala*, with whom the Kalachuri prince Kaliṅgarāja was probably allied. Sindhurāja seems to have welcomed this opportunity to strengthen the south-eastern frontier of his kingdom against a possible Chōla invasion; for, owing to the debacle of the Later Chālukyas of Kalyāṇī after the death of Satyāśraya, the power of the Chōlas, their rivals for supremacy in the south, was increasing. As we shall see later, Rājendrachōla I's general did indeed attack Kōsala a few years later during his victorious march to the north. It was probably to check the Chōla power that Sindhurāja, with a commendable foresight, entered into a matrimonial alliance with the king of Chakrakōṭya. He marched against Vajjūka, whom he slew in battle. Afterwards he placed a Nāga prince in charge of Vajjūka's territory and married the daughter of the Nāga king of Chakrakōṭya.

The Kalachuri king Kaliṅgarāja, who was probably allied with Vajjūka, must have also suffered a defeat at the hands of Sindhurāja. But he seems to have soon rehabilitated himself by driving out Sindhurāja's protégé from the Kōmō *maṇḍala*. We have, however, no further knowledge of any political events of his reign. The description of him in the records of his successors is purely conventional.

Kaliṅgarāja was succeeded by his son Kamalarāja about 1020 A.C. He also ruled from the old capital Tummāṇa, and acknowledged the supremacy of the Emperor of Tripurī. During his reign, Gāṅgēyadēva of Tripurī undertook an expedition against the king of Utkala (Orissa). He seems to have marched through the territory of Kamalarāja,

¹ C. A. S. I. R., Vol. X, p. 216.

² (Chitraśālā Press ed.), Ādiparvan, adhyāya 213, v. 13; Āśvamēdhikaparvan, adhyāya 79, v. 3.

³ It may be noted that some records of the Paramāras were issued after bathing in the Narmadā at this holy place. To the east of Māndhātā lay the country of Chēḍī, which Sindhurāja does not seem to have entered on this occasion.

⁴ See, e.g., the Bhāṇḍup plates of Chhittarājadēva, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XII, pp. 230, ff.

⁵ See, e.g., *Vikramāṅkadīvacharita*, canto IV, v. 30.

⁶ It is worthy of note that the attack on Kōsala followed the victory at Sakkarakōṭṭam (Chakrakōṭya).

whom he called on to join in the campaign. The latter fought for his overlord wholeheartedly. The Amōdā plates of Pṛithvīdēva I state that like the Mandara mountain of yore, the brave Kamalarāja churned the milk-ocean which was the king of Utkala, and gave Lakshmī (royal fortune) as well as excellent elephants and horses to his lord Gāṅgēyadēva.¹ The description suggests that the vanquished king of Utkala had to pay a heavy tribute to Gāṅgēya. Some records of Gāṅgēya's son Karṇa also refer to this campaign. They say that Gāṅgēya defeated the king of Utkala and made his own arm the pillar of victory on the (eastern) sea-shore.

During this campaign, Gāṅgēyadēva and Kamalarāja must have come into conflict with the contemporary ruler of Eastern Kōsala, who was probably Mahāśivagupta-Yayāti. The latter claims in one of his grants² that he defeated the Chaidyas and devastated their country of Ḍāhala.³ This may have been a reprisal raid on Ḍāhala during the absence of Gāṅgēya in the campaign against the king of Orissa.

The king of Utkala, in securing whose defeat Kamalarāja played a prominent part, was probably a king of the Kara dynasty, perhaps Śubhākara II, ruling over Tōsala on the eastern seaboard of Orissa.⁴ When Kamalarāja returned home after this victorious campaign, he was followed by Sāhilla,⁵ a military adventurer who sought his fortune in Chhattisgarh. Sāhilla conquered Vivarabhūmi, evidently for his lord Kamalarāja. As we shall see later, Sāhilla's descendants settled down in Chhattisgarh and helped the Kalachuris of Tummaṇa to extend the limits of their kingdom.

It was probably during the reign of Kamalarāja that the mighty Chōla Emperor Rājendra I (1012-1044 A.C.) sent an expedition to the north under his *Daṇḍanātha* (General) in 1022 A.C. The Tirumalai *prastāvi*,⁶ which was composed in the twelfth year of Rājendra's reign, states that Rājendra's general first seized Sakkarakōṭṭam which is plainly identical with Chakrakōṭṭya in the Bastar State. Thereafter, he captured or destroyed some other countries and places like Madurai-maṇḍalam and Namanaik-kōṇam and defeated and took Indraratha, the ruler of Ādinagara, prisoner. This victory led to the capture of 'the Oḍḍa-vishaya (Orissa) which was difficult of approach on account of its dense forest defence, and the good Kōśalai-nāḍu, where Brāhmaṇas assembled.' The *prastāvi* does not name the ruler of Kōsala. He may have been either Kamalarāja ruling over the western part, or Mahāśivagupta-Yayāti who held the eastern part of Kōsala. As Rājendra's general next proceeded against Daṇḍabhukti (parts of Midnapore and Balasore Districts), it would appear that the king he defeated was the ruler of Eastern Kōsala. In any case, this Chōla invasion did not produce any lasting effect; for, we have no evidence of the Chōla occupation of any part of Kōsala in this period. Perhaps, the vanquished king of Kōsala, whoever

¹ See No. 76, ll. 12-13.

² *J. A. S. B., N. S.*, Vol. I, pp. 4 f.

³ The age of the Sōmavarṇśis of Kōsala is still undetermined as their records are singularly lacking in historical details and bear only regnal dates. The contemporaneity of Gāṅgēya and Mahāśivagupta-Yayāti suggested here would, if accepted, serve as a landmark in the history of the Sōmavarṇśis.

⁴ Soon after this, the Karas seem to have been overthrown by the Sōmavarṇśi Uddyōtakēśarin, who transferred his capital to the eastern coast and gave the kingdom of Kōsala to Abhimanyu.

⁵ The Rājim inscription of Jagapāla dated K. 896 (1145 A.C.) states that this Sāhilla was a spotless ornament of the family of the illustrious Rājamāla. I have suggested that this Rājamāla is identical with Rājamalladēva who had given valuable support in re-establishing the power of the Karas after the death of the ruling prince who was probably Śubhākara's father Lalimbhara. If this identification is accepted, Sāhilla would be his son or possibly his grandson. This squares with the description of him given in the Rājim inscription as well as the period here assigned to him.

⁶ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IX, pp. 229 ff. See also *J. O. R.*, Vol. VII, pp. 207 ff.

he was, was obliged to pay tribute to the Chōla Emperor for some years, as claimed in the Maṇimaṅgalam inscription¹ of Rājādhirāja, dated 1046 A.C.

Kamalarāja was succeeded by his son Ratnarāja I in *circa* 1045 A.C. He married Nōnallā, the daughter of Vajjūka or Vajjuvarman, the lord of the Kōmō *maṇḍala*. This *maṇḍala* seems to have comprised the territory round Kōmo-Chauki, about 24 miles west of Tummāṇa, the then Kalachuri capital. This marriage is mentioned in most of the subsequent Kalachuri records much in the same way as the marriage of Samudragupta with the Lichchhavi princess Kumāradēvi is mentioned in Gupta inscriptions. It seems to have considerably strengthened Ratnadēva's position in Chhattisgarh.² Judging by the conquests made by subsequent kings, the Kalachuri kingdom in Chhattisgarh was very much circumscribed during the reigns of Kaliṅgarāja and Kamalarāja. Ratnadēva made some conquests and annexed some territory to his dominion. The three sons of the aforementioned Sāhilla—Bhāyila, Dēsala and Svāmin—fought his battles and conquered the countries of Bhaṭṭavila and Vihārā for him. These countries have not, however, been identified.

Ratnadēva beautified the capital Tummāṇa with gardens, mansions and temples. He erected a temple in honour of Vaṅkēśa, the tutelary deity, and another dedicated to the god Ratnēśvara whom he seems to have installed and named after himself. Ratnadēva founded a new city called Ratnapura, to which he shifted his seat of government. The Śrēṣṭhin Yaśa is said to have been its Mayor.³ This city was enlarged and beautified by his successors from time to time, and continued to be the capital of the royal family until its overthrow by the Marathas in the eighteenth century A.C.

Ratnadēva I may have closed his reign in *circa* 1065 A.C.⁴ The earlier of the two grants of his son and successor Prithvīdēva I is dated K. 821 (1069 A.C.)

Prithvīdēva I is the earliest ruler of the Ratanpur branch whose inscriptions have been found in Chhattisgarh. In his Raipur and Amōdā plates he calls himself *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* and claims to have obtained the right to *pañcamaḥāśabda*.⁵ Both these indicate his feudatory rank. Like his predecessors, he seems, therefore, to have acknowledged the suzerainty of the Kalachuri Emperor of Tripurī. In his grants he uses the Kalachuri era, which he calls the era of the Lord of Chēdi.⁶ This also indicates his subordinate position. He seems to have considerably extended his small principality; for, he claimed to be the lord of the

¹ *S. I. I.*, Vol. III, p. 37. This inscription states that the king of Kausalar (*i.e.* Kōsala) among many others unremittingly paid tribute to the Chōla king Rājādhirāja.

² It may be noted that the Ratanpur inscription of Jājalladēva I states that Ratnadēva I married Nōnallā 'together with royal fortune.' No. 77, v. 13.

³ He continued to hold the same position during the succeeding reign of Prithvīdēva I also. See No. 76, v. 16.

⁴ Mr. Amalanand Ghosh has suggested the identification of Ratnadēva I with Siṅgan, (the king) of the warlike Kōsalai, who was cut to pieces by the Chōla king Virarājendra in the battle of Kuḍālasaṅgama in *circa* 1066 A.C. He finds corroboration of this event in the passage *Ratnarājē yudhi ripu-jayini svar-gatē* in the Ratanpur inscription of Jājalladēva I (No. 77, v. 15), which he takes to mean 'When Ratnarāja went to heaven in a victorious battle.' *B.V.*, p. 265. The proposed identification is very doubtful. *Siṅgan* is evidently a corruption of *Siṃha*. (Cf. Siṅgaṇa mentioned in the same inscription, who is identical with Jayasiṅha.) Siṅgan may have belonged to the Sōmavaṃśī family. Some members of this family bore names ending in *kāsurin* which is a synonym of *siṃha*. Besides, the construction of the above passage proposed by Mr. Ghosh is impossible, because in Sanskrit *yudh* (a fight) is feminine in gender.

⁵ No. 75, l. 6; No. 76, ll. 23 and 25.

⁶ No. 76, l. 41. The era seems to have been then newly introduced into Chhattisgarh and, therefore, had to be specified in this manner.

entire Kōsala country.¹ It is, however, highly doubtful if his sway extended to the Sambalpur District and the former Sonpur and Patnā States which were previously under the rule of the Sōmavamsīs; for, no inscriptions of him or even of his successors have been discovered in that part of the country. As we have already seen, this territory was included in Kōsala. The aforementioned title is, therefore, an empty boast. This does not, however, mean that he made no conquests. According to the Rājim inscription, Jayadēva, the son of Svāmin and grandson of the aforementioned military adventurer Sāhilla, conquered Dāṇḍōra. His younger brother Dēvasiṃha acquired the Kōmō *maṇḍala*. Jayadēva was a contemporary of Prithvidēva I, for whom, we may suppose, these countries were conquered. Of them, the former has been identified with the District of Sarguja, north-east of the Bilaspur District, which was once called Bāis Dāṇḍōr (Dāṇḍōr 22), as it contained twenty-two Zamindāris. The Kōmō *maṇḍala*, though situated close to the Kalachuri capital, seems to have maintained its independence since the time of Vajjūka. The latter's successors were either too weak or too overbearing to be allowed to remain independent. They were, therefore, subdued, and their *maṇḍala* was annexed to the Kalachuri kingdom.

Prithvidēva I married Rājallā. She bore him a son named Jājalladēva I, who afterwards succeeded him. He had a younger brother named Sarvadēva, who obtained the territory round Sōṇṭhiva (Sōṇṭhi in the Bilaspur District) as his patrimony (*dāyād-ānśa*).² Vigharāja, one of his ministers, and Yaśa, who continued to hold the post of the Mayor of Ratnapura, are named in his Amōdā plates.³ Another minister Sōḍhadēva is mentioned in a later stone inscription.⁴ Prithvidēva was a devotee of Siva. At Tummāṇa he dedicated a temple to the god under the name *Prithvidēvēśvara* and also provided the old temple of Vaṅkēśvara with a *chatushkikā* or a hall resting on four pillars. On the occasion of its dedication, he made a land-grant dated K. 831 (1079 A.C.). At Ratnapura he constructed a large 'ocean-like' lake. He reigned from *circa* 1065 A.C. to 1090 A.C.

Jājalladēva I, who succeeded Prithvidēva I, was one of the great kings of this family. Soon after his accession, he embarked on an ambitious scheme of conquest. He subdued the neighbouring chiefs of Vairāgara, Lañjikā, Bhāṇāra and Talahāri. Vairāgara is modern Vairāgarh in the Chāṇḍā District. Lañjikā and Bhāṇāra correspond to Lanji and Bhandara in the Balaghat and Bhandara Districts respectively. Talahāri comprised probably the southern part of the Bilaspur District and the northern part of the Raipur District. The subjugation of these places shows that the kingdom of the Kalachuris in the previous reigns was very much circumscribed. Jājalladēva carried his arms even as far as Daṇḍakapura (Midnapur District) in South Bengal, Andhra and Kimiḍi in the Ganjam District. Dakshiṇa Kōsala, which also he is said to have conquered, seems to refer to the eastern portion of it comprising the Sambalpur District and the former States of Patna and Sonpur. The rulers of all these countries and also of Nandāvali and Kukkuṭa, which still remain unidentified, were made to pay him an annual tribute. His general Jagapāla, descended from the above-named Sāhilla, vanquished Māyūrikas⁵ (perhaps rulers of the Bhañja dynasty) and Sāmantas (ancestors of the Sāontas in Bilaspur District). These conquests brought him

¹ In his Amōdā grant he is also called 'the sole lord of twenty-one thousand villages.' The number of villages in Kōsala is variously given. The Kuruspāl inscription (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. X, p. 30) mentions that the Nāga king Sōmēśvara of Bastar conquered six lacs of villages in Kōsala.

² No. 98, v. 13.

³ No. 76, l. 34. Vigharāja is named also in the Raipur plates of the same king. No. 75, l. 13.

⁴ No. 90, ll. 11-12.

⁵ A Māyūrika family is mentioned in the Bayānā (former Bharatpur State) inscription of Chitralēkhā (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXII, pp. 120 ff.). It was ruling in the north and does not seem to have been connected with the Māyūrikas defeated by Jagapāla.

into conflict with Sōmēśvara, the Nāgavaṁśī king of Chakrakōṭṭya. The latter was a foe worthy of his steel. He had defeated the rulers of Uḍra (Orissa) and Vēṅgi, and had carried fire and sword into Lāñji and Ratnapura.¹ He is said to have captured six lacs of villages together with the tract called Shaṇṇavati (96 villages) of Kōsala and assumed the imperial titles *Mahārājādhirāja* and *Paramēśvara*.² The Kuruspāl inscription describes him as a huge elephant which destroyed the lotuses namely the towns, Lāñji and Ratnapura.

Jājalladēva was not slow to take revenge. He marched against the Nāga king, slew his immense army and took him captive together with his wives and ministers. Ultimately, at the bidding of his mother, Jājalladēva set them free. His Ratanpur inscription proudly asks, "Have you seen or heard of another such prince on this earth?"³ This event must have occurred some time before 1110 A.C., which is the approximate year of Sōmēśvara's death.⁴

Jājalladēva's fame spread to distant lands. The contemporary king of Chēdi, who was Yaśaḥkarna, the erstwhile suzerain of the Tummāṇa branch, had to court his friendship. He probably sought his aid in his campaign against an Andhra king, which, as we have seen, occurred early in his reign.⁵ In the Ratanpur inscription Jājalla boasts that he was honoured as an ally by the rulers of Kānyakubja and Jājābhukrika with presents of wealth 'because he was valiant'. The ruler of Kānyakubja was probably the ambitious Gāhaḍa-vāla king Gōvindachandra, who, even while a *yuvarāja*, had wielded considerable authority. He came to the throne about 1110 A.C. and was thus a contemporary of Jājalla. The other ruler who sought Jājalla's alliance was plainly a king of the Chandēlla dynasty. Three Chandēlla princes Kīrtivarman, Sallakshaṇavarman and Jayavarman ruled contemporaneously with Jājalla.⁶ Of these, Sallakshaṇavarman was probably Jājalla's ally. This contact with the Chandēllas is reflected in the Kalachuri coinage as shown below.

These rulers of distant Northern countries sought Jājalla's friendship because his kingdom occupied a strategic position on the route of communication between the north and the south. Earlier conquerors from the north like Samudragupta and Išānavarman had to pass through Dakṣhiṇa Kōsala in the course of their southern *digvijaya*. Similarly, Rājendra Chōla I's general had to conquer Kōsala before he penetrated into Bengal. The object of this alliance with Jājalla was probably to check the advance of the Chōla Emperor Kulōttuṅga I (1070-1122 A.C.). By his occupation of the Chōla throne, Kulōttuṅga had already united the kingdoms of the Eastern Chālukyas and the Chōlas. He entertained aggressive designs of North-Indian conquests, in pursuance of which he had subjugated Vairāgarh and Chakrakōṭṭa.⁷ In some records he is said to have measured swords even with the Paramāra king of Malwa. The aforementioned northern powers must have regarded Jājalla as a bulwark against a possible Chōla invasion of North India.

We have seen above that Jājalla defeated the king of Dakṣhiṇa Kōsala. The latter is probably identical with Bhujabala, the lord of Suvarṇapura, modern Sonpur, the chief

¹ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. X, p. 29.

² *Loc. cit.*, p. 30. *Shaṇṇavati* as the name of a territorial division occurs in a grant of Mahāśivagupta-Yayāti. See also *J. A. S. B.* Vol. I, pp. 19 ff.

³ No. 77, v. 22.

⁴ Sōmēśvara was living at the time of the Barsur inscription dated 1108 A.C. (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. III, p. 314; Vol. IX, p. 162) and had died when the Nārāyaṇpāl inscription was put up in 1111 A.C. (*ibid.*, Vol. IX, pp. 161 ff.) So he seems to have died in *circa* 1110 A.C.

⁵ See above, p. cii.

⁶ V. A. Smith has given the following approximate dates for these three kings—Kīrtivarman, 1060-1100 A.C., Sallakshaṇavarman 1100-1110 A.C. and Jayavarman 1110-1117 A.C. *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXXVII, p. 127.

⁷ *S. I. I.*, Vol. III, part ii, pp. 132-34.

town of the former Sonpur State.¹ This king is not known from other records, but he probably belonged to the Sōmavarṃśi dynasty, and might be the son and successor of Abhimanyu who founded a feudatory state in that part of Dakṣiṇa Kōśala, when Uddyōtakēśarin conquered Utkala and removed his capital to the eastern seaboard.² Jājalladēva seems to have followed up this victory and also deposed the king of Utkala. But his cause was espoused by his neighbour, the mighty Anantavarman Chōḍagaṅga, who reinstated him. The earliest record which mentions the reinstatement of the Utkala king is the Korni plates of Anantavarman, dated Śaka 1034 (1113 A.C.).³ This record does not mention the name of the enemy who had deposed the king of Utkala, but the foregoing discussion must have made it clear that he was probably Jājalladēva I.

Jājalla seems to have repudiated the political subjection of his house to the Kalachuris of Tripurī and declared his independence. To announce his independent rank, he struck gold and copper coins in his own name. His gold coins are partially modelled on the issues of Gāṅgēya. They have the king's name in bold Nāgarī letters in three lines on the obverse as on Gāṅgēya's coins. The reverse, however, shows the figure of a lion attacking an elephant,⁴ instead of Lakṣmī sitting cross-legged. His copper coins are imitated from those of the Chandēlla Sallakṣaṇavarman, with whom he was allied. They have the king's name on the obverse and the figure of Hanumān facing left on the reverse. Both these types were continued by his successors.

Jājalla founded a city in his own name, called Jājallapura, which is probably identical with modern Jānjgir (Jājallanagara). He constructed there a temple and a monastery, which he endowed with the gift of some villages. He also excavated there a large tank and raised a mango grove. He repaired the ancient temple of Śiva at Pāli by erecting cross-walls and giving supports to a broken beam.⁵ These repairs are memorised by short inscriptions.

Jājalla married Lāchchhalladēvi,⁶ from whom he had a son named Ratnadēva II, who succeeded him. His religious preceptor was Rudraśiva. It is interesting to note that the latter was conversant with the work of Dīnnāga, a famous Buddhist logician who flourished in the fifth century A.C. Vigharāja, who held the position of a *mantrin* in the previous reign, became his *Sāndhivigrahika*. Another minister of the Gauḍa race, who was descended from the Kāyastha minister of the illustrious Kaṇva of Tripurī, was mentioned in the Ratanpur inscription of his reign, but his name is now lost. A third minister, who distinguished himself in all his wars, was Purushōttama, the son of Sōḍhadēva who had served Prithvidēva I in the same capacity.⁷ The writer of his Ratanpur inscription was Kīrtidhara, the owner of the village Jaṇḍēra.⁸ He and his descendants were the official scribes of the Ratanpur royal family.⁹ They have written their records on copper-plates and stone-slabs in beautiful letters.

Ratnadēva II seems to have succeeded his father in *circa* 1120 A.C.; for, the earliest inscription of his reign is dated K. 878 (1127 A.C.). He followed his father's policy and

¹ No. 100, l. 6. The gold coins of Jājalladēva I and his successors have been found in the Sonpur State. *J.N.S.I.*, Vol. XIII, pp. 199 ff.

² *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XII, p. 240.

³ *J. A. H. R. S.*, Vol. I, pp. 106 ff.

⁴ It symbolises his victory over the contemporary Gaṅga king, 'the lord of elephants.'

⁵ Jājalladēva himself did not erect the temple of Pāli, as was previously supposed. See below, p. 418.

⁶ See No. 84, v. 8.

⁷ No. 90, v. 23.

⁸ No. 77, v. 34 and No. 83, v. 35.

⁹ See below, p. 458, n. 3.

struck gold and copper coins in his own name, indicating his independence. The Kalachuri Emperor of Tripurī could brook this impertinence no longer. He sent a large and powerful army against him, but Ratnadēva routed it completely. In the Ratanpur inscription dated V. 1207 (1149-50 A.C.), he is described as the fierce submarine fire to the matchless ocean of the arrayed and hard-to-be-subdued hosts of the Chēdi king. The Chēdi king, though not named in the record, was plainly Gayākarnā, who ruled from *circa* 1123 A.C. to 1153 A.C., and was thus a contemporary of Ratnadēva II.

Another memorable event of Ratnadēva's reign which, though not referred to in his own inscriptions, is often mentioned in the records of his successors and their feudatories is the invasion of his country by Chōḍagaṅga.¹ The latter was evidently the mighty Gaṅga king Anantavarman-Chōḍagaṅga, who had a long reign of 70 years (1078-1147 A.C.). This aggressive Gaṅga king reinstated the deposed king of Utkalā and raided the northern country up to the bank of the Gaṅgā. He is said to have laid under tribute all countries between the Gaṅgā and the Gōdāvarī.² In the course of his whirlwind campaign he seems to have attacked the Kalachuri kingdom in Kōsala. The Peṇḍrābandh plates mention Gōkarnā as his ally in this campaign.³ The latter was a feudatory of Chōḍagaṅga as stated in his inscription at Guḍiwāḍā in the Bimblipatam *tāluka* of the Vishakhapatam District.⁴ Ratnadēva inflicted a crushing defeat on the invaders and obtained a large booty of gold, horses and elephants.⁵ A Ratanpur stone inscription describes Ratnadēva II as 'Rāhu in seizing and swallowing the large lunar orb of the mighty warriors of Chōḍagaṅga'.⁶ The Mallār inscription dated K. 919 speaks of Ratnadēva as 'a fierce cloud which extinguished the continuously raging flames of the spreading mighty fire of the valour of the king Chōḍagaṅga'.⁷ The battle was a very fierce one and was fought in the Talahāri-maṇḍalā, not very far from Shēorinārāyaṇ.⁸ Jagapāla, a descendant of the aforementioned Sāhilla, distinguished himself in it by his bravery and became known as Jagatsimha (the Lion of the World).⁹ Vallabharāja, another feudatory of Ratnadēva, also seems to have fought in it.¹⁰ Anantavarman-Chōḍagaṅga, 'the lord of elephants', suffered an ignominious defeat and had to return home discomfited. Somehow this glorious achievement of Ratnadēva is not mentioned in any of his copper-plate grants, but it may have occurred in *circa* 1130 A.C.

This victory enhanced the power and prestige of Ratnadēva II and encouraged him to undertake distant campaigns. One of them, directed against the king of Gauḍa, is mentioned in several inscriptions of Vallabharāja. As stated before, this Vallabharāja was a feudatory of the Kalachuris. He belonged to the Vaiśya caste. His forefathers had loyally served the royal family as feudatories or ministers. Vallabharāja was treated by Lāchchhalladēvī, the mother of Ratnadēva II, as her adopted son. He was a contemporary of both Ratnadēva II and his son and successor Pṛithvīdēva II. The earliest record in which the campaign in Gauḍa is mentioned belongs to the reign of Ratnadēva II, which

¹ No. 93, v. 5.

² *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIII, pp. 150 ff.

³ No. 101, v. 9.

⁴ My attention to this record was drawn by Mr. N. L. Rao.

⁵ Note यद्वोढगङ्गनृपति कलिङ्गदेशाधिपं गजाधीशम् ।

समिति जटेश्वरजन[क] कत(न)काश्वगजोजिततञ्जक्रे ॥ No. 100, v. 8.

⁶ No. 93, v. 5.

⁷ No. 97, v. 4.

⁸ Note यद्वोढगङ्गमिमनाथमिहैव जिग्ये । No. 98, v. 7.

⁹ No. 88, v. 14.

¹⁰ No. 84, v. 18.

shows that it was fought towards the end of it, in *circa* 1132. Vallabharāja fought very valiantly in the presence of his lord and captured a large number of elephants in the enemy's city. The king of Gauḍa defeated by Ratnadēva is not named. He was probably one of the weak successors of Rāmapāla, perhaps Madanapāla of the Pāla dynasty, who has been referred to the period *circa* 1130-1150 A.C.¹ Another minister who won laurels in this war against the Gauḍa king was Purushōttama, whom Ratnadēva II made his *Sarvādhikārin*. He is said to have threatened the ruler of Daṇḍabhukti and punished Daṇḍapura, which may have been its capital. He also conquered Khijjiṅga and killed Haravōhu, who was probably its ruler.² Khijjiṅga is probably identical with the homonymous capital of the Bhaṇja kings, but Haravōhu is not known from any other source.

Ratnadēva was a patron of religion and learning. He made some gifts to pious and learned Brāhmaṇas. His court attracted learned men from far off lands.³ One of his gifts, recorded in the Sarkho plates, is worthy of note; for, it was made to an astronomer for accurate prediction of an eclipse.⁴ There was a considerable building activity during this reign. Vallabharāja, the aforementioned feudatory of the Vaiśya lineage, excavated a large tank with a palace of pleasure in the centre of it, and erected a temple of Rēvanta at Vikarṇapura. He built another temple of Śiva at the same place and gave half the religious merit accruing from it to his liege lord Ratnadēva II.⁵ The latter seems to have endowed the temple with some land-grant.

The aforementioned Purushōttama, the *Sarvādhikārin* of Ratnadēva II, made several benefactions, which are recorded in his stone inscription dated K. 900. He raised several groves, erected *maḥas* (monasteries) and *maṇḍapas* (temples), and excavated a deep tank at Ratnapura. He also built a five-shrined temple of Śiva at Kōni, about 10 miles south by east of Bilaspur.⁶

Ratnadēva had two sons. The elder of them, Prīthvīdēva II, succeeded him, while the younger Jayasinha is known only from the fragmentary Raipur Museum inscription of Vallabharāja. Ratnadēva was ruling at least till K. 885 (1134 A.C.). The earliest date of Prīthvīdēva's reign is K. 890 (1138 A.C.).⁷ Ratnadēva II may, therefore, have closed his reign in *circa* 1135 A.C.

During the early part of his reign, Prīthvīdēva II subjugated the petty princes ruling on the borders of his kingdom and annexed their territories. In the Rājim inscription, his general Jagapāla is said to have won several victories. He took the strong forts of Sara-harāgaḍha (modern Sarangarh) and Machakā-Sihavā, south of Dhamtari in the Raipur District. Further, he conquered the countries of Bhramaravadra, Kāntāra, Kusumabhōga, Kāndā-ḍhōṅgara and Kākayara.⁸ Bhramaravadra may be identical with Bhramarakōṭya

¹ D. H. N. I., Vol. I, p. 385. This invasion is probably referred to in the *Rāmacharita*, Canto IV, v. 133. This verse mentions that Madanapāla had driven back to the Kālindī (which flowed near the capital of Madanapāla) 'the vanguard of the forces that had destroyed a large number of soldiers on his side.' *History of Bengal* (Dacca University), Vol. I, p. 170. The invader who is not named in the *kāvya* was probably Ratnadēva II.

² No. 90, v. 26.

³ For instance, Gaṅgādhara, a learned Brāhmaṇa, migrated to Tummāṇa from Madhyadēśa and received the village of Kōsambī from Ratnadēva II. No. 97, v. 13.

⁴ No. 83, v. 19.

⁵ No. 85, v. 23.

⁶ No. 90, vv. 32-33.

⁷ No. 86, l. 26. Ratnadēva II did not continue to reign till 1144 A.C. as A. Ghosh supposes from the mention of Jaṭeśvara's name in v. 8 of the Kharod inscription. B. V., p. 270. Jaṭeśvara is mentioned there in connection with the description of Chōḍagaṅga.

⁸ No. 88, vv. 15-17.

maṇḍala in the Bastar District, Kākayara is modern Kānkēr in the same district. The extension of Kalachuri rule in this part is indicated by the use of the Kalachuri era in later records from Kānkēr.¹ The other places were probably situated in the Raipur District. These conquests seem to have brought a large part of modern Chhattisgarh under the direct rule of Prithvīdēva II.

After reducing his recalcitrant feudatories and making his home front secure, Prithvīdēva planned to take revenge on his Gaṅga adversary for having invaded the Kalachuri kingdom during the reign of his father. He first marched against Chakrakūṭa (which comprised the central part of the Bastar District) and devastated it. This is said to have so terrified the Gaṅga ruler of the adjoining country, probably Anantavarman-Chōḍagaṅga, that he realised that the only way to save his life was to cross the ocean.² Soon thereafter, Anantavarman died and was succeeded by his son Jaṭeśvara *alias* Madhukāmārṇava. Prithvīdēva then raided the Gaṅga territory, defeated Jaṭeśvara and took him captive. If the account in the Kharōḍ inscription³ could be believed, the Gaṅga king had to pass some days in the Kalachuri prison before he was released. Gaṅga records are naturally silent about this defeat of Jaṭeśvara, but the account is corroborated by another contemporary Kalachuri record. The Ratanpur stone inscription dated K. 915 (1163-64 A.C.), now in a sadly mutilated condition, describes the fierce battle in which Brahmadēva, the ruler of the Talahāri *maṇḍala* and a feudatory of Prithvīdēva II, fought valiantly with Jaṭeśvara. Verse 17 of the inscription says that Brahmadēva became famous by imprisoning a mighty foe.⁴ The reference is plainly to the capture of the Gaṅga king. The engagement seems to have occurred in *circa* 1130 A.C., soon after the accession of Jaṭeśvara. After this no Gaṅga king dared invade the Kalachuri territory.

Like his father and grandfather, Prithvīdēva II also struck gold and copper coins in his name. Some of his tiny silver coins are also known. He gave a liberal patronage to men of learning. As many as seven inscriptions of his reign record his grants of land to Brāhmaṇas.⁵ A Ratanpur stone inscription of his time states that his rule followed the path of good policy and caused the people joy unattended by contact with troubles.⁶ Several religious and charitable works were constructed in his reign. The aforementioned Vaiśya feudatory, Vallabharāja, excavated a lake to the east of Ratanpur, which still exists under the name of Khāruṅg. He dug two other tanks, one of which he named after his earlier lord Ratnadēva II, and constructed a temple of Śiva.⁷ Another feudatory Brahmadēva, who has been mentioned above in another connection, erected several temples and excavated tanks at different places in the kingdom. He also raised a mango-grove and maintained a charitable feeding house at Kumārākōṭa.⁸ Prithvīdēva's military commander Jagapāla repaired the temple of Rāmachandra at Rājim and endowed it with the gift of a village.⁹ He also founded the city of Jagapālapura. Even private individuals constructed temples. The Kāyastha Dēvagaṇa, for instance, erected a temple of Śiva at Sāmbā as recorded in his Ratanpur inscription.

Brahmadēva was Prithvīdēva's trusted minister. He was previously ruling over the

¹ See the dates of No. 116 and 117.

² No. 89, v. 11.

³ No. 100, v. 9. This statement in the inscription has not been noticed before.

⁴ No. 96, v. 17.

⁵ Nos. 86, 89-92, 94 and 123.

⁶ No. 93, v. 7.

⁷ No. 95, ll. 24 ff.

⁸ No. 96, vv. 23 ff.

⁹ No. 88, ll. 14 ff.

Talahāri *maṇḍala*. Prithvidēva II specially invited him to his capital, and entrusting the affairs of the state to him, obtained great peace of mind. The last known date of Prithvidēva's reign is K. 913 (1163-64 A.C.). The next known date K. 919 (1167-68 A.C.) belongs to the reign of his son and successor Jājalladēva II. Prithvidēva II may, therefore, have closed his reign in 1165 A.C.

Soon after his accession, Jājalladēva II came into conflict with Jayasimha, the Kalachuri Emperor of Tripurī. The cause of this conflict is not known. Perhaps Jayasimha thought that it would be easy to subdue the new king before he consolidated his power and that he would thus be able to re-establish the supremacy of his house in Chhattisgarh. He personally led the expedition. Jājalladēva was determined to vindicate his right to independence. He was ably assisted by his feudatories and especially by the members of the collateral branch established at Sōṇṭhiva. A fierce battle was fought. Ulhaṇadēva, a scion of the royal family, fought bravely and decimated Chēdi forces. Seeing this, Jayasimha, the Chēdi king, himself advanced to the forefront, being highly enraged like a serpent trodden under foot.¹ In the fight that ensued, Ulhaṇadēva lost his life, but the inscription does not state whether Jayasimha won a victory. Records of the Kalachuris of Tripurī are wholly silent about this campaign. Neither Jājalladēva nor his successors give any indication of their subordinate rank in their subsequent records. So the battle may not have ended unfavourably for Jājalladēva II. He treated Āmaṇadēva, the orphan son of Ulhaṇadēva, with special affection, as his father had died on the battlefield, fighting bravely for his lord, and as his mother had immolated herself as *Satī*.

Some time after this, Jājalladēva was caught by an alligator of the variety locally known as Thirū.² He was fortunately able to extricate himself, and by way of thanksgiving gave the village Bundērā to two Brāhmaṇas, the astrologer Rāghava and the family-priest Nāmadēva, in the year K. 919 (1167 A.C.).

As in previous reigns, there was a considerable building activity during the time of Jājalladēva II. Sōmarāja, the son of Gaṅgādharma who had immigrated from Madhyadēśa, built a temple of Śiva at Mallāla. Several members of the collateral branch of the Kalachuri family, established at Sōṇṭhiva, constructed religious and charitable works in their territory. At Pathariā, Rājadēva, the grandson of Sarvadēva, built a temple of Śiva, raised a mango-grove and excavated a tank. His son Ulhaṇadēva, who, as stated above, died later fighting with the Emperor Jayasimha of Tripurī, built the temple of Chandrachūḍa. This temple still exists at Shēorinārāyaṇ. Ulhaṇadēva's son Āmaṇadēva II donated the village Chīṇchēlī to provide materials for the worship of the god Chandrachūḍa installed by his father.

All the three inscriptions of Jājalla's reign are dated K. 919 (1167-68 A.C.).³ It appears that there was some trouble towards the close of his reign. The Kharod inscription states that when Jājalladēva attained, through accursed fate, union with Brahman (*i.e.*, died), the world became enveloped in darkness on all sides, the people being distressed through the loss of their discernment on account of the Kali Age. The cause of the trouble is not known. Perhaps the country was invaded by some enemy, in consequence of which there were confusion and disorder throughout the land. In this time of trouble Jagaddēva, the elder brother of Jājalla II, came hastily from the Eastern country and established peace, order and good government in the kingdom. As the Kharod inscription says, under Jagaddēva's rule thieves disappeared, obstacles vanished, dangers departed and enemies took shelter in the corners of mountain caves.⁴

¹ No. 98, vv. 27 ff.

² For other interpretations due to misreading of v. 19 of No. 99, see below, p. 329 and n. 2.

³ Nos. 97-99.

⁴ No. 100, v. 14.

It has been suggested that Jagaddēva had been superseded by his younger brother Jājalla II and was ruling over some eastern districts during the latter's life time. But in that case the Kharōd inscription of his son Ratnadēva III's reign would not have bestowed high praise on the usurper.¹ The wording of the verses 13 and 14 of that inscription rather suggests that Jagaddēva had voluntarily relinquished his claim to the throne in order to fight with the Eastern Gaṅgas and that he had to return home hastily when the country was rent by disorder as a result of some foreign invasion.

Jagaddēva seems to have had a short reign of about 10 years (K. 920-930 or 1168-1178 A.C.). He had a queen named Sōmalladēvī, who bore him a son named Ratnadēva III.

Ratnadēva III came to the throne about 1178 A.C. The Kharōd stone inscription dated K. 933 (1181-82 A.C.), which is the only record of his reign, states that he was distinguished for a handsome form, learning and charity. During his reign too there was some trouble. As the Kharōd inscription states, the treasure was exhausted, the elephant force became weak, the people were scattered and the country was infested by a famine and reduced to a pitiable state. In this emergency Ratnadēva made the learned Brāhmaṇa Gaṅgādhara his Prime Minister. The latter, by his policy, vanquished the enemies of his lord everywhere, and freed the kingdom from all troublesome persons.² It would appear, therefore, that the trouble had been caused by some unnamed enemy.

Gaṅgādhara, the aforementioned minister of Ratnadēva III, erected religious and charitable works at several places in the kingdom. He repaired the *maṇḍapa* of the temple of Lakshmaṇeśvara at Kharōd. This temple had been erected by the Sōmavamśi king Isānadēva more than six centuries before.³ Its *maṇḍapa* may have fallen into disrepair owing to the passage of time. Gaṅgādhara constructed temples at several other places in honour of Viṣṇu, Śiva, Ēkavīrā, Durgā and Gaṇapati. Some of them, such as the temple of Ēkavīrā at Ratnapura, are still standing. He excavated tanks, raised a garden, and established a charitable feeding house at Nārāyaṇapura.⁴

Ratnadēva III was succeeded by his son Pratāpamalla in *circa* K. 930 (1198-99 A.C.). He is known from his two land-grants dated K. 963 and K. 969, and some copper coins which have the king's name on the obverse and the figure of a lion and a dagger on the reverse. From the description in the Penḍrābandh plates that though a boy, he was a second Bali in strength, it seems that he came to the throne while quite young. In other respects, the description of him given by the plates is quite conventional.

We have no records of the successors of Pratāpamalla until we come to the time of Vāharēndra towards the close of the fifteenth century A.C. In the records of other dynasties, there are occasional references to the defeats inflicted on the kings of Kōsala, but they rarely mention the names of the reigning kings. Hēmādri's *Vratakhanda* states in its *Rājaprasasti* that the Yādava king Siṃhaṇa took away troops of rutting elephants belonging to the king Jājalla.⁵ The latter was probably a king of Ratanpur. As he was a contemporary of Siṃhaṇa (*circa* 1210-1247 A.C.), he seems to have succeeded Pratāpamalla. He suffered another defeat at the hands of Viṣṇu, the minister of the Gaṅga king Anaṅga-

¹ See No. 100, v. 11. It must, however, be noted that the Penḍrābandh plates of Ratnadēva III's son Pratāpamalla omit Jājalladēva II's name in the genealogical portion; but that may be because he was a collateral.

² No. 100, v. 27.

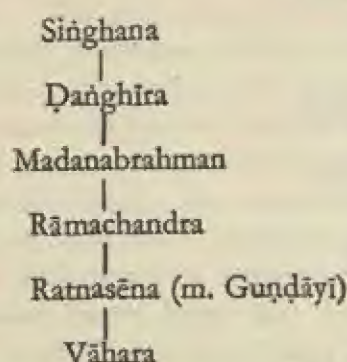
³ Isānadēva was the uncle of Tivradēva and flourished probably towards the close of the sixth cen. A.C. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXII, pp. 17 ff. and Vol. XXVI, p. 229.

⁴ No. 101, vv. 30 ff.

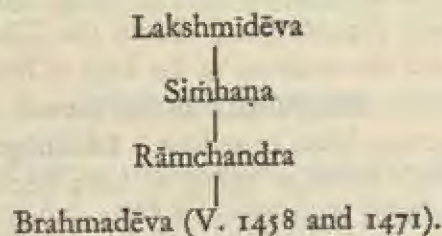
⁵ See the extract from the *Rājaprasasti* I in Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar's *E. H. D.*, p. 195. Recently some coins of Siṃhaṇa have been found in the Raigarh District. *J. N. S. I.*, Vol. VIII, pp. 148 ff.

bhīma III.¹ The Purshōttampurī plates of the Yādava Rāmchandra intimate a victory of Siṃhaṇa's grandson Kṛishṇa over the contemporary king of Kōsala. The latter is not named, but he may have been a successor of the aforementioned Jajjala.

The next notice of the Kalachuri kings of Ratanpur that we get is from the stone inscriptions of the king Vāhara. The Kosgain inscription² of this king mentions the following pedigree.



The inscription mentions no political events of the reign of Vāhara's predecessors. For Vāhara, we have two dates, *viz.*, V. 1552 (1494-95 A.C.), furnished by the Ratanpur inscription,³ and V. 1570 (1513 A.C.), occurring in the Kosgain inscription.⁴ He may, therefore, have reigned from *circa* 1480 A.C. to 1515 A.C. Taking twenty-five years as the average duration of a reign, the accession of Singhana, who flourished five generations before, may be dated in *circa* 1355 A.C. This Singhana is probably identical with Siṅgha or Siṃhaṇa mentioned in the Raipur⁵ and Khalāri⁶ stone inscriptions, who also seems to have reigned in the same period; for, his grandson Brahmadēva was ruling at Raipur and Khalāri in V. 1458 (1402 A.C.) and V. 1471⁷ (1415 A.C.). These inscriptions give the following pedigree—



It seems plain, therefore, that in the last quarter of the fourteenth century A.C., the Ratanpur family of the Kalachuris split into two branches. The elder branch continued to rule at Ratanpur, while the younger one founded a separate principality with Raipur⁸ as its capital. Combining the two pedigrees, we get the following genealogy⁹—

¹ See the Chāṭēśvara inscription. *J. A. S. B.*, Vol. LXVII (1898), pp. 317-27.

² No. 105, ll. 6-7.

³ No. 105, l. 11.

⁴ No. 106, l. 14.

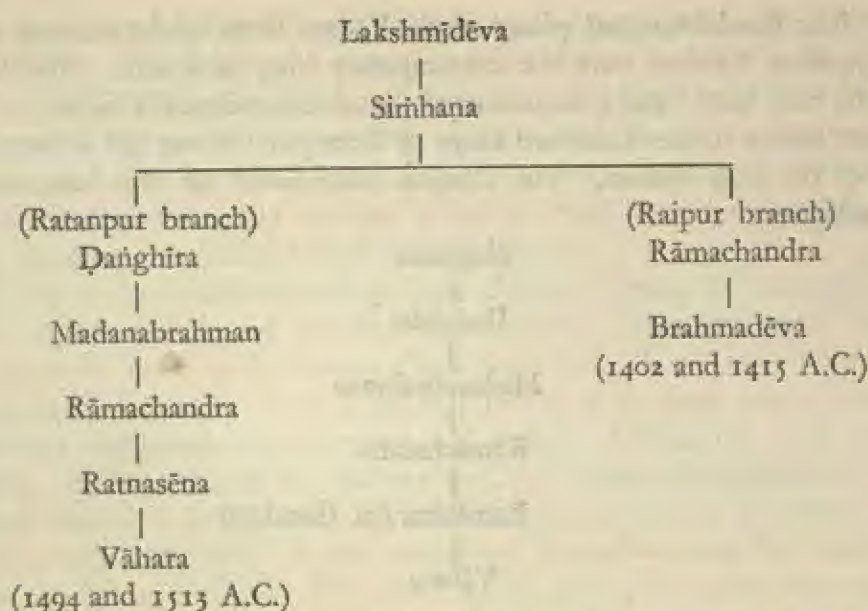
⁵ No. 107, l. 13.

⁶ No. 108, l. 5.

⁷ The inscription contains in l. 15 the date V. 1470, but it is a mistake for V. 1471. See below, p. 576.

⁸ Rāyapura (the royal city) may have been founded by Rāmachandra. In the time of his son Brahmadēva, Khalvāṭikā (modern Khalāri) seems to have become a second capital of the royal family. See No. 108, l. 8.

⁹ According to local tradition, Kēśava was the founder of the Raipur line and flourished in 1420 A. C. *Raipur District Gazetteer*, p. 51.



As stated before, the inscriptions give no historical information about the reign of Vāhara's predecessors. Vāhara's reign, however, was marked by skirmishes with the Pathans. The Kosgain inscriptions show that he had shifted his capital from Ratanpur to the stronghold of Kōsaṅga (modern Kosgain) probably owing to the forays of the Pathan adventurers.¹ From there he used to raid Pathan outposts. The Kosgain inscription states that when he attacked the Pathans, they, leaving their stations, used to flee to the Sōṇa. Mādhava, Vāhara's brave minister, is credited with a victory over the Pathans, whom he despoiled of gold and other metals, elephants, horses, cows and buffaloes. The Muslim chroniclers do not mention any incursions of the Afghans, who are evidently meant by the Pathans, into Chhattisgarh, which, being land-locked, must have been comparatively secure from their depredations. From the *Tārīkh-i-Dāūdī* of Abdulla, we learn that Sikandar Lodī invaded the territory of the Rājā of Bhata,² devastated the country and stormed the fort of Bāndhu (Bāndhōgarh in the Rewah State), 'the strongest castle of the district', which he, however, failed to reduce. Bāndhōgarh is about 125 miles north by west of Kosgain. Sikandar's invasion seems to have occurred about 1496 A.C., two years after the date of the Ratanpur inscription of Vāhara's reign. During this expedition or some time later, some Afghan adventurers from Jaunpur may have attempted to raid the Kalachuri territory, but they were turned back by Vāhara.

We have no inscriptions of the successors of Vāhara. Local tradition mentions twelve successors³ of Bāhar Sahāi (evidently identical with Vāharēndra of the inscriptions) who ruled at Ratanpur until the country was conquered by Bhāskar Pant, the Brāhmaṇa General of the Bhonslas of Nagpur in 1740 A.C. The reigns of these princes were uneventful and inglorious. One of them Kalyāṇ Sahāi, the successor of Bāhar Sahāi, is said to

¹ Verse 13 of No. 105 states that Vāhara had stored various kinds of food-grains, wealth, fuel and fodder in the fortress evidently to make it sufficiently strong to stand a siege by the enemy.

² *E. D. H. I.*, Vol. IV, p. 462. According to General Briggs, he was Śālivāhan, the Rājā of Pannā. *Loc. cit.*, n. 2. *C. H. I.*, Vol. III, p. 239, states that he was the Rājā of Phaphamau.

³ In his *A. S. I. R.* Vol. XVII, pp. 77 ff., Cunningham gives a list of these kings with approximate dates. He places Bāhar Sahāi in 1519 A.C., which is not wide of the mark. But the dynastic lists are, on the whole, unreliable; for, according to them, the five immediate ancestors of Bāhar Sahāi were Kamala Dēva, Śankara Sahāi, Mahāṇa Sahāi, Dādu Sahāi and Purushōttama Sahāi, but these names do not agree with those given by Vāhara's Kosgain inscription (No. 105).

have proceeded to Delhi to pay homage to the great Akbar.¹ He was absent for about eight years and returned to Ratanpur, being invested by the Emperor with the full rights of Rājā and confirmed in the possession of his territory. The Muslim chronicles, however, do not mention this event.

The Raipur branch has left two inscriptions² dated 1402 and 1415 A.C., both of which belong to the reign of Brahmadēva. The only historical event recorded in them is the defeat which Rāmadēva (or Rāmachandra), the father of Brahmadēva, inflicted on Bhōṇīṅgadēva, who belonged to the Phaṇivaraṇśa or Nāga dynasty.³ Two Nāga families were ruling in Chhattisgarh during this period, one in the former Kawardhā State and the other in the former Bastar State. The last dated record of the Bastar family is of Hariśchandra, who was ruling in 1324 A.C.⁴ The Kawardhā family also continued to rule till the fourteenth century, as its last dated inscription is of 1349 A.C.⁵ In the absence of subsequent records, it is difficult to say to which family Bhōṇīṅgadēva, defeated by Rāmachandra, belonged. Perhaps he was ruling over the former Bastar State; for, the Nāgavarāṇśī chiefs of the Kawardhā state are known to have been feudatories of the Kalachuris, whose era they used in earlier times. Some of them were also matrimonially connected with the latter.⁶

The conditions in Chhattisgarh at the time of its annexation by the Marathas are very well described in the following extract.⁷—"The Haihayas merely stood at the head of a number of petty Rājās and official chiefs, each of whom was, to a large extent, independent, and among whom the whole country was divided. It was an essentially weak system, adapted only to an earlier stage of social development, and it would have fallen long ago, had any well organised foreign invasion ever been attempted. When the Marathas came, they marched through the whole country without any opposition, and demanded and obtained the allegiance of all the surrounding states." Thus ended the rule of the Kalachuris in Chhattisgarh after lasting for more than seven centuries from *circa* 1000 A.C. to 1740 A.C.

ADMINISTRATION

The records edited here belong to two main periods—the earlier one extending from about 250 A.C. to about 750 A.C., and the later from about 850 A.C. to about 1500 A.C. The earlier inscriptions mainly come from Western India comprising Gujarat, Konkan and Northern Maharashtra, and the later ones from Northern India and the Chhattisgarh Division of Madhya Pradesh. The administrative system, religion, and social and economic life in these two periods naturally show wide differences.

In the earlier period, the largest administrative unit was the *dēśa*, corresponding to the province of modern times. The kingdom of the Traikūṭaka Vyāghrasēna, for instance, comprised several *dēśas* or provinces, only one of which, *viz.*, Aparānta (North Konkan),

¹ According to Cunningham, he went to Delhi in consequence of a dispute with the Rājā of Maṇḍlā and returned in Śaṁvat 1628 or 1571 A.C.

² Nos. 107 and 108. A copper-plate inscription of Amarasīṁhadēva, who is said to have belonged to the Kalachuri family, was discovered at Āraṅg. But it gives no pedigree, contains no date and has no historical importance.

³ No. 108, l. 6.

⁴ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. X, pp. 39 ff.

⁵ *I. C. P. B.*, (second ed.), p. 176.

⁶ The Māṇḍava Mahāl inscription from the former Kawardhā State states that Rāmachandra of the Phaṇivaraṇśa married Ambikādēvī of the Haihaya lineage. *Ibid.* p. 174.

⁷ *Bilaspur District Gazetteer*, p. 48.

finds a specific mention in his grant.¹ The names of the other *dēśas* comprised in the Traikūṭaka kingdom, *viz.*, Mahārāshṭra, Ṛishika (Khandesh) and Lāṭa (Central and Southern Gujarat) do not occur in the records of the Traikūṭakas. The next lower administrative unit was the *viśhaya* corresponding to the modern district. This term was current over a very wide area, *viz.*, Gujarat, Konkan and Maharashtra. Gujarat was, for instance, divided into a number of *viśhayas* such as the Saṅgamakhēṭaka,² Antarnarmadā,³ Nāndipura,⁴ Antarmanḍali,⁵ Akrūrēśvara,⁶ Bāhirikā,⁷ Kārmanēya,⁸ Trēyaṇṇa⁹ and Kāśākula.¹⁰ Some of the *viśhayas* seem to have changed their names in course of time. Thus, when Broach attained a greater importance as the capital of the Gurjaras, the name of the Antarnarmadā *viśhaya* was changed to the Bharukachchha *viśhaya*.¹¹ From Konkan we have the *viśhayas* Trikūṭa, Pallūḍhamba, Amrarājī, Mairikā, Mahāgiriḥāra¹² etc. North Maharashtra had such *viśhayas* as Nāsikya¹³ and Bhōgavardhana.¹⁴ Sometimes *viśhaya* was used as a synonym for *dēśa*. The Kaṇhēri plate, for instance, mentions the Sindhu *viśhaya* in the sense of the province of Sindh.¹⁵ Similarly, the Puṛi-Koṅkaṇa *viśhaya*, mentioned in the Anjanēri plates,¹⁶ signified the province of Konkan. Our records do not state the extent of these *viśhayas* except in the case of Puṛi-Koṅkaṇa, which is said to have comprised 14000 villages. Puṛi-Koṅkaṇa, however, was a *dēśa* rather than a *viśhaya*. Other *viśhayas* must have been much smaller in size. This is also indicated by the number of *viśhayas* into which Gujarat and North Konkan were divided.

A *viśhaya* was subdivided into smaller units which were generally called *ābhāras* in Central India¹⁷ and Gujarat, and *bhōgas* in Maharashtra. Thus we find that the Nagēndra *ābhāra* comprised the territory round modern Ēraṇ.¹⁸ Several more *ābhāras* are mentioned in the records from Gujarat, *e.g.*, Iksharakī¹⁹, Lōhikaksha²⁰, Trēyaṇṇa²¹, Kaṇhavalā²² and Kārmanēya.²³ In the south the Nāsikya *viśhaya* of Maharashtra probably comprised the Vāṭanagara

¹ No. 9, l. 2.

² No. 19, l. 9; No. 20, l. 9.

³ No. 11, l. 4.

⁴ No. 22, l. 17.

⁵ No. 8, ll. 2-3.

⁶ No. 16, l. 33; No. 17, l. 33.

⁷ No. 27, l. 16.

⁸ No. 29, l. 21; No. 30, l. 38.

⁹ No. 26, l. 20.

¹⁰ No. 34, l. 9.

¹¹ No. 23, l. 11.

¹² Nr. 31, l. 27.

¹³ No. 28, l. 14.

¹⁴ No. 12, l. 18.

¹⁵ No. 10, l. 2.

¹⁶ No. 31, l. 23.

¹⁷ That an *ābhāra* was a sub-division of a *viśhaya* is evident from the explicit statement in the Navsāri plates of Sryāśraya-Śīlāditya (No. 27, l. 16) that the Kaṇhavalā *ābhāra* was included in the Bāhirikā *viśhaya*. Contrast, however, the statement *Trēyaṇṇ-ābhār-āntarggata-viśhayē* in line 20 of No. 26, which seems to convey just the opposite. Perhaps the intended statement there was *Trēyaṇṇ-ābhāra-viśhay-āntarggata-*. Cf. No. 29, l. 21 and No. 30, l. 38.

¹⁸ No. 119, l. 4.

¹⁹ No. 9, l. 8.

²⁰ No. 24, l. 35.

²¹ No. 26, l. 20.

²² No. 27, l. 16.

²³ No. 29, l. 21 and No. 30, l. 38.

*bbōga*¹; for, Vāṭanagara, modern Vadner, is not far from Nasik. The terms *āhāra* and *bbōga* are sometimes noticed outside the aforementioned limits also. We find, for instance, that Gōrajā *bbōga* was a subdivision of the Bharukachchha *vishaya* in Gujarat,² while Mahāgiri-hāra in Konkan was probably so called because Mahāgiri was the headquarters of that *āhāra*.³ Some *āhāras* had the same name as the *vishayas* in which they were included, and so the two technical terms are often found combined; see, e.g., Kārmanēy-āhāra-vishaya⁴ and Trēyaṇṇ-āhāra-vishaya.⁵ Some sub-divisions of *vishayas* may have been known as *rāshṭras*. Kalachuri inscriptions mention the *mahattaras* of *rāshṭras* among persons to whom the royal order about a grant was to be communicated.⁶ Some *rāshṭras* may have been large enough to be known as *vishayas*. Gōpa-rāshṭra, for instance, is mentioned as one of the *vishayas* of Purī-Kōṅkaṇa.⁷ An *āhāra* contained smaller territorial units called *pathakas*. Very few *pathakas* have, however, found a mention in our records. Kōrillā *pathaka*⁸ and Lohikaksha *pathaka*⁹ lay in Gujarat, while Nagarikā *pathaka*¹⁰ was in Khandesh. Bāhirikā,¹¹ which is mentioned in the Eraṇ inscription as a subdivision of Nagendra *āhāra*, was probably a *pathaka*. *Bbōgas* and *pathakas* contained several towns¹² (*nagaras* or *puras*) and villages (*grāmas*). Capital cities were called *rājadhānī* and were distinguished by prefixing *trī* or *vijaya* to their names.¹³ Other towns were called *nagaras*, *puras* or *adbishṭhānas*.¹⁴ The village was, of course, the smallest territorial unit. The names of villages generally ended in *kbēja*, *padra*, *padraka* or *palli*, as, for example, Pippalakhēṭa,¹⁵ Sirishapadraka¹⁶ and Suvarṇārapalli.¹⁷ Villages granted to Brāhmaṇas were known as *agrahāras*; see Śraddhik-āgrahāra¹⁸ mentioned in the Navasāri plates. Some of the larger villages had hamlets attached to them; see, e.g., Śrīparṇakā¹⁹ included in Taṇḍulapadraka, and the three *pallikās*²⁰ attached to Samagiripattana.

In the later period some of these technical terms fell into disuse and were supplanted by others. *Dēśa* continued to signify the largest territorial unit, viz., a country or a province.²¹ *Vishaya*, which in the earlier period was the common term denoting a district, is rarely noticed in this period.²² Its place was taken by *maṇḍala* in the south and *pattalā*

¹ No. 14, l. 19. Vāṭanagara was also the name of a *vishaya* which was included in the Nāsika *dēśa*. *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XI, pp. 156 ff.

² No. 15, l. 19.

³ No. 31, l. 27.

⁴ No. 29, l. 21; No. 30, l. 38.

⁵ No. 26, l. 20.

⁶ No. 12, l. 17.

⁷ No. 31, l. 26.

⁸ No. 21, l. 22. This is probably identical with Kōrēlla-chaturāṣṭī mentioned in No. 121, l. 16.

⁹ No. 24, l. 35.

¹⁰ No. 2, l. 3.

¹¹ No. 119, l. 4.

¹² Towns which had predominantly a merchant population were called *vaṇiṇ nagaras*.

¹³ Cf. *Vijay-Aniruddhapurāt* in No. 9, l. 1.

¹⁴ No. 119, l. 4.

¹⁵ No. 25, l. 20.

¹⁶ No. 16, l. 33 and No. 17, l. 33.

¹⁷ No. 19, l. 10.

¹⁸ No. 21, l. 19.

¹⁹ No. 13, l. 8.

²⁰ No. 32, l. 30.

²¹ See Vāḍahara *dēśa* mentioned in No. 88, l. 1.

²² Some instances of *vishaya* are Guṇakala *vishaya* mentioned in the Kahla plates (No. 74, l. 36) and Anarghavallī *vishaya* in the Shēorinārāyaṇ plates (No. 82, l. 19). In some stray records other terms like *bbūmi* and *uddēśa* are noticed; see No. 48, l. 37 and No. 56, ll. 27-28. These did not, however, become common.

in the north. The records from Chhattisgarh mention several *maṇḍalas* such as Kōmō-maṇḍala¹, Aparā-maṇḍala,² Madhya-maṇḍala,³ Sāmānta-maṇḍala,⁴ Anarghavallī-maṇḍala⁵ (called also Anargha-maṇḍala), Talahāri-maṇḍala⁶ etc. Sometimes *maṇḍala* was used in the sense of *dēśa*. Notice Mālava-maṇḍala⁷ in the sense of Mālava-dēśa in the Bhērā-Ghāt inscription of Narasimha, and Chēdi-maṇḍala in the Ratanpur stone inscription of Prithvī-dēva II.⁸ A more common term denoting a district was *pattalā*, which was current over a wide country. We have, for instance, Kauśāmba-pattalā⁹ from Uttar Pradesh, Devagrāma-pattalā,¹⁰ Khaṇḍagahā-pattalā,¹¹ Kūyīsambapālisa-pattalā,¹² Dhanavāhi-pattalā¹³ and Rēvā-pattalā¹⁴ from Vindhya Pradesh, and Sambalā-pattalā¹⁵, Nava-pattalā¹⁶ and Jāulī-pattalā¹⁷ from the Jabalpur District of Madhya Pradesh. Subdivisions of a *pattalā* are rarely mentioned. In the records edited here, we have only two instances of Māladvādaśaka¹⁸ and Kōrēlla-chaturaśīti,¹⁹ which were evidently groups of villages of which Mālā and Kōrēlla were the principal ones. A *pattalā* may, therefore, have been divided into smaller territorial units of 10, 12, 40 or 100 villages, but they rarely find a mention in the inscriptions of this period. Names of towns ended in *nagara* or *pura* and those of villages in *grāma* or *pāṭaka*. See, e.g., Lavaṇanagara, Durlabhapura,²⁰ Hastigrāma, Nikhatigrāma, Thiulapāṭaka and Vaṇiā-pāṭaka.²¹ Some towns were named after the kings or queens who settled them. See, e.g., Ratnapura founded by Ratnadēva I, Jājallapura by Jājalladēva I and Gōsalapura by Gōsala-dēvi. All these are still known by their ancient names which, in some cases, are slightly changed.

The form of government was monarchical throughout the long period represented by the records edited here. At the head of the administrative machinery was the king whose authority was supreme. He appointed viceroys, governors, ministers, and important civil and military officers, and transferred them from one province to another according as he considered it desirable. The Chālukya Emperor Vikramāditya I, for instance, appointed his younger brother Jayasimha to govern Gujarat and the Nasik District²² and placed the Hariśchandriya prince Svāmichandra in charge of the whole Purī-Koṅkaṇa.²³ The king usually

¹ No. 77, l. 13.

² No. 76, l. 29.

³ No. 91, l. 25.

⁴ No. 92, l. 22.

⁵ No. 83, l. 25.

⁶ No. 96, l. 6.

⁷ No. 60, l. 18.

⁸ No. 93, l. 8.

⁹ No. 30, l. 37.

¹⁰ No. 36, l. 18.

¹¹ No. 65, l. 11.

¹² No. 68, l. 7.

¹³ No. 72, l. 10.

¹⁴ No. 70, l. 13.

¹⁵ Below, p. 649.

¹⁶ No. 64, l. 26.

¹⁷ No. 60, l. 24.

¹⁸ No. 42, l. 31.

¹⁹ No. 121, l. 16.

²⁰ No. 43, l. 32.

²¹ No. 74, l. 37.

²² No. 27, l. 9.

²³ No. 31, l. 6.

conferred titles and other distinctions such as *pañchamahāśabda* for meritorious service.¹ He was also the Commander-in-chief of the army and himself led important campaigns. Some early grants were issued from the victorious camps of kings evidently in the course of military campaigns. The king was also the Supreme Judge, and, according to the Smṛitis, it was one of his principal duties to dispense justice either personally or through judges appointed for the purpose. His consent was necessary for the transfer of any immovable property in the State. The three early inscriptions from Khandesh,² for instance, record the royal assent to certain gifts of land made by private individuals.

The king's authority was thus, in theory, unfettered, but in practice there were several checks. The education of the princes was so designed as to make them self-controlled as well as learned and brave. The high ideals of self-restraint, charity, impartiality, liberal patronage to religion and learning, and respect to elders and learned people were constantly kept before their eyes and inculcated upon their minds. The princes who were brought up in such traditions did not generally belie the expectations of their educators. The earlier records of the Traikūṭakas, the Kalachuris and the Gurjaras give a glowing description of the *ābbigāmika-guṇas* (attractive qualities) and other merits of the reigning kings and their ancestors. The Surat plates state, for instance, that the Traikūṭaka king Vyāghrasēna shared his wealth with learned people, refugees, elders, relatives and good persons, and that his enviable fortune was allied with self-restraint worthy of his noble birth.³ The Kalachuri records state that the illustrious king Kṛishṇarāja wielded his weapon for the protection of the distressed, fought to humble the arrogance of his enemies, acquired learning to attain humility, and wealth to spend it in charity, made gifts to acquire religious merit and accumulated religious merit to attain salvation.⁴ The Gurjara grants say that Dadda III was an adept in performing his duty, as he had acquired discrimination by studying the sacred treatise of the great sage Manu.⁵ Even foreigners were impressed by the high ideals preached by the Hindu *Dharmaśāstras* and *Arthaśāstras*. The Śaka king Śrīdharavarman is described in both the records of his reign as *dharmavijayin*, i.e., a righteous conqueror.⁶ This means that he never waged any war for self-aggrandizement. There may be some exaggeration in the description of the princes given by their panegyrists, but it undoubtedly indicates the ideal set before the rulers, which many of them must have striven to reach. In later inscriptions, however, we do not find the same emphasis laid on the virtues of self-restraint, learning and humility. The later *prastāvis* abound in glowing descriptions of a king's bravery and liberality as well as his construction of religious and charitable works, but they rarely refer to his discipline, duties and responsibilities.

The king could not also oppress the people by means of harsh and unjust laws; for his legislative powers were extremely limited. He was enjoined to govern the people and to administer justice strictly in accordance with the civil and criminal laws laid down in the Smṛitis. He had no power to enact fresh laws and to issue orders except in matters not covered by these works. In ancient times when religion had a firm hold on the minds of the people, few kings dared to defy the dictates of the age-old sacred *Dharmaśāstras*. On the other hand, many took pride in stating in their records that they studied these works and implicitly followed their teaching in respect of the institutions of the *varṇas* (castes) and *āśramas* (orders of life).⁷

¹ See above, p. lxxv.

² Nos. 2-4.

³ No. 9, l. 7.

⁴ No. 12, ll. 8-9.

⁵ No. 21, l. 8.

⁶ No. 5, l. 2 and No. 119, l. 2.

⁷ No. 21, ll. 8-9.

Besides, the counsellors (*mantrins*) whom the king was enjoined to consult, the Purōhita who, by his prayers and religious rites, propitiated gods and secured their help in warding off all calamities and attaining success,¹ and the *Rājaguru* who was greatly venerated must have wielded considerable influence in controlling the arbitrary actions of the king. There were, again, rich and powerful *Śrēṇis* (guilds) and *Gaṇas* (corporations) which maintained their own militia.² The kings were not loth to use this military force in times of difficulty. The existence of these powerful self-governing institutions must also have exercised a wholesome influence in curbing the oppressive tendencies of a despot.

Royal power must also have been considerably checked by the existence of powerful feudatories. The latter enjoyed considerable privileges. They could make grants of land in their own name without referring to the paramount power or even mentioning its name in their records.³ The Gurjaras of Central Gujarat called themselves *Sāmantas* and undoubtedly owed allegiance to the Chālukyas of Bādāmi, to whom they must have paid an annual tribute; but in other respects they exercised independent authority and could wage war or make peace on their own initiative. The Sēndrakas, the Gujarat Chālukyas and the Harischandriyas originally obtained their principalities by the favour of the imperial Chālukya family of Bādāmi, but in their land-grants they generally make no mention of the contemporary Chālukya Emperor. In later times, however, as the power of the central authority increased, the feudatories became weak. Most of them were required to be in attendance in the Imperial court. The *Prabandhaśintāmaṇi* states that as many as 136 kings were in attendance in the court of Kaṇa.⁴ It is significant that we have hardly any grants made by these numerous feudatories of the Kalachuris of Tripuri. The only instances known so far are those made by the princes of Karkarēḍi,⁵ but they belong to the age when the power of the imperial family was declining.

Kingship was hereditary. The eldest son was generally made the heir-apparent. He is called *Yuvarāja* in earlier records, and *Mahārājaputra* or *Mahākumāra* in later ones. He helped the king in the administration of the kingdom and succeeded him after his death. Śrīśraya-Śilāditya, for instance, was governing South Gujarat on behalf of his father. He could make grants of land in his own name and was also authorised to use his own seal for the charters he issued.⁶ Sometimes a king himself in his old age crowned his son and himself retired from government. Kaṇa, the illustrious Kalachuri king, is said to have himself performed the coronation of his son Yaśaḥkaṇa.⁷ Junior princes were often appointed to govern outlying provinces. The Gurjara king Dadda II appointed his brother Raṇagraha to govern a province. The latter could, however, make a grant of land only with the consent of the reigning king.⁸ Kōkalla I had eighteen sons, of whom the eldest succeeded him, while the younger ones were appointed rulers of the neighbouring *maṇḍalas*.⁹

Later records generally mention the *Mahārājñi* or crowned queen among the persons to whom the royal order about a grant of land was to be communicated. It is not known whether she took any part in the deliberation of state affairs. She had, in any case, no independent authority. The Kārīṭalāi inscription, while recording a gift of Rāhaḍā, the

¹ Cf. *Rigveda*, IV, 50, 7-9; *NVA.*, p. 160.

² Nos. 1 and 120.

³ They had their own Department of Peace and War. See No. 16, ll. 50-51.

⁴ *P. C. H.*, p. 50.

⁵ Nos. 65 and 68.

⁶ See the seal of No. 27.

⁷ No. 56, l. 15.

⁸ No. 18, l. 10.

⁹ No. 76, ll. 8-9. This is also laid down in *JNS.*, *adhyāya* 1, vv. 346-48.

Mahādēvī (queen) of Lakshmaṇarāja II, expressly states that it had been made by her with the consent of the king.¹ Similarly, the Kumbhī plates state clearly that the village Chōrālāyī was granted by the queen-mother Gōsaladēvī with the consent of her son, the reigning king Vijayasīrṇha.² Still, some queens must have exercised a considerable political and religious influence. Nōhalā, the queen of Yuvarājadēva I, greatly influenced the religious policy of her husband and invited to the Chēdi country several ascetics of the Mattamayūra clan from her home country. She herself built a lofty temple of Śiva under the name of Nōhalēśvara, which she endowed with the gift of several villages.³ The dowager queen Alhaṇadēvī also caused a temple of Śiva, a monastery and a lecture-hall to be constructed at Bhēr-Ghāt and herself granted two villages for their maintenance.⁴ Both these gifts must have been made with the tacit approval of the ruling king. Gōsaladēvī also must have exercised a considerable influence during the reign of her son Vijayasīrṇha. She is mentioned prominently with her son and grandson in the Bhērā-Ghāt temple inscription.⁵

The king was assisted by counsellors (*mantrins*), ministers (*amātyas*) and heads of departments (*adhyakṣas*). The *Sukranītisāra* emphasises the importance of the Crown Prince and the Council of Ministers by saying that they are the arms, eyes and ears of the king.⁶ The *Nītivākyāmṛita* of Sōmadēva, who flourished in the 10th century A.C., recommends the appointment of three, five or seven counsellors.⁷ We have, however, no definite information about the existence of a *mantri-parishad* either in the earlier or in the later age. The Khairhā and Jabalpur plates⁸ mention chief counsellors (*mantri-mukyas*), but whether they formed a *mantri-parishad*, it is difficult to say. Earlier records mention very few ministers and high State functionaries. Later records, no doubt, enumerate a number of them, but they do not state whether any of them were regularly consulted by the reigning king in the important affairs of the State. Again, divergent views were held by the authors of the Smṛitis and the Arthaśāstras about the number of ministers. According to Manu, the king should have seven or eight ministers.⁹ Sukra mentions a council of eight or ten ministers.¹⁰ Sōmadēva tells us that the departments entrusted to the ministers (*amātyas*) were those of revenue, expenditure, protection of the king's person and the army.¹¹ If there was a council of eight ministers in the age of the Later Kalachuris, it may have consisted of the following who are generally mentioned in their records:—*Mahāmantrin*, *Mahāmātya*, *Mahāsāndhivigrahika*, *Mahādormādbikarāṇika* (or *Mahāpurōhita* as stated in some records), *Mahākṣhapāṇika*, *Mahāpratibāra*, *Mahāsāmanta* and *Mahāpramātri*. The ministers wielded a considerable power. In cases of emergency they carried on the administration of the State and placed their nominee from among the princes on the royal throne.¹² The Jabalpur and Khairhā plates state, for instance, that the Chief Counsellors placed Kōkalla II on the throne of his father Yuvarājadēva II evidently in an emergency caused probably by the latter's sudden death.¹³

¹ No. 42, l. 29.

² See p. 650.

³ No. 45, l. 18.

⁴ No. 60, ll. 23-4.

⁵ No. 69, l. 1.

⁶ *SNS.*, adhyāya II, v. 12.

⁷ *NVA.*, X, 71.

⁸ No. 56, v. 8; No. 57, v. 8.

⁹ *MSM.*, adhyāya VII, v. 54.

¹⁰ *SNS.*, adhyāya II, vv. 69 ff.

¹¹ *NVA.*, XVIII, 6.

¹² See e.g. No. 48, ll. 34-36; No. 56, ll. 25-26.

¹³ No. 56, v. 8; No. 57, v. 8.

The chief among these ministers was called *Mahāmantrin* (Chief Counsellor). He was the right-hand man of the king and wielded a great power. We have no information about the *Mahāmantrins* of the early kings such as the Kalachuris, the Gurjaras, the Sēndrakas and the Chālukyas; for, no grants made by them have yet come to light. For the later period, however, we have some inscriptions recording their construction of religious and charitable works, from which we can glean some information about their abilities and achievements. The Kalachuri king Yuvarājādēva I had an able Counsellor named Bhākamiśra, who was a Brāhmaṇa of the Bharadvāja *gōtra*.¹ He was very learned and pious. His son Sōmēśvara, who served Lakshmaṇarāja II, is highly eulogised in the Kāritalāi inscription. We are told that once when the palanquin of the *Mahāmantrin* was about to fall owing to the exhaustion of the bearer, the king Lakshmaṇarāja himself put his shoulder to it.² This plainly indicates in what high esteem the king held him. The *Mahāmātya* who was next in rank was also a very influential minister.³ He was probably in charge of the administration of the State. From the Rewa inscription we know of a highly cultured and valiant Kāyastha family which served the Kalachuris of Tripurī for several generations. Its founder was Gōllāka, also known as Gauḍa, who was the *Amātya* of Yuvarājādēva I.⁴ The *Mahādhyakṣa*, who is mentioned in some records, was the General Superintendent of Administration.⁵ Sometimes a *Sarvādhikārin* was appointed and invested with supreme powers of direction and administration.⁶ The *Mahāpratibhāra* was also an important officer.⁷ He was in constant attendance on the king. He ushered people into the royal presence and communicated royal orders to the officers concerned.⁸

The *Rājaguru*, though not included among the ministers, exercised a great influence in the court of the Kalachuri kings. He was consulted in important matters and was often entrusted with various kinds of work befitting his position.⁹

The earliest records included here, *viz.*, the grants of the *Mahārājas* of Khandesh, do not mention any royal officers specifically. They refer to them in general terms as *Ayuktakas*.¹⁰ The Kalachhala plate, however, mentions *Kumārāmātya*, *Uparika*, *Dāṇḍika* and *Dāṇḍapāśika*, besides those in charge of elephants, horses and men, as well as *chāṭas* and *bhaṭas*.¹¹ The mention of the first two officers is noteworthy; for, till now they were known to occur first in the records of the Gupta age. The Kānākhērā inscription mentions *Mahādāṇḍanāyaka*,¹² and the Ēraṇ inscription *Ārakṣhika* and *Sēnāpati*.¹³ These three records, which are of the pre-Gupta or early Gupta age, show that the Sanskrit technical terms signifying a hierarchy of officers in the different departments of the State had already been evolved before the rise of the Guptas. Later inscriptions such as the Bāgh cave plate of Subandhu, the Surat plates of Vyāghrasēna and the Sunao Kala plates of Saṅgamasiriha mention several more functionaries. From these and other records we can form a general idea of the administration of the different departments of the State.

¹ No. 42, l. 3.

² *Ibid.*, l. 16.

³ No. 51, ll. 22 ff.

⁴ Nos. 38-41.

⁵ No. 48, l. 36.

⁶ No. 90, l. 18.

⁷ No. 48, l. 55.

⁸ Cf. No. 11, l. 24.

⁹ No. 64, v. 40.

¹⁰ See, *e.g.*, No. 2, l. 2.

¹¹ No. 118, l. 3.

¹² No. 5, l. 2.

¹³ No. 119, l. 6.

General Administration—Early records mention several officers of different grades. The *Rājasthāniya*, who heads the list in the Sunao Kala plates, was probably the highest officer.¹ As the term signifies a Viceroy, he may have been in charge of a province. Under him were the *Uparikas*, who administered smaller territorial units like the modern Commissioners' Divisions. The *Viśhayapatis* corresponded to the modern Collectors or Deputy Commissioners and were in charge of *viśhayas* (districts). *Kumārāmātya* was a general term denoting officers of different grades. Some of these terms fell into disuse and were supplanted by others in course of time. *Uparika* and *Kumārāmātya* do not occur in the later records of the Gurjaras, the Kalachuris and the Chālukyas. *Rājasthāniya* continued for a longer time, as it occurs in the Bagumrā plates of Allaśakti.² The new terms which generally replaced *Rājasthāniya* and *Uparika* were *Rājan* and *Sāmanta*.³ They administered larger territorial units like the modern province or the Commissioner's Division. The *Viśhayapatis* continued to be in charge of the districts. Under them were the *Bhōgikapālakas*, who probably supervised the work of the *Bhōgikas*.⁴ The latter were in charge of smaller territorial divisions like the *bhōgas*, *paṭhakas* and *grāmas*. The Navsāri plates mention a *grāmabhōgika*.⁵ Other records mention the *Rāshṭrakūṭa* and the *Grāmakūṭa*, who were evidently the heads of a *rāshṭra* and a village respectively.⁶ The *Sthānalaka*, who finds a mention in one record,⁷ was probably a local officer. Similarly, the *Drāṅgika* was the Mayor of a town.⁸ Subordinate officers were referred to as *āyuktakas* and *vinīyuktakas*.⁹ Later they came to be known as *ādbikārikas*.¹⁰

Revenue Department—The head of this department was probably the *Mahāpramātri* who is mentioned in the later Kalachuri records.¹¹ He surveyed all land and fixed its assessment. The *Mahākṣhapāṭalika* was the head of the Records Department.¹² The officer who collected the land revenue was called *Dityōdgrāhaka*.¹³ Villages and lands granted to the Brāhmaṇas for the maintenance of temples were exempt from *ditya* or land-tax.¹⁴ The officer who collected other taxes was known as *Viśhayādānika*.¹⁵

There were different sources of state revenue. *Udraṅga* and *uparikara* are generally mentioned in early inscriptions. They probably correspond to *klṛipta* and *upklṛipta* mentioned in the Vākāṭaka grants, and to *bhōga* and *bhōga* of later records.¹⁶ *Udraṅga* may have been a land-tax. As for *uparikara* which seems to signify an additional tax, it may have included the miscellaneous taxes in kind which traders and artisans had to pay. Besides these, salt and iron mines, forests, pasture-lands, mango and *mabua* trees, threshing floors, fines imposed for offences, *etc.* were the other sources of revenue.¹⁷ Rates were levied

¹ No. 11, l. 2.

² No. 26, l. 16.

³ No. 12, l. 16. The Bagumrā plates, however, have both *Rājan* and *Rājasthāniya*.

⁴ No. 13, l. 4; No. 18, l. 9.

⁵ No. 30, l. 36.

⁶ No. 26, ll. 17-18; No. 28, l. 13.

⁷ No. 7, l. 2.

⁸ No. 11, l. 2. *Drāṅga* occurs as the name of a territorial division in the Maitraka grants. According to some, the *Drāṅgika* was an octroi officer. N. H. I. P., Vol. VI, p. 279.

⁹ No. 7, l. 2.

¹⁰ No. 12, l. 17.

¹¹ No. 48, l. 36.

¹² *Ibid.*, l. 35.

¹³ No. 7, l. 2.

¹⁴ No. 8, l. 6.

¹⁵ No. 74, l. 35. Here the term occurs as *Viśhayādānika*.

¹⁶ No. 48, l. 43.

¹⁷ No. 48, l. 37; No. 42, l. 34.

for the salary of the *Paṭṭakila* and the apprehension of criminals (*dussādhyas*).¹ Octroi and excise duties were another good source of income.² They were collected by the officers called *Saukikas*.³ The *Ghaṭṭapati* and *Tarapati*, mentioned in the Kahla plates, looked after the ghāts and ferries, and collected a small cess levied for their use.⁴

There were various other taxes. The Anjanēri plates of Bhōgaśakti mention the tax levied on shops in market-places.⁵ Another tax called *kōvēra*, imposed on written documents (*kaṇṇas*), may have been a fee for registration. Each cart of a caravan had to pay a certain octroi duty while entering and leaving a village or a town.⁶ There was also a sales tax levied in money or kind on the articles sold in the market-places. The Bilhāri inscription mentions that for every elephant sold in the market in a particular town, a tax of four *pauras*, and for every horse, that of two *pauras* were required to be paid. A small tax was also levied on the sale of other commodities, such as salt, oil, betel-nuts, black pepper, ginger, bundles of grass, vegetables and egg-plants.⁷ Some of these taxes were paid in kind. In some cases these taxes were assigned to temples for their maintenance. Otherwise, they were collected for the State.

Judicial Department—There are very few references to Judicial Officers in inscriptions. Perhaps *Dāṇḍika* who is mentioned in the Kalachhala plate⁸ separately from *Daṇḍapāsika* was a Magistrate. *Daṇḍanāyaka*, however, was probably a military officer.⁹

Religious Department—This department is not mentioned in any early record edited here. Later, it seems to have attained a greater importance. Its head, the *Mahādharma-dhikaraṇika* or *Mahāpurohita*, is invariably mentioned among the officers to whom the royal order about a land-grant was to be communicated.¹⁰ In one record he is called *Dharmakarmādhikārin*, i.e., the Officer in charge of religious works.¹¹ The *Mahādānika* mentioned in the Kahla plates¹² probably belonged to this very department and arranged for the *mahādānas* (great gifts) when the king desired to make them. The scribe who recorded the royal order about a grant was called *Dharmalēkhin*.¹³ He was also known as *Daśamūlin*.¹⁴

Military and Police Departments—The army was traditionally divided into four members—chariots, elephants, horses and foot-soldiers.¹⁵ Each of these must have been under a head, but it is significant that the Kalachhala plate, which is the earliest record referring to them, mentions only the heads of the elephant-force, cavalry and infantry (*baṣṭy-aśva-jana-vyāpṛita*).¹⁶ Chariots had perhaps lost their importance. The elephant force was an important constituent of the army. The strength of the latter was generally

¹ No. 63, l. 29.

² No. 21, l. 27. See also p. 89, n. 2.

³ No. 74, l. 34.

⁴ *Ibid.*, l. 35.

⁵ No. 31, l. 35.

⁶ *Ibid.*, l. 36.

⁷ No. 45, l. 31.

⁸ No. 118, l. 3.

⁹ The Gunji rock inscription mentions the titles *Daṇḍanāyaka* and *Balādhikṛita* borne by the same person. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXVII, p. 51. *Mahādaṇḍanāyaka* in No. 5, l. 2 was clearly a military title.

¹⁰ No. 48, l. 35; No. 56, l. 25.

¹¹ No. 100, l. 28.

¹² No. 74, l. 34.

¹³ No. 56, l. 44. He is called *Adṛṣṭanāibandhika* in No. 74, l. 57.

¹⁴ No. 63, l. 40.

¹⁵ Notice the reference to the four-membered army in No. 56, l. 8.

¹⁶ No. 118, l. 3.

measured by the number of elephants in it. The elephant-drivers also had a considerable importance and had their own *gaṇa* or corporation.¹ The head of the elephant force was called *Mahāpīlupati* in early times. Later, he came to be known as *Mahāpramattavāra*. He occupied an influential position in early times and was sometimes appointed even the head of a territorial division. Nirihullaka, for instance, who was *Mahāpīlupati*, is described as *Bhōgikapālaka* and had a military officer under him.² Later Kalachuri inscriptions mention the *Mahāśvasādbhanika*,³ who was the head of the cavalry, which as a mobile force may have attained a great importance in the later age. It is noteworthy that the Rewa stone inscription mentions a *Ghōṭaka-vigraha* or Battle of Horses, fought and won by Vappulla, a general of the Kalachuri Emperor Karṇa.⁴

*Balādbikṛita*⁵ and *Sēnāpati*⁶ were the general terms denoting a military officer. Later, *Sādbhanika* was used in the same sense. *Gaulmikas* were officers in charge of a troop of soldiers or a battalion of the army. The Commander-in-chief is called *Mahābalādbikṛita*⁷ in earlier records and *Mahāsēnāpati*⁸ in later ones. It is curious that the Commander-in-chief of the whole army is generally not mentioned among the officers named in later Kalachuri grants.⁹ On the other hand, we find that the *Mahāpramattavāra* and the *Mahāśvasādbhanika*, who were the chief commanders of the elephant force and cavalry, are mentioned specifically. The reason may be that the kings themselves were the Commanders-in-chief of their armies. Military officers are generally mentioned as *Dūtakas* in early land-grants.

The *Dandapāsika*¹⁰ was a Police Officer. The Superintendent of the Police was called *Āraṅśhika*.¹¹ He was generally a military officer. Thus, Satyanāga who erected the *yashṭi* at Ērikiṇa was both *Sēnāpati* and *Āraṅśhika*. The Police Officers who were specially charged with the investigation of thefts and apprehension of thieves and other criminals were called *Chōṛōddbarānikas*.¹² The *Dusṭasādbhaka* mentioned in the Kahla plates¹³ was probably a Police Officer of the same type. The *chāṭas* and *bhaṭas*, who are frequently mentioned in early land-grants, were policemen and soldiers whose duty it was to maintain peace and order in the country and to apprehend criminals. They were often harsh and exacting in their ways and were, therefore, forbidden to enter *agrabāra* villages except for apprehending thieves and persons accused of high treason.¹⁴

Foreign Department—In ancient times this was called *Sandbi-vigraha-ādhikaraṇa* (the Department of Peace and War). Its head *Mahāsāndbivigrahika* figures in several early grants as the writer of copper-plate charters.¹⁵ In fact, it was laid down that such charters should be written only by this officer and none else, in accordance with the instructions received from the king.¹⁶ The reason was that of all the departments of the State, the Department

¹ No. 120, l. 4.

² No. 13, l. 4.

³ No. 48, l. 36; No. 50, l. 37; No. 56, ll. 25-26.

⁴ No. 53, l. 10.

⁵ No. 21, l. 42.

⁶ No. 119, l. 6.

⁷ No. 26, l. 38.

⁸ No. 74, l. 34.

⁹ The Kahla plates (No. 74, l. 34), however, mention the *Mahāsēnāpati* among such officers.

¹⁰ No. 118, l. 3; No. 120, l. 5.

¹¹ No. 11, l. 2; No. 119, l. 6.

¹² No. 24, l. 19; No. 56, l. 16.

¹³ No. 74, l. 35.

¹⁴ No. 9, l. 10.

¹⁵ No. 9, ll. 17-18.

¹⁶ See Mitāksharā on *Yājñavalkya-smṛiti*, adhyāya I, v. 320; *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXI, p. 139.

of Peace and War was most likely to have an accurate information about the conquests of the king and his ancestors which were generally described in the initial part of such charters.

Other Officers—Several other officers are mentioned in later inscriptions. The *Bhāṇḍāgārika* was the Treasurer. The *Mahābbāṇḍāgārika* corresponded to the modern Chancellor of the Exchequer.¹ The *Mahāsāmanta* was the head of the feudatory princes. The *Mahākaraṇika* was the head of the Secretariat.² The *Vāsāka* or *Vāsāpvaka* arranged for the residence of strangers and officers on tour.³ *Mahākōṭṭapāla* was the head of the guardians of forts.⁴ The exact significance of some technical terms denoting officers such as *Khaṇḍavāla*, *Balādhīra* and *Mākutika*⁵ is not known.

The records do not show that any of these officers' posts were held on the principle of heredity. For instance, Kēśava, the *Mahābalādhikṛita* of Jayabhāṭa III, was the son of a mere *Bhōgika*.⁶ He must have risen to his high post by merit. If in some families the same post was held for more than one generation, it must also have been due to merit. Thus Sahabhāṭa, the writer of the Anjanēri plates of Jayabhāṭa III, who held the post of *Balādhikṛita*, was the son of the *Balādhikṛita* Durgabhāṭa.⁷ Similarly, Sōmēśvara, the capable Prime Minister of Lakshmaṇarāja II of Tripurī, was the son of Bhākamiśra who had served the royal family in the previous generation in the same capacity.⁸ There are some other instances of the same type in the history of the Ratanpur branch also. We have no reason to suppose that any of these posts were monopolised by these families on the principle of heredity. In some minor offices, the posts may have been held hereditarily. The post of the scribe of copper-plate grants in the Secretariat at Ratanpur was, for instance, held by a Kāyastha family of the village Jaṇḍēra for several generations.⁹

In towns and villages, the administration seems to have been carried on by royal officers with the assistance of the committees called *pañchakulas*. The *Sukranītisāra* states that the officers appointed by the king in every town and village should be six, viz., the head of the town or the village, the collector of land revenue, the collector of taxes, the magistrate, the scribe (or accountant) and the Pratihāra who was probably the head of the town or village police.¹⁰ Some of these officers are mentioned in our records. The mayor of a town is called *Drāṅgika*¹¹ in early records and *Purapradhāna*¹² in later ones. The head of a village was *Grāmakaṣṭha* or *Grāmabbōgika*.¹³ The *Saulkika* who collected taxes and the *Daṇḍapāśika* who inflicted punishment are also named in some records.¹⁴ The other officers were generally mentioned as *āyuktakas* in early records. The *pañchakulas* were committees of persons elected by the residents of a town or a village for the management of the several departments.¹⁵ The Dhurēti plates mention a *pañchakula-dharmādhikaraṇa*

¹ No. 48, l. 36.

² No. 48, l. 35. He is called *Lakṣanādhyaśva* in No. 113, l. 1.

³ No. 30, l. 36.

⁴ No. 70, l. 12.

⁵ No. 74, l. 35. The *Mākutika* was perhaps a village officer. See below, p. 396, n. 1.

⁶ No. 21, l. 42.

⁷ No. 22, l. 38.

⁸ No. 42, ll. 3 ff.

⁹ Below, p. 458, n. 3.

¹⁰ *SNS.*, adhyāya II, vv. 120-21; 170-75. Nīlakaṇṭha, in his commentary on *MBH.*, Sabhāparvan, adhyāya V, v. 80, mentions five village officers somewhat differently.

¹¹ No. 11, l. 2.

¹² No. 76, l. 34.

¹³ No. 30, l. 36.

¹⁴ No. 74, l. 34; No. 120, l. 3.

¹⁵ In *NVA.*, XVIII, 49, Sōmadēva mentions the following members of the *kaṛaṇa* or *pañchakula* of what appears to be the Revenue Department:—One member receives the offered amount, the second records it in the register, the third seals it, the fourth deposits it in the Treasury, while the fifth exercises general supervision.

which was probably the Judicial Department managed by a *pañchakula*.¹ The description shows that the merchant community had a preponderating representation on it. Other departments also must have had similar *pañchakulas* elected for their administration. The Anjanēri plates state that when the king Bhōgaśakti assigned certain taxes *etc.* for the maintenance of the temple of Bhōgēśvara in the town of Jayapura, he laid down that the festival of the god should be celebrated by five or even ten merchants in accordance with the custom of the town.² The wording of the passage shows that five was the usual number of the members of such committees, on account of which they were usually known as *pañchakulas*. In special circumstances, however, a larger number up to ten was elected. The *pañchakulas* decided also civil and criminal cases and imposed fines. Some rules for their guidance were laid down by the central government.³ In other cases, the Anjanēri plates state, whatever eight or sixteen *Maballakas* would declare after due deliberation would be the right standard of punishment.⁴ This shows that sometimes the committees consisted of as many as sixteen members. Generally appeals were allowed on the decisions of the *pañchakulas*, except in the case of *agrabāra* villages which were donated with full powers of adjudication.⁵

The members of the *pañchakulas* were called *Mabattaras* (Prakrit, *Maballakas*). There were evidently elected, but we have no information about the mode of election or the manner of voting. Their head or President was probably called *Mabattama*. The Smṛitis lay down special qualifications for the post of the *Mabattama*. A *Mabattama* should be honest, conversant with religion, vigilant, self-controlled and high-born. *Mabattamas* were also called *Pāñchakulikas*, heads of *pañchakulas*. The chief of them, called *Mahāpāñchakulika*, is mentioned in the Kahla plates.⁶ He evidently resided in the capital, but what department he exactly represented we do not know.

Another officer who was common to both the town and the village was *Gamāgamika*.⁷ He is mentioned in the grants of Subandhu and the Sēndrakas. His function evidently was to keep a watch on persons coming into or going out of the town or the village. It is interesting to note that the *Sukranītisāra* also mentions a similar officer. He was specially in charge of the *pāñthasālā* or *sarai* of the village. He made inquiries about the caste, family, name and residence of the traveller, the places he came from and was going to, and after taking away his arms if he had any, made arrangements for guarding the *sarai* at night. In the morning the traveller's arms were returned to him and he was escorted to the limit of the village.⁸

RELIGION

We shall next proceed to consider the state of religion in the periods represented by our records. In the beginning of the earlier period, Buddhism was in the ascendant in Gujarat, Konkan and Maharashtra, and claimed many votaries—especially among the lower classes as also among the foreigners who were attracted by its catholic spirit. It is significant that the first record of the period included here, which belongs to the reign of the Ābhīra king Īśvarasēna, registers certain endowments made by a woman of the Śaka race

¹ No. 72, l. 9.

² No. 31, l. 44.

³ No. 32, ll. 34 ff.

⁴ No. 32, l. 37.

⁵ No. 31, l. 41.

⁶ No. 74, l. 34.

⁷ No. 7, l. 3; No. 25, l. 19; No. 26, l. 16.

⁸ *JNS.*, adhyāya I, vv. 270-7.

to provide medicines for the sick among the Community of the Buddhist monks living in the *vihāra* on the Tiraśmi hill near Nasik. Later, during the time of the Traikūṭakas we find an inhabitant of distant Sindh coming to Kṛishṇagiri in North Konkan and erecting a *stūpa* dedicated to Śāradvatīputra, one of the foremost disciples of the Buddha.¹ At Bāgh in the former Barwāni State, a private individual named Dattaṭaka caused a cave to be excavated and decorated with beautiful paintings for use by the followers of the Mahāyāna Buddhism. The ruler of the country, though himself a follower of the Vēdic religion, made a liberal grant for the worship of the Buddha image, the repairs of the *vihāra* and provision of food, clothing, medicines *etc.* for the Buddhist monks living there.² Yuan Chwang, who visited India in the first half of the seventh century A.C., states that there were about 100 monasteries in Maharashtra with more than 3000 monks of the Hinayāna and the Mahāyāna living in them. In the country of Bharukachchha (*i.e.*, Central Gujarat) he found more than ten Buddhist monasteries with 300 monks, all adherents of the Mahāyānist Sthavira school.³ Later, Buddhism seems to have gradually declined in strength for want of royal patronage.

On the other hand, Hinduism which had been lying dormant for some centuries began to assert itself with the rise of the Gupta and Vākāṭaka dynasties in North and South India respectively. This revival of Hinduism was marked by the performance of the *Srauta* sacrifices which had been in abeyance for a long time. In North India Samudragupta is credited with the revival of the *Aśvamēdha* sacrifice.⁴ In South India the Ikshvāku king Śāntamūla I and the Vākāṭaka king Pravaraśēna I performed several Vēdic sacrifices such as *Agnishōma*, *Vājapēya* and *Aśvamēdha*.⁵ Unfortunately we have no official records of the Ābhīras wherein we could have expected positive information about their religious activities. Perhaps on account of their low social status, they were not keen on the performance of the Vēdic sacrifices. The Traikūṭakas, who followed them, showed a greater regard for the Vēdic religion. Dahrasēna performed an *Aśvamēdha* sacrifice to proclaim his independent status.⁶ It is noteworthy that this is the first known mention of the performance of this sacrifice by a king of Northern Maharashtra after a lapse of nearly seven centuries. The Vedic sacrifices were, however, costly and could, therefore, be performed by rich persons only. The Smṛitis also lay down that great Vedic sacrifices such as the *Sōmayāga* should be performed by such householders only as have in stock food-grains sufficient for the maintenance of their dependants for at least three years.⁷ Even among kings, few emulated the example of Samudragupta and Pravaraśēna I. The tendency to perform great Vēdic sacrifices did not strike deep root, and after the sixth century A.C., we have hardly any record mentioning them.

Though the *Srauta* sacrifices were rarely performed, the *grihya* rites such as the *pañchamahūyajñas* continued unabated in Brāhmaṇa families. The State also encouraged them. Most of the grants⁸ of the Early Kalachuris, the Sēndrakas, the Gurjaras and the Chālukyas were made for the maintenance of the five great sacrifices, *viz.*, *dēvayajña* (offerings to gods),

¹ No. 10.

² No. 7. For the age of the Bāgh caves, see my article in *Ind. Hist. Quart.*, Vol. XXI, pp. 79 ff.

³ O. Y. C., Vol. II, pp. 239 ff.

⁴ C. I. I., Vol. III, p. 43.

⁵ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XX, p. 21.

⁶ No. 8, l. 2.

⁷ *MS.*, adhyāya XI, v. 7.

⁸ The earlier records of the *Mahārājas* of Valkha registered only the royal consent to certain gifts made by private persons. The Barwāni plate of Subandhu and the Pārṇi and Surat plates of the Traikūṭakas do not mention any specific purpose for the royal grant.

pitrīyajña (offerings to manes), *bhūtajajña* (offerings to creatures), *manusyajajña* (reception to guests) and *brahmayajña* (study of one's Vēdic texts). It was believed that the regular performance of such rites by pious Brāhmaṇas conduced to the well-being of the State.¹

We find that the Purāṇic Hinduism was making a much greater headway in the earlier period. The doctrine of *bhakti* (devotion) preached in the *Bhagavadgītā* appealed more to the popular mind than the cult of the sacrifice. Again, the teaching of that sacred work that all worship, whatever may be its object, ultimately reaches the same Supreme Being, led to religious eclecticism. Of the several gods of the Hindu pantheon, Viṣṇu, Śiva, Kārttikēya and Āditya attained a great importance in this period. The Traikūṭakas were Vaiṣṇavas. They describe themselves as *Bhagavat-pāda-karmakara* (servants of the feet of Bhagavat) in their grants² and as *paramavaishṇava* (fervent devotees of Viṣṇu) on their coins. Again, the Hariśchandriya king Bhōgaśakti believed that there was no pre-eminent god except Vāsudēva (Viṣṇu), who was the cause of the creation, preservation and destruction of the universe. He built a temple dedicated to that god under the name of Bhōgēśvara in the merchant-town of Jayapura, and granted some villages and assigned certain taxes for the worship of the deity, the repairs of the temple and the maintenance of a charitable feeding house attached to it. The *Yātrā* festival of the god was to continue for a full fortnight in the month of Mārgaśirsha. The management of the temple was entrusted to a committee of five or ten members elected by the merchants of the town. In return for this, the merchants living there enjoyed certain immunities and exemptions.³

Śiva was also an equally popular god—perhaps more so with the aborigines and foreigners who embraced Hinduism. The cult of this god received even a greater royal patronage than that of Viṣṇu. In the absence of the official records of the Ābhīras we have no definite information about their religious inclinations, but judging by their names Sivadatta and Īśvarasēna, they seem to have been devotees of Śiva. The same appears to be true of their feudatories ruling in Khandesh and Central Gujarat; for, their names Svāmidāsa, Rudradāsa and Īśvararāta unmistakably point to their predilection for the Śaiva faith. The Kaṭachchuris or Early Kalachuris also were adherents of Śaivism. All the three Early Kalachuri kings, Kṛishṇarāja, Śaṅkaragaṇa and Buddharāja, are described in the Kalachuri grants as *paramamāhēśvara*, i.e., fervent devotees of Mahēśvara (Śiva). That they belonged to the Pāśupata sect of Śaivism is shown by the description of Kṛishṇarāja as devoted to Paśupati from his very birth.⁴ Anantamahāyī, the queen of Buddharāja, is specifically mentioned as a follower of the Pāśupata sect.⁵ The *Dūtaka* of the Ābhōṇa plates bore the name *Pāśupata* itself.⁶ All this is a clear indication of the influence the Pāśupatas exercised in the court of the Early Kalachuris.

The Early Kalachuris must have erected splendid temples for the worship of their *iṣṭa-dēvatā*, but none have been discovered so far. The magnificent temple of Śiva, however, carved out of a living rock, now known as Elephanta near the island of Bombay, probably belongs to their age. There has been a considerable difference of opinion about the age of the Elephanta caves. Burgess placed them about 800 A.C.,⁷ while Hiranand Sastri thought that the sculptures therein were, in all probability, wrought in the Gupta

¹ Inscriptions of this period generally mention *balī* (offerings to creatures), *charu* (offerings to manes), *vaiśvadeva* (offerings to gods) and *atithi* (reception of guests). See, e.g., No. 21, l. 21.

² No. 8, ll. 1-2; No. 9, l. 1.

³ No. 31, ll. 48 ff.

⁴ No. 12, l. 4.

⁵ No. 14, ll. 32-33.

⁶ No. 12, l. 34.

⁷ C. T. I., p. 467. Fergusson placed them slightly earlier in *circa* 750 A.C.

period of Indian history.¹ Gupte, on the other hand, who finds certain resemblances between the sculptures at Elephanta and those at Bādāmi, would place them in the first half of the seventh century A.C.² The last view seems to be nearest to the truth. Now, the only great royal family ruling in Maharashtra and Konkan in the sixth and seventh centuries A.C. which could have financed such a magnificent work of art was that of the Kalachuris. The Mauryas, who held North Konkan in that period, were only a feudatory family which could hardly have commanded the resources necessary for such a great work. There is another circumstance which supports this conjecture. The cave temple was caused to be carved by the Pāsupatas. This is indicated by the figure of Lakulisa, the founder of the Pāsupata sect, in the recess at the north end of the shrine in the Western Court of the caves.³ We have seen above that the Kalachuri Emperors were followers of the Pāsupata sect, which exercised a considerable influence in their court. It would seem, therefore, that the Elephanta caves were excavated in the second half of the sixth century A.C. when the Kalachuri power was at its peak.

Saivism must have received further support from the Sēndrakas and the Early Chālukyas, who succeeded the Kalachuris in Gujarat and Maharashtra; for, they also were votaries of that cult. The Sēndraka prince Allaśakti made a grant of some *nivartanas* of land in favour of the god Alaṅghyēśvara whose temple was situated at Pippalakhēṭa, modern Pimpalner in the West Khandesh District.⁴ This Alaṅghyēśvara appears to be a name of Śiva. The object of worship in this temple was probably his phallic emblem.⁵ The Chālukya prince Dharaśraya-Jayasimha as well as his two sons, Śrīśraya-Silāditya and Avānjanāśraya-Pulakēśin, were also worshippers of Śiva. In the Nasik plates Jayasimha is described as meditating on the feet of a holy sage whose name ended in *śiva*⁶ and who therefore probably belonged to the Śaiva, not the Pāsupata, sect.

Of the two sons of Śiva, Kārttikēya and Gaṇēśa, the former seems to have risen into prominence earlier. He is mentioned in the *Mahābhārata*⁷ and the *Mahābhāṣya* of Patañjali⁸ and is adored in the beginning of the great Nānāghāt cave inscription.⁹ He was, it seems, a favourite god of the foreigners like the Śakas and the Kushāṇas who embraced Hinduism. The Śaka king Śrīdharaśarman was his devotee. In the Kānākhērā inscription, this god is called Mahāsēna and Mahākumāra and is described as the Commander-in-chief of the heavenly army. The Early Chālukyas believed that they owed their continuous prosperity to his grace. Gaṇapati, though sculptured in the panel of the Mātṛikas (Divine Mothers) in the Elephanta caves,¹⁰ does not appear to have been separately worshipped in this period. Needless to say that there is no obeisance to him in the beginning of the inscriptions of this age.

The Sun also was a popular god in this period. Many of the Early Gurjara kings were his worshippers. They are described as devoted to the feet of the Sun.

¹ Hiranand Sastri, *A Guide to Elephanta*, p. 11.

² Y. R. Gupte, *A Guide to Elephanta* (Marathi), p. 1.

³ Hirananda Sastri, *A Guide to Elephanta*, pp. 33 ff.

⁴ No. 25, l. 24.

⁵ Similarly, in the temple of Āśramadēva to which a grant was made by the Gurjara king Jayabhata IV (No. 23, l. 10), the object of worship was probably the Śiva-līṅga.

⁶ No. 28, l. 11.

⁷ MBH., Ādiparvan, adhyāya 60, vv. 22-23.

⁸ *Mahābhāṣya* on Pāṇini, V, 3, 99.

⁹ I have shown elsewhere that *Kumāravara* in the first line of that inscription refers to Kārttikēya. J. N. S. I., Vol. XIV, pp. 29 ff. See also *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXVII, p. 46, n. 4.

¹⁰ Hiranand Sastri, *A Guide to Elephanta*, p. 50.

Their copper-plate grants have an emblem of solar worship, perhaps an *agnikūṇḍa*, on their seals. Some of their grants were made on the occasion of a *saṅkrānti*, i.e., the sun's crossing a sign of the zodiac.¹ (The later kings of this dynasty from Dadda III onwards were worshippers of Mahēśvara, but they continued the old emblem of the dynasty and made grants on the *tithis* sacred to the Sun. Dadda III, for instance, made a grant on Magha śu. di. 7, known as the *Ratbasaptamī*.²

There must have been several temples of the Sun built by the Gurjara princes and others in the country of Lāṭa, but none are mentioned in Gurjara grants. We know, however, of a temple of the Sun under the name of Jayāditya from a reference in a later grant of the Gujarat Rāshtrakūṭas.³ It was situated at Kōṭipura in the territorial division of Kāpikā (modern Kāvī) and was probably erected by the Gurjara king Jayabhaṭa II.

An analysis of the grants of this period would shed an interesting light on the religious tendencies of the age. Of the thirty-one grants⁴ of this period, two were made to Buddhist *viḥāras*⁵ and three to Hindu temples.⁶ The remaining twenty-six grants were made to Brāhmaṇas, most of them being intended for the maintenance of the five great sacrifices. As for the auspicious occasions on which grants were made, we find that no particular *tithis* were observed in the grants to Buddhist *viḥāras*. Those to Hindu temples and Brāhmaṇas were generally made on some sacred *tithi* or *parvan*. Of the twenty-five grants, in which a *tithi* is mentioned, we find that three were made at the time of a solar eclipse⁷ and one on that of a lunar eclipse.⁸ The *pūrṇimā* was generally regarded as an auspicious *tithi*; for eleven grants were made on a *pūrṇimā*. The *Kārttikī pūrṇimā* or the full-moon day of Kārttika was regarded as specially holy, probably because Śiva killed Tripurāśura on that *tithi*. Donations on this *tithi* are specially enjoined when it is joined with the *nakṣatra* Kṛttikā. Of the eleven grants made on *pūrṇimās*, as many as five were on the *Kārttikī pūrṇimā*.⁹ In two grants it is called *Mahākārttikī*.¹⁰ Some grants were recorded on the thirteenth *tithi* of the bright fortnight of a month, probably after the completion of the *Ekādaśī-vrata*.¹¹ Grants were rarely made on an *amāvāsyā* unless it was the day of a solar eclipse. Only three such occur in the records of this period.¹² The holy *tithi* *Ratbasaptamī*, sacred to the Sun, has already been mentioned. Finally, three grants are known to have been made on the occasion of *saṅkrāntis*, namely Mēsha, Karkāṭaka and Tulā.¹³

This analysis will show that though the Vedic religion had not lost its hold on the people of the age, the Pauranic Hinduism, which laid a stress on the construction of the temples of gods as a specially meritorious act, was gradually gaining ground. Buddhism, on the other hand, was losing the popular support.

We shall next turn to the later period and first take up the countries of Chēdi and Sarayūpāra. In the fragmentary Kāṛitalāi stone inscription which is the earliest official record of the Kalachuris of Tripurī, all the three members of the Hindu Trinity, Brahmā,

¹ See Nos. 22 and 23.

² No. 121, l. 28.

³ See *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. V, pp. 144 f.

⁴ No. 33 and 34 are excluded as the grants are spurious.

⁵ Nos. 1 and 7.

⁶ Nos. 23, 25 and 31.

⁷ Nos. 13, 25 and 120.

⁸ No. 21.

⁹ Nos. 9, 11, 16, 17 and 30.

¹⁰ The *pūrṇimā* gets this name when the moon is in Rōhiṇī or when the moon and Jupiter are in Kṛttikā.

¹¹ Nos. 8, 14 and 27.

¹² Nos. 15, 18 and 24. The grant on Āśvina *amāvāsyā* is in propitiation of Lakṣmī.

¹³ Nos. 28, 23 and 22 respectively.

Vishṇu and Rudra, are revered¹ and praised, a fact which indicates the eclectic spirit of the age. Temples dedicated to Brahmā are, however, very rare and none have yet been discovered in any part of the Kalachuri dominion;² but that the cult of Vishṇu was widely prevalent and had influential followers in the Chēdi country is shown by several inscriptions of the 10th and later centuries. At Bāndhōgarh and the adjoining village of Gōpālpur, Gollāka *alias* Gauḍa, the *Amātya* of Yuvarājādēva I, caused to be carved out of the rocks huge images of several incarnations of Vishṇu such as the Fish, the Tortoise, the Boar, Paraśurāma and Haladhara (*i.e.*, Balarāma), besides one of Śēshaśāyin (Vishṇu reclining on the serpent Śēsha).³ It is noteworthy that as in some early panels, Balarāma, not Kṛishṇa, is included among the incarnations of Vishṇu.⁴ Sōmēśvara, the Brāhmaṇa minister of Lakshmaṇarāja II, who performed several Vēdic sacrifices, erected a lofty and magnificent temple dedicated to the Boar incarnation of Vishṇu under the name of Sōma-svāmin at Kāritalāi in the Jabalpur District.⁵ The remains of this temple are still extant at the place. The contemporary Kalachuri king Lakshmaṇarāja II was himself a devotee of Śiva; but he granted a village for the maintenance of the eight Brāhmaṇas whom he settled there for the worship of the god. His queen Rāhaḍā and son Saṅkaragaṇa III also made grants in favour of the god.⁶ This prince is described as *paramavaishṇava*. Contrary to the general tendency of the Kalachuris, he was a devotee of Vishṇu and erected a temple dedicated to that god under the name of Saṅkaranārāyaṇa at Bargaon in the Jabalpur District.⁷ At Makundpur in the Rewa District of Vindhya Pradesh, there was another temple dedicated to Vishṇu under the name of Jalāśayana (the god who reposes on water) by a private individual, *viz.*, the *Śrēṣṭhīn* Dāmōdara.⁸

Though the cult of Vishṇu was thus prevalent in the Chēdi country and received a considerable patronage from the royal family, it was far outshone by that of Śiva, the tutelary deity of the Kalachuris. Vāmarāja, the founder of the Later Kalachuri Dynasty, was a devout worshipper of Śiva. No inscription of his reign has been discovered so far, but in some records of his successors⁹ he receives the epithet *paramamāhēśvara* indicative of his devotion to Śiva. He first established himself at Kālāñjara, the impregnable fort in the Banda District, which from very early times has been sacred to Śiva. Later, the family divided itself into two branches, one establishing itself in the country of Sarayūpāra and the other in that of Chēdi.¹⁰ Both of them were devoted to Śiva. The Kalachuris of Sarayūpāra had Nandin, the *vāhana* of Śiva, as their emblem on the seals of their copper-plate charters. Though the Kalachuris of Tripurī adopted the Gaja-Lakshmi as their distinctive emblem, they did not omit Nandin from the seals of their charters.

Saivism became the paramount cult throughout the extensive dominion of the

¹ No. 37, ll. 1-4.

² Subsidiary images of Brahmā are, however, noticed in several temples of that period. See *H. T. M.*, pp. 52, 63 *etc.*

³ Nos. 38-41.

⁴ R. D. Banerji, *Eastern and Indian School of Mediaeval Sculpture*, p. 103. I have noticed the same in the *prabhāvalī* of an image of Vishṇu found at Pavṇār in the Wardha District. According to the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, Balarāma represents both himself and his younger brother Kṛishṇa.

⁵ No. 42, l. 17.

⁶ *Ibid.*, ll. 29-30.

⁷ No. 43, l. 3.

⁸ No. 47, l. 2. For other temples of Vishṇu at Amarakaṇṭak and Vaishṇava sculptures at Sōhāgpur, see *H. T. M.*, pp. 57 and 99 ff. There was a temple of Vishṇu erected by a private person at Karaṇbēl, for which, see below, p. 653.

⁹ No. 56, l. 22.

¹⁰ See above, pp. lxix ff.

Kalachuris from the 8th to the 12th century A.C. It received a great fillip during the reign of Yuvarājadēva I, who, under the influence of his queen Nōhalā, invited several *Āchāryas* of the Mattamayūra clan to the Chēdi country and built magnificent temples of Siva and monasteries for them at Gurgi, Masaun, Chandrēhē, Bīlhāri, Bhērā-Ghāt and other places. As these *Āchāryas* exercised a profound influence on the political and religious history of the period, it would not be out of place to give here a somewhat detailed account of this clan.

The earliest inscription of the Mattamayūra clan, which was discovered at Ranōd in the former Gwalior State, was edited by Dr. Kielhorn in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. I, pp. 351 ff. It gives the following earliest genealogy of the line. It is to be remembered that the genealogy is spiritual, *i.e.*, not from father to son, but from *guru* to disciple.

Kadambaguhādhivāsin—(the Inhabitant of Kadambaguhā)

—|
Saṅkhamat̥hikādhīpati—(the Lord of Saṅkhamat̥hikā)

—|
Tērambipāla—(the Protector of Tērambi)

—|
Āmardakatīrthanātha—(the Lord of Āmardaka)

—|
Purandara

—|
Kavachasīva

—|
Sadāsīva

—|
Hṛidayaśīva

—|
Vyōmaśīva

We learn from the inscription that when the king, the illustrious Avantivarman, who desired to be initiated in the Śaiva faith, heard of the great holiness of the sage Purandara, he attempted to bring him to his own country. He himself went to Upēndrapura where the sage was practising penance, and with a great difficulty persuaded him to accede to his request. The sage founded a *maṭha* at Mattamayūra, the capital of the king whom he initiated in the Śaiva faith, and established another *maṭha* at Raṇipadra (modern Ranōd). The last *Āchārya* mentioned in the genealogy, *viz.*, Vyōmaśīva, enlarged and repaired the *maṭha*, erected temples and excavated a magnificent tank at the same place.)

Another inscription of this line, discovered somewhere in the former Gwalior State and now deposited in the Gwalior Museum, gives the same genealogy as above, except for the substitution of Rudraśīva for Āmardakatīrthanātha.¹ It will be noticed that the personal names of the first four *Āchāryas* in the genealogical list have not been given. The name of the fourth *Āchārya* is thus known from the Gwalior Museum inscription. Again, this record carries the genealogy one generation further and mentions Pataṅgaśambhu as the disciple of Vyōmaśambhu.²

The Ranōd inscription is undated; but on palæographic grounds, Dr. Kielhorn referred it to the end of the tenth or the beginning of the eleventh century A.C.³ The

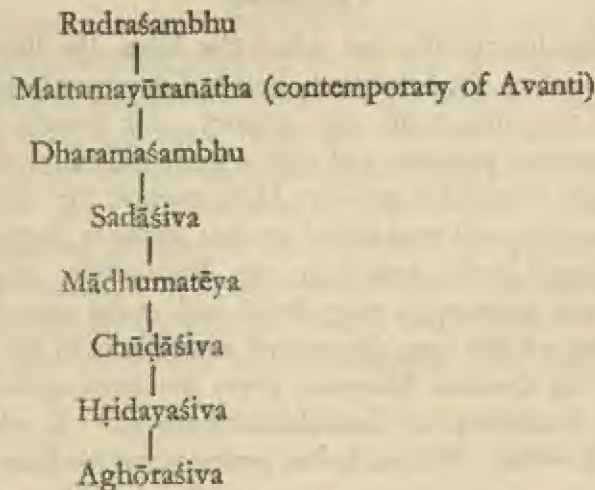
¹ I am indebted to Mr. M. B. Garde, late Director of Archaeology, Gwalior State, who first supplied to me an account of this inscription. Dr. D. R. Patil, the present Director of Archaeology in Madhya Bharat, has also obliged me by sending me an impression of it.

² The members of this clan who belonged to the Śaiva, not the Pāśupata, sect bore names ending in *śiva* or *śambhu*. The names of the Pāśupatas generally ended in *rāṣi*.

³ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, p. 355.

tenour of the description shows that the first four *Āchāryas* of this clan were living at different places such as Kadambaguhā, Saṅkhamathikā, Tērambi and Āmardaktirtha, far away from the country of Avantivarman, and that Purandara was the first *Āchārya* who came to Mattamayūra,¹ the prince's town, and founded a *maṭha* there, from which this clan derived its name *Mattamayūravamśa*. Upēndrapura, where Purandara practised penance, has not been identified. Banerji has called our attention to a place of the same name which is mentioned as the head-quarters of a *maṇḍala* in a grant of Naravarman, dated V. 1167 (1110 A.C.).² This grant mentions Kadambapadraka as situated in the *pratijāgarāṇaka* (*parganā*) of Mandāraka in the *maṇḍala* of Upēndrapura. None of these places have yet been identified. Mandāraka may be identical with Mundair, about 15 miles north-east of Ujjain. The village Kamlikhērā, which lies only about a mile to the east, may be the ancient Kadambapadraka. Whether the latter is identical with Kadambaguhā, the traditional original home of the *Āchāryas* of this clan, cannot be determined at present. We may, in any case, be certain that the earlier Śaiva *Āchāryas* of this clan were living in Western Malwa. The places Kadambaguhā, Saṅkhamathikā, Tērambi and Āmardaka, from which they derived their appellations, must therefore be sought for in Malwa.³ Kielhorn identified Kadambaguhā with Kadwāhā, six miles to the south of Ranōd, and Tērambi with Tērahi, 5 miles to the south-east. At both these places some remains of Śaiva *maṭhas* and temples are still extant, but these identifications do not seem to be plausible in view of the description given in the Ranōd inscription. Perhaps some places in the kingdom of Avantivarman were named after the older seats of the clan in Western Malwa.⁴

Avantivarman who brought the sage Purandara to his capital is not known from any dated record, but his age can be ascertained approximately on other evidence. The Bilhāri stone inscription of Yuvarājadhēva II (*circa* 980-990 A.C.) gives the following genealogy of the Mattamayūravamśa :—



¹ The Mattamayūras are mentioned in the *Mahābhārata* as living in Rōhitaka (modern Rohtak, 43 miles north-west of Delhi). See MBH., Sabhāparvan, adhyāya 32, vv. 4 f. They were, of course, not connected with this town of Mattamayūra.

² *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XX, pp. 105 ff.

³ This is also supported by the following extract from the *Pañjikā* of Brahmasambhu, which I owe to the kindness of Mr. S. N. Sen:—

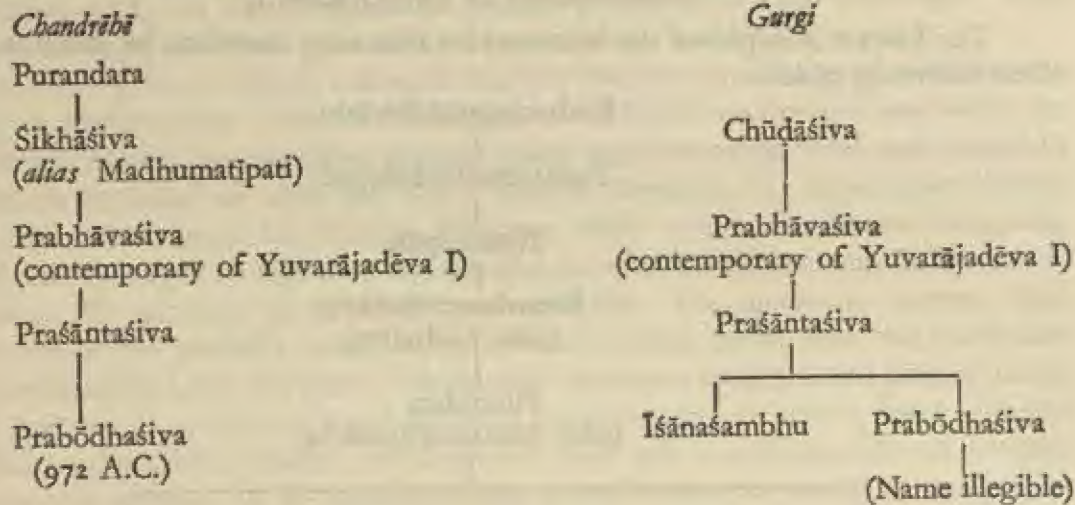
श्रीमदामर्दकाक्षीशमायातमवनीतले । तच्छिष्याणां बहुल्येऽपि कृतमालवकस्त्रियतिम् ॥

⁴ This is suggested by the name Uttara-Tērambagriha mentioned as the original place of habitation of the *Āchārya* Gaganāśiva in the Ranipur Jharial inscription. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXIV, pp. 240 ff. This place seems to be distinguished from the original Tērambi by prefixing *uttara* to its name. It may be identical with modern Tērahi in the former Gwalior State.

The inscription tells us that Rudraśambhu belonged to the line of the *Siddhas* living at Kadambaguhā and that Mattamayūranātha communicated the supreme splendour to the king Avanti. This description shows that the first two *Āchāryas* of this line were identical with Amardakatīrthanātha¹ and Purandara mentioned in the Ranōd inscription. This identification is further supported by the aforementioned Gwalior Museum inscription which names Rudraśiva as the spiritual ancestor of Purandara.

The Bilhāri inscription further tells us that Hṛidayaśiva was a contemporary of a king of Chēdi (probably Lakshmaṇarāja II mentioned in the next verse) who invited him to his country.² He may, therefore, be referred to *circa* 950 A.C. Taking 25 years as the average duration of a generation, we can place Purandara *alias* Mattamayūranātha, the fifth ancestor of Hṛidayaśiva, in *circa* 825 A.C.

Two other inscriptions of this clan, discovered at Chandrēhē³ and Gurgi⁴ in Vindhya Pradesh, give the following genealogy of the Śaiva *Āchāryas* who subsequently came to and settled down in the Chēdi country :



The genealogy in the Chandrēhē inscription begins one generation earlier and that in the Gurgi inscription is carried one generation further; but otherwise the two genealogies are identical. The Chandrēhē inscription is dated K. 724 (972 A.C.). It tells us that the Kalachuri king Yuvarājādēva, who must evidently be the first king of that name, invited Prabhāvaśiva to his country and induced him to sanctify it with his feet. Prabhāvaśiva, who flourished two generations before Prabōdhaśiva (972 A.C.), must have lived in *circa* 925 A.C. He was thus a contemporary of Yuvarājādēva I (*circa* 915-945 A.C.).

Comparing the genealogies in the Bilhāri and Chandrēhē inscriptions, we find that Chūḍāśiva of the former must be identical with Sikhāśiva of the latter; for, (i) the two names are synonyms and (ii) their disciples Hṛidayaśiva and Prabhāvaśiva lived in the same period, the latter being a senior contemporary of the former as he was invited by an earlier Chēdi king, *viz.*, Yuvarājādēva I. The immediate ancestors of Chūḍāśiva and Sikhāśiva, *viz.*, Mādhumatēya and Purandara, must, therefore, be identical. Purandara evidently obtained the other name *Mādhumatēya* because he lived at Madhumatī. His disciple is called Madhumatīpati (the lord of Madhumatī) in the Chandrēhē inscription. Madhumatī,

¹ Āmardaka is mentioned as the original habitation of the Śaiva *Āchāryas* of the Sōpurīya clan.

Ind., Vol. III, p. 266.

² No. 43, l. 22.

³ No. 44.

⁴ No. 46.

where these *Ācharyas* flourished, was probably situated on the Madhuvēṇī¹ (Mohwar of the maps), and may be identical with the modern village Mahuā which lies only a mile to the south of Tērahi. This Purandara *alias* Mādhumatēya must be distinguished from his namesake who founded the *maṭha* of Mattamayūra and was a contemporary of Avanti-varman; for, the latter flourished four generations before Chūḍāśiva, while the former immediately preceded him.²

Another line of Śaiva *Ācharyas* is also mentioned in the Bilhāri inscription. While describing the grants of Nōhalā,³ the queen of Yuvarājadēva I, the inscription gives the following genealogy:—

Pavanaśiva
(Mādhumatēya or lord of Madhumati)
|
Sadbāśiva
|
Iśvaraśiva
(contemporary of Yuvarājadēva I)

The known *Ācharyas* of the Mattamayūra clan may, therefore, be stated in the form of the following table:—

Kadambaguhādhivāsin			
Saṅkhamāthikādhipati			
Tērambipāla			
Amardakatīrthanātha (<i>alias</i> Rudraśiva)			
Purandara (<i>alias</i> Mattamayūranātha)			
Kavachaśiva		Dharmaśambhu	
Sadāśiva		Sadāśiva	
Hṛidayaśiva		Purandara <i>alias</i> Mādhumatēya	
Vyōmaśiva		Chūḍāśiva	
Pataṅgaśambhu			
		Hṛidayaśiva	Prabhāvaśiva
		Aghōraśiva	Prasāntaśiva
		Iśanaśambhu	Prabōdhaśiva

¹ The river Madhuvēṇī is mentioned in an inscription at Tērahi dated V. 960 (903 A.C.). *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVII, pp. 201 ff. Mahuā has the remains of three temples, two of which are dedicated to Mahādēva. They are assigned to the seventh century A.C. on the palaeographic evidence of a Sanskrit inscription which exists on the porch of one of them. The river Madhumati is mentioned in Bhavabhūti's *Mālātīnāḍhana*, Act IX.

² Banerji identified the two. This has vitiated the genealogy given by him in *H.T.M.*, p. 112. The first Purandara was called Mattamayūranātha, while the second was Mādhumatēya.

³ Nōhalā donated some villages to Iśvaraśiva as *viśyā-dhana*.

Pavanaśiva, Sabdaśiva and Īśvaraśiva¹ were contemporaries of Purandara, Chūḍāśiva and Prabhāvaśiva, but whether Pavanaśiva was a disciple of Sadāśiva or of some other *Āchārya* of Madhumati is not known. Another Saiva *Āchārya*, named Gaganaśiva, who originally hailed from Uttara-Tērambagriha and built a temple of Śiva at Ranipur Jharial in the former Patna State in Orissa, is known from an inscription recently edited by Dr. Chhabra. He probably belonged to the Mattamayūra clan, but his exact relation to the other *Āchāryas* of the clan is not known.

Mattamayūra, the chief seat of this clan, has not yet been identified. It must have been situated not far from Tērahi, Ranōd and Mahuā, where inscriptions, temples and monasteries of this clan have been found. It may be identical with Kadwāhā, about 15 miles south of Ranōd, which possesses the remains of a Hindu monastery and of not less than 14 Brahmanical temples, all belonging to the 10th and 11th centuries A.C. "Such a large group of temples," says Mr. Garde, "is found at no other single place in the Gwalior State. Kadwāhā thus deserves to be styled the Khajurāhō or Bhuvanēśvara of Gwalior." Such buildings could not have been erected without a continuous royal patronage. Kadwāhā may, therefore, have been the capital of Avantivarman and his successors.²

Inscriptions give no definite information about the dynasty and age of Avantivarman who ruled at Mattamayūra. From the evidence of the Chēdi inscriptions mentioning the Saiva *Āchāryas* of this line, we have inferred above that Purandara who was invited by Avantivarman flourished in *circa* 825 A.C. This is, therefore, the approximate time of Avantivarman.) As regards his dynasty, Kielhorn, while editing the Ranōd inscription, suggested that he might be related to the Chaulukya princes Simhavarman, Sadhanva and Avaniharman, the ancestors of the Chēdi queen Nōhalā. The suggestion appears quite plausible; for, it was probably owing to the influence of this queen, who was a favourite wife of Yuvarājādēva I, that the Saiva *Āchāryas* first obtained a footing in the Chēdi country. She, her husband Yuvarājādēva I and their son Lakshmaṇarāja II invited Saiva *Āchāryas* of this line to the Chēdi country and honoured them with munificent gifts of temples, monasteries and villages. It is, therefore, quite plausible that her ancestors were ruling over the territory round Mattamayūra.³ This suggestion is further supported by the reference to a Sulkī (*i.e.*, Chaulukya) dynasty ruling in Central India in the 9th and 10th centuries A.C. A stone inscription discovered by Mr. Garde at Maser in the Bhilsā District mentions a line of Sulkī kings.⁴ The progenitor of this line was the sage Bhāradvāja. He was born of a drop of water which fell from the *añjali* of the Creator. Hence, the royal family descended from him came to be known as *Sulkī*. This tradition differs from that described in the Bilhāri inscription in connection with the ancestry of the Chēdi queen Nōhalā. The ancestors of Nōhalā belonged to the Chaulukya family, which was so called because its progenitor was born from the *chuluka* (handful of water) of the sage Bhāradvāja himself.⁵ Both these traditions are no doubt fanciful, being intended to give a plausible explanation of the dynastic name *Sulkī* or *Chaulukya*, but they leave no room for doubt that the two families were identical. The Maser inscription mentions some kings of this

¹ This Īśvaraśiva may be identical with his namesake mentioned in a fragmentary inscription at Kadwāhā. *A. R. A. D. G. S.* (1939), p. 18.

² The old name of the place seems to have survived in the name *Murayatas* of an old tank on the south of the village, the temples near which are 'the largest and the most important.' See *Archæology in Gwalior*, p. 96.

³ An analogous instance is that of the Kalachuri queen Alhanādēvi, who, hailing from Mewad, placed the Pāsupata ascetic Rudrarāśi of Lāṭa in charge of a temple of Śiva and made grants of some villages for its maintenance. No. 60, ll. 24-25.

⁴ *A. R. A. D. G. S.* (1930-31), p. 10.

⁵ No. 45, l. 14.

line such as Narasiṃha and Kēśarin and describes their wars with the Kalachuris, their neighbours on the east, as well as with the rulers of Lāṭa (Central and Southern Gujarat), Kachchhavāha and Hūṇa kings. Narasiṃha was a feudatory of Kṛishṇarāja who is undoubtedly the same as Kṛishṇapa, the younger brother of the Chandēlla Dhaṅga. The latter flourished from 950 A.C. to 1005 A.C. These kings, therefore, undoubtedly flourished in the 10th century A.C. They evidently belonged to the same line as Avantivarman and Siṃhavarman. The known kings of this line may, therefore, be stated as follows¹ :—

Avantivarman (825 A.C.)
|
Siṃhavarman (850 A.C.)
|
Sadhanva (875 A.C.)
|
Avanivarman (900 A.C.)
|
Narasiṃha (950 A.C.)
|
Kēśarin (975 A.C.)

The subsequent history of this family is not known; but as shown elsewhere,² the Chaulukyas of Gujarat who flourished from the 10th century onwards may have been related to these kings. (That the Chaulukyas of Gujarat were staunch supporters of Saivism is well known.)

The *maṭha* at Mattamayūra, being a renowned seat of Saivism, supplied Saiva pontiffs from time to time to the monasteries in the Chēdi country. As stated above, Yuvarājadēva I invited Prabhāvaśiva to his country and made munificent gifts to him. His wife Nōhalā invited another Saiva *Āchārya* named Īśvaraśiva and donated several villages to him. Her son Lakshmaṇarāja II called Hṛidayaśiva from the *maṭha* of Madhumatī and made over to him the *maṭhas* of Vaidyanātha and Nauhalēśvara. Hṛidayaśiva placed his disciple Aghōraśiva in charge of the latter *maṭha*.

Kalachuri inscriptions mention some other Saiva *Āchāryas* who acted as *Rājagurus*. They also probably belonged to the Mattamayūra clan. The Jabalpur inscription dated K. 926 (1174 A.C.) mentions the following Saiva *Āchāryas* :—

Vimalaśiva
|
Vāstuśiva
|
Puruṣaśiva (*Rājaguru* of Yaśaḥkarṇa)
|
Saktiśiva (*Rājaguru* of Gayākarṇa)
|
Kīrtiśiva (*Rājaguru* of Narasiṃha)
|
Vimalaśiva (*Rājaguru* of Jayasiṃha)

Two sons of the last *Āchārya* Vimalaśiva became *saṃnyāsins*. The elder was Śāntaśiva, who became the *Rājaguru* of the Chandēlla king Trailōkyamalla, when the latter annexed the Chēdi country. The younger son was Nādaśiva. He executed a mortgage deed recorded in the Dhurēti plates of Trailōkyamalla, dated K. 963 (1212 A.C.).³

¹ The dates given against the royal names here are approximate.

² See my article 'Varuṇaśarmaka Grant of Chāmuṇḍarāja' in the *Bhāratiya Vidyā* (May 1945), pp. 90 ff.

³ No. 72, l. 18.

A branch of the Mattamayūra clan was founded at Bhērā-Ghāt, about 10 miles from Tripurī. A hypethral temple was erected on a hillock on the bank of the Narmadā, where sixty-four *yōginīs* with Gaṇapati were installed. Most of the *yōginīs* are of the time of Yuvarājadēva I, but some are of a much earlier age.¹ The place seems to have been considered holy from very early times. The hypethral temple became known as *Gōlakī* or the Round Temple from its shape.) The *maṭha* or monastery established by its side became well known as *Gōlakī maṭha*. The Malkāpuram pillar inscription² says that the *Gōlakī maṭha* was situated in the Dāhala *maṇḍala* between the Bhāgīrathī and the Narmadā. As stated before, Dāhala was the home province of the Kalachuris with Tripurī as its capital. This *maṭha* sent its *Āchāryas* to distant places for the propagation of its faith. Viśvēśvaraśambhu, who had risen to the position of the chief abbot of this *maṭha*, made an *agrahāra* called *Viśvēśvara-Gōlakī* in the Andhra country as stated in the Malkāpuram pillar inscription. This inscription gives the following spiritual genealogy of Viśvēśvaraśambhu :—

Durvāsas
 ∴
 Sadbhāvaśambhu (contemporary of Yuvarājadēva I)
 |
 Sōmaśambhu
 |
 Vāmaśambhu³
 ∴
 Śaktiśambhu
 |
 Kīrtiśambhu
 |
 Vimalaśiva
 |
 Dharmaśambhu
 |
 Viśvēśvaraśambhu

(contemporary of the Kākatīya king Gaṇapati, 1213-1249 A.C.)

It will be noticed that the three *Āchāryas* from Śaktiśambhu to Vimalaśiva are identical with those mentioned in the Jabalpur inscription as the *Rājagurus* of the Kalachuri kings Gayākarna, Narasīrha and Jayasīrha. Vimalaśiva hailed from the Kērala country, while his disciple's disciple Viśvēśvaraśambhu was a resident of Pūrvagrāma in Dakṣiṇa Rāḍha in Gauda. This shows plainly that the *Gōlakī maṭha* attracted learned and pious men from distant places. Viśvēśvaraśambhu, who had attained the position of the head of the *Gōlakī maṭha*, afterwards repaired to the Andhra country, where he received great honours at the Kākatīya court. He initiated the Kākatīya king Gaṇapati into the Saiva faith and received munificent gifts of land and villages from him as well as from his daughter Rudrāmbā. Branches of the *Gōlakī maṭha* were established at several other places in Cudappa, Kurnool, Guntur and North Arcot Districts in the Madras State.

¹ H.T.M., p. 78.

² J. A. H. R. S., Vol. IV, pp. 158 ff.

³ Some scholars identify this Vāmaśambhu with Vāmadēva, mentioned in the grants of Karṇa and others with full imperial titles. The identification does not appear to be correct. From the description in the Malkāpuram inscription, Vāmaśambhu does not appear to have been the immediate predecessor of Śaktiśambhu, but flourished several generations earlier. Cf. तस्मिन् मठे तस्य गुरोर्बभूवुः शिष्याः प्रशिष्याश्च परःसहस्राः । विनिग्रहीतुं समनुग्रहीतुं क्षोणीश्वरान्दशकटाक्षपातैः ॥ इत्थं काले याति सत्संप्रदाये सन्तानेऽस्मिन्नभिन्नान्कल्पः ।] श्रीवाम्मोवैः शक्तिशम्भोदाराच्छिष्यः श्रीमान् कीर्तिशम्भुर्बभूव ॥ J.A.H.R.S., Vol. IV, p. 156.

Another branch of the Mattamayūra clan was established at Karkarōṇī. This place has not been identified, but was situated somewhere in Central India. Brahmaśambhu, the author of the *Pañjikā*, belonged to this branch.¹ Some *Āchāryas* of this branch settled down in Konkan. A copper-plate inscription of Raṭṭarāja of the Śilāhāra dynasty, dated in S. 930 (1008 A. C.) and discovered at Kharepatan, records a grant of land made for the use of the *Āchāryas* of this branch.²

Kalachuri inscriptions afford us glimpses into the lives of these *Āchāryas*. The Jabalpur inscription dated K. 926 describes the lineage, learning and mode of life of the great Saiva *Āchārya* Vimalaśiva, the *Rājaguru* of the Kalachuri king Jayasimha.³ He was born in a family of great Vedic scholars renowned as much for charitable and religious works as for learning. Vimalaśiva studied the Vēdas, observed religious vows and visited holy places in different parts of India such as Prabhāsa, Gōkarna and Gayā. He then received initiation from Kīrtiśiva of the *Gōlakī maṭha*, the *Rājaguru* of Narasimha. He was employed by the king Jayasimha in various affairs of the State, but never neglected his *nitya* and *naimittika* religious duties. He was renowned for his charities and erected temples, *maṭhas*, charitable feeding houses (*sattras*), dwellings for the Brāhmaṇas as well as gardens. He built a large temple of Śiva under the name of *Kīrtiśvara* in honour of his *guru* Kīrtiśiva. For the maintenance of the temple, the Kalachuri king Jayasimha donated some villages on the occasion of a solar eclipse in K. 926 (1174 A.C.).

Similar glowing accounts of the religious and charitable activities of other Saiva *Āchāryas* are given by several Kalachuri inscriptions. These *Āchāryas* received honour and patronage at the hands of the ruling kings. The *Rājagurus* are mentioned among royal officers to whom grants of land and villages, recorded in copper-plate charters, are communicated. The Malkāpuram pillar inscription records the tradition that Sadbhāvaśambhu of the *Gōlakī maṭha* received a gift of three lakhs of villages from the Kalachuri king Yuvarājadēva (I). If correct, this would indicate that the king assigned to him one third of the total revenue of his home province of Dāhala, which, according to tradition, comprised nine lakhs of villages.⁴ Though this princely gift has not been recorded in any Chēdi inscriptions, there is no doubt that the Kalachuris liberally patronised the *maṭhas*. Both the Bīlhāri⁵ and Gurgi⁶ inscriptions record the donations of several villages for the maintenance of temples and monasteries, made by successive Kalachuri kings. The former inscription mentions, besides, several taxes and rates levied on oil mills, and on elephants horses, vegetables, betel leaves and other articles sold in the local markets, which were assigned for the maintenance of these religious and charitable institutions.

Many of these *Āchāryas* were engaged in austerities and, therefore, preferred to stay in solitary retreats far from the crowd. For them monasteries were built on the banks of holy rivers where they could practise meditation in peaceful surroundings. A graphic description of the quiet life led by these *Āchāryas* is given in the Chandrēhē inscription.⁷

The *Āchāryas* utilised the wealth of the *maṭhas* and the income of the *agrahāra* villages for the welfare of the people. Kalachuri inscriptions mention *vyākhyāna-śālās* (lecture halls), *sattras* (charitable feeding houses) and gardens with which the *maṭhas* were provided.⁸

¹ I owe this information to Mr. S. N. Sen, Curator of the Nepal Museum, who kindly supplied me with an extract from the MS. of the work in his possession.

² *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. III, pp. 292 ff.

³ No. 64, ll. 14 ff.

⁴ It is noteworthy that the *Āchāryas* of the South-Indian branches of the *Gōlakī maṭha* are described as belonging to the *Lakṣhādhyāyī-santāna* or *Bhikṣā-maṭha*. *A.R.S.I.E.* (1923-24), p. 114.

⁵ No. 45.

⁶ No. 46.

⁷ No. 44, ll. 13 ff.

⁸ No. 60, ll. 23-24.

They do not, however, give us any information about the management of these *maṭhas*. For this we must turn to the Malkāpuram inscription, which gives a detailed description of the measures adopted by Viśvēśvaraśambhu for the maintenance and management of the institutions he founded in his *agrabāra* village, *viz.*, a temple, a monastery, a college, a choultry for the distribution of food, a maternity home and a hospital. Elaborate rules were laid down for the appointment of an *Āchārya* as the head of the *Maṭha*; his qualifications and the fee to be paid to him for his services were set forth in detail. The whole Saiva community of the village was given the right to appoint a new *Āchārya*, if the existing one was found negligent in his duty or was guilty of misbehaviour.¹ As Viśvēśvaraśambhu was previously the head of the *Gōlakī Maṭha*, it would not be wrong to infer that similar rules were in force for the management of the *maṭhas* in the Chēdi country.

There were four well-known sects of Saivism, *viz.*, Saiva, Pāśupata, Kārūka (or Kāruṇika) Siddhāntin and Kāpālika. The *Āchāryas* of the Mattamayūra clan belonged to the Saiva, not the Pāśupata sect. According to tradition, Śiva first initiated Brahmā, the Creator, into this faith after a sacrifice in Dāruvana.² From the latter sprang this line of Saiva *Āchāryas*. In some inscriptions the first *Āchārya* is said to be Durvāśas. His spiritual descendants called themselves *Saiddhāntikas*, *i.e.*, followers of the true doctrine. Madhumatī in Central India is described as the abode of the *Saiddhāntikas*.³ The *Siddhāntas* were revealed by Mahēśvara. According to this sect, there are three principles, *viz.*, the lord (*pati*), the individual soul (*paśu*) and the fetters (*pāśa*). The whole system has four *pādas*, *viz.*, *vidyā* or right knowledge of the three *padārthas*, *kriyā* or ceremonies consisting of *dīkṣhā* (initiation) *etc.*, *yōga* or meditation and *charyā* or discipline consisting in doing what is prescribed and avoiding what is prohibited. *Charyā* and *yōga* are regarded as important as *vidyā*.⁴ The *Āchāryas* of Madhumatī are described as having an excellent discipline.⁵ Most of the inscriptions of this clan contain descriptions of the *yōgic* practices of the *Āchāryas*. These led to emancipation (*siddhī*). The *Āchāryas* who attained emancipation were called *Siddhas*. Kadambaguhā, the original home of the Mattamayūra school, is called the venerable abode of the line of the *Siddhas*.

Though the *Āchāryas* of the Mattamayūra clan were followers of the Saiva school, they were not bigotted. They studied various orthodox and even heterodox systems. Rudraśiva, the *guru* of the Kalachuri king Jājalladēva I, is described as conversant not only with the *siddhāntas* of his own but also with those of others' schools; he was, besides, well-read in the authoritative works of Dīnāga and others.⁶ In the Gurgi inscription, the Saiva *Āchārya* Prasāntaśiva is said to have spent his days in the company of meritorious persons who were adepts in the philosophy of the *Pāñchārthikas* or Pāśupatas.⁷

There were several Pāśupata *Āchāryas* living in the Kalachuri kingdom. One of them, *viz.*, Rudratāśī who came from Lāṭa, was placed in charge of the temple of Śiva under the name of *Vaidyanātha*, and of the *maṭha* and the hall of teaching with gardens *etc.* attached to them, which the Kalachuri dowager queen Alhaṇadēvī had erected at Bhērā-Ghāṭ.⁸ Another Pāśupata *Āchārya*, known from the inscriptions, was Bhāvabrahman, who also had

¹ J. A. H. R. S., Vol. IV, pp. 158 ff.; *History of Bengal*, Vol. I, pp. 684 ff.

² *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, p. 355.

³ No. 46, l. 5.

⁴ *Sarvadāśanasaṅgraha* (Bhandarkar Institute ed.), p. 175.

⁵ Cf. *Sach-charyā-āchārya-varyāṇ* in No. 46, l. 4.

⁶ No. 77, l. 27.

⁷ No. 46, l. 20.

⁸ No. 60, ll. 23-24.

hailed from Lāṭa and erected a temple of Śiva at Tripurī¹. His mode of life was in accordance with the teaching of the Pāśupata system. He lived on scanty food which he obtained by begging, wore only a loin cloth, slept on pure ashes and lived a life of celibacy. He practised *yōga* as taught in the system of *Patañjali*, and cultivated the four *bhāvanās* (sentiments) of *maitrī* (benevolence), *karuṇā* (compassion), *mudītā* (cheerfulness) and *upēkṣā* (indifference). According to the Pāśupatas, salvation consists not only in the cessation of misery but also in the attainment of supernatural powers. Liberated souls live in an intimate union with Śiva.² ✓

As stated before, almost all Kalachuri kings were devout worshippers of Śiva. Some of them went on a pilgrimage to distant holy places to offer worship to the god. We learn from the Bilhāri inscription that Lakshmaṇarāja II marched in state with his whole retinue of feudatory princes and his army of elephants, horses and foot-soldiers all the way from Tripurī to Sōmanāth Paṭṭan, and bathing in the sea there, he worshipped the god Sōmanātha with lotuses of gold. He also offered to the god in worship the effigy of the serpent Kāliya, made of gold inlaid with precious stones, which he had obtained from the king of Orissa. He then himself composed a hymn of praise and concentrated his mind on Śiva's glory.³ His son Yuvarājadēva II also dedicated to Sōmēśvara the wealth he had obtained by conquering the kings of the four quarters.⁴ He also composed an excellent hymn in praise of the god.⁵ ✓

There was a great building activity during the age of the Kalachuris. The temples and monasteries, built by Yuvarājadēva I, his queen Nōhalā and their son Lakshmaṇarāja II, have already been mentioned. From a huge sculpture of Hara-Gaurī, measuring 12' 8" long by 4' 7" broad on the mound at Gurgi, Cunningham conjectured that the structure in which it was enshrined must have been about 100 ft. in height.⁶ Banerji says that the height of the top of the *śikhara* of this temple, when it was intact, must have been a good 150 ft. above the surrounding ground level.⁷ From the Gurgi inscription we know that this temple was erected by the sage Praśāntaśiva.⁸ By its side there was another temple erected by Yuvarājadēva I, which must have been still more lofty. The illustrious king Kaṇṇa built a twelve- or sixteen-storeyed temple called *Kaṇṇamēru*, which was probably dedicated to Śiva. The ruins of this temple can still be seen near Rājghāt in Banaras. Another temple, said to have been erected by Kaṇṇa, is at Amarakantak. It is a magnificent triple-shrined structure with profusely sculptured lofty *śikharas*. Other temples of the age are those of Virāṭēśvara at Sōhāgpur and Vaidyanātha at Baijnāth, both in the former Rewa State. Most of these temples have a circular *garbha-griha*. Temples of this type were a speciality of the Chēdi country and were built for the first time by the *Achāryas* of the Mattamayūra clan. Such temples have not been noticed outside the dominion of the Kalachuris.⁹

✓ Several ministers and generals of the Kalachuri kings as well as private individuals living in the Chēdi country followed the example of their rulers and erected temples dedicated to Śiva. The descendants of the aforementioned Kāyastha *Amātya* of Yuvarāja-

¹ No. 58, ll. 8 ff.

² See *Sarvadarśanasamgraha* (Bhandarkar Institute ed.), p. 171. See also No. 58, l. 8.

³ No. 45, ll. 23-24.

⁴ Appendix, No. 3, l. 7.

⁵ No. 45, ll. 28-30.

⁶ C. A. S. I. R., Vol. XXI, p. 152. The great *tōraṇa* erected in front of the Rājā's palace in Rewa originally belonged to the temple of Śiva at Gurgi.

⁷ H. T. M., p. 43.

⁸ No. 46, l. 14.

⁹ H. T. M., pp. 48; 53-54 etc.

dēva I changed their religious creed and became Saivas. The last of them, mentioned in the Rewa stone inscription dated K. 800, whose name is unfortunately lost, constructed a temple of an imposing height probably at Gurgi, which he dedicated to Siva.¹ Vappulla, a brave general of Kārṇa, who had distinguished himself in several battles, built a temple of the *pañchāyatana* type, in which the central shrine was surrounded by four small *dēvakulis*. The image installed in one of them was of Lakshmī-Nārāyaṇa. The names of the images in the other three are unfortunately lost.² Besides Viṣṇu and Siva, Gaṇeśa also seems to have been worshipped in this period. He is invoked in the beginning of some records of this period,³ but no specific mention of a temple erected in his honour occurs in the records of the Chēḍi country. The same is true of Kārttikēya.⁴ Sculptures of both the gods have, however, been found in abundance at Tripurī and other places. Ambikā was regarded as a guardian deity and her image was installed when a new work like a *ghāt* was constructed.⁵ Images of the Sun also have been found at Masaun and Bhērā-Ghāt, but there is no mention of any temple dedicated to him.⁶ A beautiful bronze image of Rēvanta, son of the Sun, was found at Tripurī and is now in the possession of the former Malguzar of the village. ✓

Buddhism and Jainism also were flourishing in the Chēḍi country. At Sarnath, Māmakā, the wife of Dharmēśvara, who was a follower of the Mahāyāna, caused a copy of the *Aṣṭasāhasrikāprajñā* to be written, which she made over to the Order of the Venerable Monks of the Mahābōdhi Mahāvihāra where the Buddha had turned the Wheel of the Law by his first sermon. At Gopālpur, about 3 miles from Bhērā-Ghāt, were discovered five Buddhist images. Four of these were of Bōdhisattva Avalōkitēśvara, while the fifth was of his consort Tārā. From the inscription on one of them, it seems that the image was the gift of a woman named Dhēnuvā, who was a gate-keeper of one Satka, son of a lay worshipper named Subhaṭa Kāyastha. She was a follower of the Mahāyāna school. These images appear to be of the Magadha school.⁷ The inscription shows that there were some Buddhists living in peace and prosperity near the Kalachuri capital Tripurī.⁸ At Tewar itself was found the beautiful image of a Bōdhisattva of the Mahāyāna school, seated in the Vajrāsana posture, with his two hands in the attitude of teaching.⁹ The Buddha had come to be included among the ten incarnations of Viṣṇu and is figured on the *prabhāvali* of the images of that god.¹⁰

That Jainism also was flourishing in the Kalachuri dominion is shown by the Bahuribandh inscription of the reign of Gayākarṇa. It records the construction of a temple of the Jaina *Tirthankara* Śāntinātha by one Mahābhōja, son of Sarvadhara.¹¹ The

¹ No. 51, l. 28.

² No. 53, ll. 14-15.

³ No. 60, ll. 4-5; No. 63, l. 1.

⁴ See, e.g., H. T. M., pp. 86, 92 etc.

⁵ No. 62, l. 4.

⁶ H. T. M., pp. 91 and 93.

⁷ No. 52, ll. 10-11.

⁸ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 73 ff.

⁹ H. T. M., pp. 93 ff. According to S. C. Vidyabhushan, Gāṅgēyadēva and Karṇa overthrew Buddhism and brought about the revival of Brahmanism in Mithilā. See his *History of Indian Logic*, p. 350. This view is based on the wrong identification of Gāṅgēyadēva of Tirabhukti with the homonymous Kalachuri king. See above, p. lxxxix, n. 5.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 108.

¹¹ No. 59, C, l. 4. Recently another fragmentary Jaina inscription has been discovered at Tripurī. In the extant portion it mentions the Kalachuri king Karṇa.

colossal statue of Sāntinātha is still standing at Bahuribandh. Several other images of the Jaina Tīrthaṅkaras have been found in the Jabalpur District. There were Jaina temples at Sōhāgpur also. At the palace of the *Thākur* of the place are collected a number of Jaina sculptures, among which there are some Sāsana-dēvatās.¹ All this leaves no room for doubt that Jainism also had a considerable following in the Chēdi country.

Many of the grants made in this period were in the form of endowments to temples erected by kings, their ministers and *Rājagurus*. Some grants were made to Brāhmaṇas for the attainment of religious merit. There is, however, no specific mention of the object as in the earlier grants, *viz.*, that they were made for the maintenance of the five great sacrifices. Some *agrahāra* villages were granted for the settlement of the Brāhmaṇas. These settlements were called the *Brahma-stambas*.² Karṇa invited some learned and pious Brāhmaṇas to settle at a newly founded town called *Karṇāvati*, which, from its description, appears to have been situated on the bank of the Gaṅgā. Karaṇbēl was another town founded by the same king near Tripurī.

Of the ten grants made to Brāhmaṇas by the Kalachuris of Chēdi and Sarayūpāra or their feudatories, two were made on the occasion of the *śrāddha* of the donor's father,³ three on the occasion of a saṅkrānti,⁴ one on a lunar eclipse,⁵ and two on the *tithis* of Kārttika-pūrṇimā and Mārgaśīrsha-kṛishṇa-saptamī.⁶ The occasion and purpose of one are not known. One grant was made on the occasion of a *yugādi*.⁷ Curious as it may appear, no grant made by the Kalachuris to a Brāhmaṇa on the occasion of a solar eclipse in this period has yet been found in the Chēdi and Sarayūpāra countries.

Dakṣhiṇa Kōsala—The religious condition in Dakṣhiṇa Kōsala did not materially differ from that in Chēdi and Sarayūpāra. The Kalachuris who ruled there believed that they had obtained their kingdom by the grace of the god Vaṅkēśvara.⁸ This was probably a Prakrit name of Śiva. There was an old temple of Vaṅkēśvara at Tummāṇa, the old capital of the Kalachuris. The object of worship was an image, not a *linga*; for, the Amōdā plates state that the king Prithvīdēva I washed the resplendent feet of the god before he made a grant to a Brāhmaṇa on the occasion of the construction of the *chatuśbhukā* (hall) of the temple.⁹ After the capital was shifted to Ratnapura, several temples were built there by the kings and their ministers. Jājalladēva I founded the town of Jājallapura (modern Janjgir in the Bilaspur District), and built there a temple of Śiva and a monastery for ascetics.¹⁰ He also repaired the old temple of Śiva at Pālī by constructing additional walls and pillars.¹¹ The temples of Śiva were erected by the princes, their feudatories and ministers as well as private persons at several places such as Mallāla, Sōṇthivapura, Varēlāpura, Nārāyaṇapura, Kumarākōṭa, Pathariā, Shēorinārāyaṇ, Vaḍada and Pōrathā.¹²

Saivism was thus the predominant cult in Dakṣhiṇa Kōsala, but Vaishṇavism also was prevalent, though it played a subordinate rôle.) At Janjgir there is a beautifully sculp-

¹ *H. T. M.*, p. 100.

² No. 43, l. 2; No. 56, l. 13.

³ No. 48, l. 40; No. 65, l. 14.

⁴ No. 56, l. 27; No. 74, l. 39; Appendix, No. 2.

⁵ No. 63, l. 26.

⁶ No. 50, l. 41; No. 68, l. 13.

⁷ See below, p. 649.

⁸ No. 75, l. 4.

⁹ No. 76, l. 28.

¹⁰ No. 77, l. 26.

¹¹ Nos. 78-81. See also p. 418.

¹² See No. 97, l. 24; No. 98, l. 21; No. 96, l. 25; No. 96, ll. 28 and 29; No. 98, ll. 22 and 23; No. 100, l. 23.

tured temple of Vishṇu which was unfortunately left incomplete. Above the door-way of the *garbhagriha* are carved the images of the Hindu Trinity, Brahmā, Vishṇu and Śiva, which testify to the religious syncretism of the age. Vishṇu, to whom the temple was dedicated, appears in the centre. On the pillars and walls of the temple appear beautifully carved images of the several incarnations of Vishṇu as well as of Sūrya, Dēvi and other gods. This is one of the most beautiful temples in Chhattisgarh.¹ Its builder's name is unknown. Another old temple of Vishṇu exists at Shēorinārāyaṇ, perhaps erected by a collateral branch of the royal family. It is a simple structure, possessing no architectural beauty. Jagapāla, who distinguished himself in several battles of the Kalachuris of Ratanpur, repaired an old temple of Vishṇu, originally built by a Nala king in the 8th century A.C.² He re-named the god as Rāmachandra and granted a village for his worship.³ Another temple dedicated to the god was built by a *Mōchi* or Shoe-maker at Khalvāṭikā in the Raipur District.⁴ Several beautifully carved images of Vishṇu have been discovered at Ratanpur and other places.

Besides Śiva and Vishṇu, other gods and goddesses like Pārvatī, Ēkavīrā, Gaṇapati and Rēvanta (son of the Sun) were adored by people, high and low, and had temples dedicated to them at several places such as Ratnapura, Vaḍada, Durga, Pahapaka and Vikarnapura.⁵ Of these the temple of Rēvanta at Vikarnapura, modern Kōṭgaḍh, deserves a special mention. It was built by Vallabharāja, a feudatory of the Vaiśya caste, who distinguished himself in the wars of Ratnadēva II and Pṛithvidēva II. It was a fine structure, beautifully decorated with sculptures. Its ruins still exist at Kōṭgaḍh. Some of these temples were of the *pañchayatana* type,⁶ and some others had charitable feeding houses attached to them. At some places like Jānjgir and Kharōd, monasteries were constructed for the residence of ascetics.⁷ They must have served as centres of learning and religious teaching as in the Chēdi country.

The cult of Dēvi also was prevalent in Dakṣiṇa Kōsala. She and other Śaktis like Vaishṇavī, Vārāhī, Nārasimhī, Aindrī, Chāmundā and others, who were associated with her in her fight with the demons, were worshipped in several places, and their favour was invoked for success in fighting. Tantricism also had some followers.⁸ It was believed that by the practice of the *Sākambharī vidyā*, one could obtain supernatural powers ensuring success in battles.⁹

A festival was celebrated in honour of Durgā in the bright fortnight of Āśvina. It continued for nine days. The Dīpāvalī festival in Kārttika was marked by illuminations, gifts of cows and reading of the Purāṇas, as at present.¹⁰ Mahāmāyā and other similar gods and goddesses were worshipped by the lower classes of the society.¹¹

Buddhism was flourishing in Dakṣiṇa Kōsala before the advent of the Kalachuris. That Buddhist *vihāras* existed at Araṅg in the Raipur District¹² and Mallār in the Bilaspur District¹³ is known from inscriptions. Yuan Chwang tells us that there were over 100

¹ Bilaspur District Gazetteer, p. 271.

² Ep. Ind., Vol. XXVI, pp. 49 ff.

³ No. 88, l. 14.

⁴ No. 108, l. 12.

⁵ No. 96, l. 26; No. 100, l. 23; No. 95, l. 26.

⁶ No. 90, l. 23.

⁷ No. 77, l. 16; No. 100, l. 22.

⁸ No. 114, ll. 1 ff.

⁹ No. 89, l. 25.

¹⁰ No. 103, l. 10.

¹¹ Nos. 103 and 104 are on stones built into a wall of the temple of Mahāmāyā.

¹² J. R. A. S. for 1905, pp. 617 ff. and Ep. Ind., Vol. XXVI, p. 227, n. 2.

¹³ Ep. Ind., Vol. XXIII, pp. 113 ff.

Buddhist monasteries and about 10000 Brethren, all Mahāyānists, in Dakṣiṇa Kōśala.¹ The reigning king Mahāśivagupta-Bālārjuna made grants to Buddhist *vihāras*, though he himself was a fervent devotee of Śiva. But in later times Buddhism declined here as in other parts of the country. There is not a single reference to any Buddhist *vihāra* or Bhikṣu in the Kalachuri inscriptions of Dakṣiṇa Kōśala. The Buddhist canonical and philosophical works were, however, studied by some people. Rudraśiva, the spiritual teacher of Jājalladēva I, is described as conversant with the works of Dīnnāga and others.² Kāśala, who composed the Kōṇi stone inscription, tells us that he had knowledge of three *ratnas* (i.e., probably Buddha, Dharma and Saṅgha) and that he had mastered the *āgamas* of the Buddha and others.³ Some learned Brāhmaṇas also, who were required to take part in philosophical debates, must have been well acquainted with the Buddhist systems.

There are also no references to the Jainas in the Kalachuri inscriptions of Dakṣiṇa Kōśala, but there is no doubt that Jainism had some followers there. Images of the Jaina Tīrthaṅkaras have been discovered at Āraṅg, Sirpur, Mallār, Dhanpur, Ratanpur and Padampur, these at Mallār being colossal.⁴

It is noteworthy that many of the grants made to Brāhmaṇas by the Kalachuris of Dakṣiṇa Kōśala were on the occasion of a solar or a lunar eclipse. Of the sixteen grants included here, as many as nine were made at the time of eclipses, five being lunar and four solar.⁵ Three grants were made on a saṅkrānti,⁶ one on the *akṣaya tṛitīyā*⁷ which is regarded as a very holy day, and one on the *śrāddha-tithi* of the donor's father.⁸ In the case of the remaining two, no auspicious occasion has been mentioned.⁹

SOCIETY

Like religion, the social life also changed considerably in course of time. In the earlier period people had a broader outlook on social matters. The caste system had not become quite rigid. Foreign tribes like the Sakas were welcomed to the Hindu fold and were assigned their rightful place in the social structure. Hence they did not try to conceal their racial origin, but proudly stated it in their records. The Śaka king Śrīdhara-varman, for instance, makes a specific mention of his race in both the records of his reign.¹⁰ The Gurjaras also make no attempt in their earlier grants to trace their pedigree from a mythological or legendary hero, but take pride in stating that they were born in the *Gurjara-vanśa*.¹¹ The Sakas, the Gurjaras and the Hūṇas became completely absorbed in the Hindu society in course of time and had matrimonial relations with the most notable Kṣatriya families. The Hūṇas came to be reckoned among the thirty-six Kṣatriya families of the best blood, their foreign origin having been completely forgotten.¹² We find that the Kalachuri Emperor Kaṇva, who claimed to belong to the lunar race, had

¹ O. Y. C., Vol. II, p. 200.

² No. 77, l. 27.

³ No. 90, l. 27.

⁴ Raipur District Gazetteer, pp. 65-66; Bilaspur District Gazetteer, p. 61.

⁵ For lunar eclipses, see Nos. 82, 83, 86, 91 and 102, and for solar ones, see Nos. 89, 90, 117 and 122.

⁶ Nos. 75, 92 and 101.

⁷ No. 94, ll. 20-21.

⁸ No. 123, l. 27.

⁹ Nos. 76 and 99.

¹⁰ No. 5, l. 2; No. 119, l. 2.

¹¹ See, e.g., No. 16, l. 2.

¹² *Prithvirājāraṇḍ*, I, 135. The list with a few minor changes occurs in the *Kumārapālacharita*.

no objection to marrying the princess Āvalladēvī of the Hūṇa lineage.¹ She was probably his chief queen. Her son Yaśaḥkarna succeeded his father on the Kalachuri throne. The Ābhīras also rose in social status and, like the Hūṇas, were ranked among the best Kshatriya families.²

In the social hierarchy, the Brāhmaṇas occupied an honoured place. They were revered for their pious life and devotion to learning, and received royal patronage in the form of grants of land. In the earlier period, their sub-castes had not been formed and their surnames based on the places of origin had not come into vogue. The only distinctions recognised were those of the Vēdas, *śākhās* and *gōtras*. It would be interesting to see how the Brāhmaṇas of the different Vēdas and *śākhās* were geographically distributed. Unfortunately, we do not find these details mentioned in all grants. The earliest grants included here, *viz.*, those of the *Mahārājas* of Valkha, Subandhu and the Traikūṭakas, mention the *gōtras*, but not the Vēdas and *śākhās*, of the Brāhmaṇa donees.³ In later records they are generally mentioned, though some details are found lacking in a few grants. They are again conspicuous by their absence in the grants made after 1150 A.C. In this latter period, we find modern surnames gradually coming into vogue. We find that the Bahyrichas or Rīgvēdins are mentioned in very few records.⁴ When their *śākhā* is named, it is only Āśvalāyana. The Rīgvēdins, though few, were fairly wide-spread. We find them named in the grants from Gujarat, Uttar Pradesh, Vindhya Pradesh and the Chhattisgarh Division of Madhya Pradesh. The Mādhyandina *śākhā* of the White Yajurvēda was predominant everywhere. Several Brāhmaṇas of this *śākhā* received grants of land in Gujarat, Uttar Pradesh, Maharashtra and Chhattisgarh.⁵ The other *śākhā*, Kaṇva, of this Vēda is rarely mentioned. There are only four references to it in our records.⁶ The Brāhmaṇas of the Black Yajurvēda or the Taittirīyas were rarer still. They had their home in South India and we find them mentioned only in the records of the south. One of them, residing at Kallivana, modern Kalvan in the Nasik District, received a grant of land situated in that district.⁷ A few others were residing near Nagpur.⁸ We no doubt find a Brāhmaṇa of the Taittirīya *śākhā* receiving the grant of a village in Gujarat,⁹ but he originally hailed from Vanavāsī in the Kanara District, Bombay State. He bore a Kanarese name and had evidently gone to Gujarat at the invitation of the Chālukya prince, Avanijanāśraya-Pulakēśin, who also originally came from Kamāṭaka. A few Sāmavēdins are noticed in the grants from Gujarat, Sarayūpāra, and the Nagpur and Chhattisgarh Divisions of Madhya Pradesh.¹⁰ When their *śākhā* is mentioned, it is invariably Kauthuma.¹¹ The Atharvavēdins were extremely rare. They are mentioned only in one record, *viz.*, in the Kairā plates of Dadda II-Prasāntarāga, dated K. 380.¹² They all belonged to the Pippalāda *śākhā* and were residents of Bhērajikā, modern Borjai in the Broach District. They received a village in common with the

¹ No. 56, l. 15; No. 57, l. 13.

² *Prithvirājaraśo*, I, 135.

³ Nos. 2-4, 6, 8 and 9.

⁴ See No. 11, l. 8; No. 16, ll. 35-37; No. 56, l. 30; No. 74, ll. 41 ff.; No. 76, l. 26; No. 121, l. 19.

⁵ No. 14, l. 21; No. 19, ll. 16-17; No. 20, l. 15; No. 21, l. 20; No. 24, l. 36; No. 25, l. 22; No. 26, l. 25; No. 74, ll. 41-42; No. 91, l. 21.

⁶ No. 15, l. 22; No. 16, l. 37; No. 29, l. 19; No. 120, l. 10.

⁷ No. 12, l. 21.

⁸ No. 120, ll. 10-11.

⁹ No. 30, ll. 37-38.

¹⁰ No. 11, l. 3; No. 16, l. 39; No. 22, l. 16; No. 74, l. 44; No. 75, l. 10; No. 82, l. 17; No. 120, l. 11.

¹¹ No. 16, l. 39; No. 22, l. 16.

¹² No. 16, l. 41.

Brāhmaṇas of the other Vēdas, but they seem to have fallen out with them. They were, therefore, omitted in a later grant of the same village, which virtually cancelled the earlier grant. It is well known that the Atharvavēda was looked upon with disfavour in ancient times.

The original places of habitation, from which the Brāhmaṇas had migrated, are generally stated in land-grants. Some of these places were well known in ancient times as the homes of particular *śākhās*. Thus, Kulāñchā in the Bogra District of North Bengal was famous as the home of the Brāhmaṇas of the Sāṇḍilya *gōtra*,¹ most of whom belonged to the Sāmavēda. Similarly, Ṭakārī in Madhyadēśa, which is probably identical with the homonymous village in the Gayā District, was known as the home of the Brāhmaṇas of the Mādhyandina *śākhā*,² though some Brāhmaṇas of other *śākhās* also resided there. In some cases we find Brāhmaṇas migrating from far off places in search of royal patronage. Thus, the Kalachuri court in Ratanpur attracted Brāhmaṇas from such distant places as Sōṇabhadra³ in Uttar Pradesh and Kumbhaṭī⁴ in Madhya Bharat. Derivatives from place-names such as Māthura and Nāgara, which later became family-names of the Brāhmaṇas, are also noticed in one record.⁵ In the earlier period the Brāhmaṇas were distinguished from other castes by the prefix *Brāhmaṇa*,⁶ *Bhaṭṭa* or *Bhaṭṭika*⁷ and the suffix *svāmin*.⁸ Towards the close of the later period other prefixes such as *Paṇḍita*, *Ṭbakura*, *Rānta* and *Gaintā* became common.⁹ The names generally ended in *śarmaṇ*. The modern surnames Miśra¹⁰ and Tripāṭhī¹¹ occur in very late records of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries A.C.

Many Brāhmaṇas devoted themselves to the study of the Vēdas and Sāstras. Some of them mastered more than one Vēda. This was indicated by the prefixes like *Dviveda* attached to their names,¹² which in the earlier period had not become mere family surnames. Those who had performed a sacrifice were known as *Dīkṣita*.¹³ In the earlier period, the Brāhmaṇas generally maintained the sacred fire and performed the *grihya* rites like the five great sacrifices regularly. It is interesting to read that Sōmēśvara, the Brāhmaṇa Prime Minister of Lakshmaṇarāja II, performed regularly the *Darśapūṇyamāsa* and other sacrifices.¹⁴ Some Brāhmaṇas officiated as priests (*Purōhitas*). The *Mahāpurōhita*, who was in charge of the Department of Religion, is mentioned with ministers and high State functionaries in the later grants of the Kalachuris.¹⁵ Many members of the priestly caste obtained proficiency in the Mīmāṃsā, Sāṅkhya, Nyāya, Vēdānta and other *darśanas* and even studied heterodox philosophical systems like the Chārvāka, Bauddha and Jaina.¹⁶ Some of them took part in literary competitions and philosophical disputations at the royal courts. Some others became proficient in astronomy and mastered more than one

¹ See below, p. 268, n. 1.

² See below, p. 473, n. 4.

³ No. 83, l. 16.

⁴ No. 97, l. 11.

⁵ No. 74, ll. 41 and 44.

⁶ No. 11, l. 5.

⁷ No. 13, l. 7.

⁸ No. 14, l. 22.

⁹ No. 99, l. 37; No. 117, l. 5.

¹⁰ No. 108, l. 13.

¹¹ No. 105, l. 16.

¹² Np. 30, l. 38.

¹³ No. 29, l. 20.

¹⁴ No. 42, ll. 10 ff.

¹⁵ No. 56, l. 25.

¹⁶ No. 97, ll. 16-18.

Siddhānta. At the royal court, there was sometimes a competition among astronomers about the prediction of the correct time of an eclipse. The successful astronomer was rewarded with a grant of land.¹ Some Brāhmaṇas left the worldly life and took orders in some religious sect like the Śaiva and the Pāśupata.²

From very ancient times the Brāhmaṇas have been allowed to adopt the profession of a Kṣatriya if they are unable to earn a living by teaching, officiating as a priest or acceptance of gifts.³ In our records there are some instances of the Brāhmaṇas occupying influential positions in the State. The castes of royal officers are rarely mentioned in land-grants. So the information is very meagre. Still we find that in two cases the Brāhmaṇas acted as *Dūtakas* of land-grants.⁴ The office of the *Dūtaka* was a very high one⁵ and was held by State functionaries of the rank of *Mahāpīlupati* and *Mahābalādhikṛita*. Some Brāhmaṇas are known to have filled with distinction the office of the Prime Minister also. Bhākamīśra, Sōmēśvara, Purushōttama and Gaṅgādhara were some of the learned and capable Prime Ministers of the Later Kalachuris.⁶ They are highly eulogised in our records. Some of them distinguished themselves on the battlefield also and won important victories for their masters. Others by their diplomacy saved the State in times of economic and political crises and restored peace and prosperity to the country. Some Brāhmaṇas are mentioned as the authors of royal *prastāvis*.⁷ Their compositions reveal no mean poetic talent.

The Brāhmaṇas generally married within their caste, but marriages of the *anulōma* type, in which they took to wife a girl from a lower caste, were not unknown. Rāja-śekhara, who was a Brāhmaṇa of the Yāyāvara family, married Avantisundarī of the Chauhāṇa-lineage. This was probably not a solitary instance.

The Kṣatriyas, like the Brāhmaṇas, enjoyed a high social status. Many of the rulers in the earlier as well the later period belonged to this caste. The Chālukyas and the Kalachuris were known as Kṣatriyas. The former claimed to have descended from Hārīti and mentioned their Mānaya *gōtra* in their land-grants.⁸ The Sēndrakas, who were matrimonially connected with them, also probably belonged to the same caste. The Kalachuris called themselves Haihayas, i.e., descendants of Kārtavīrya Arjuna. The latter was born in the family of the Moon. The Kalachuris, therefore, claimed to be of the famous lunar race.⁹ They had matrimonial relations with all the principal Kṣatriya families of the age, viz.,

¹ No. 83, ll. 23 ff.

² No. 64, l. 17; No. 58, l. 7.

³ *Baudhāyana Dharma Sūtra*, II, 2, 69-70.

⁴ No. 2, l. 8 mentions Nannabhaṭṭi, and No. 24, l. 49, *Bhaṭṭa śrī-Dēiyaka* as *Dūtakas*.

⁵ The *Dūtaka* communicated the royal order about a grant to the office of the *Sāndhivigrahika*. Cf. *rāj-ājñā-prada* used instead of the usual *dūtaka* in the Pōnnuṭūru plates of Sāmantavarman; *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXVII, p. 220. The *Dūtaka* of No. 12 was a *Mahāpīlupati*, and that of No. 14 was a *Mahābalādhikṛita*.

⁶ See No. 42, ll. 3 ff. and 6 ff.; No. 90, ll. 15 ff.; No. 100, ll. 17 ff.

⁷ No. 44, ll. 24-25.

⁸ No. 27, ll. 2-3.

⁹ D. R. Bhandarkar regarded the Kalachuris as of foreign extraction, because, in the *Harivaṃśa* and the *Vishṇupurāṇa*, the Haihayas, when they seized the kingdom of the Indian king Bāhu, were assisted by the Śakas, Yavanas, Pāradas and Khasas. The argument has no force; for, though the Haihayas may have taken the help of some foreign tribes, they do not thereby themselves become *Mlecchhas*. If they had invaded India from the North-west after the Kushāṇas as supposed by Bhandarkar, we would have found traces of their rule in the north-western parts of the country, where they may be supposed to have first established themselves. But we do not get any records of the Kalachuris in North India till the 8th century A.C. For further discussion of this subject, see my presidential address in Section II of P. I. H. C., seventh session, pp. 157 ff.

the Chālukyas, the Rāshtrakūṭas, the Chandēllas and the Pālas. The Saka king Śrīdharmavarman and the Gurjaras, some of whom bore names ending in *bhaṭa*,¹ were also probably regarded as Kshatriyas. The latter, in their later records, claim to have descended from Karṇa, the son of Kuntī by the Sun. They were, therefore, probably regarded as born of the race of the Sun. That they claimed to be Kshatriyas is also clear from the Jodhpur inscription of Bāuka, in which their ancestor Dadda I is spoken of as the son of a Brāhmaṇa father and a Kshatriya mother.²

Many of the important civil and military offices must have been held by the Kshatriyas. The State functionaries mentioned in early grants, whose names ended in *bhaṭa*, probably belonged to the warrior caste.³ Some Kshatriyas followed peaceful vocations. Several records of the Kalachuris of Ratanpur mention Kumārapala of the Haihaya lineage as a scribe. He was known for calligraphy, and out of curiosity wrote several *prastis*.⁴ He had made a deep study of politics, literature and poetics, and himself composed *prastis* of no mean literary merit.⁵

Next to the Kshatriyas came the Vaiśyas. They were doubtless engaged in trade and commerce, and exercised great influence at the royal court as well as in the *Pañchakulas*.⁶ Some towns which had predominantly a merchant population were known as *vaṇiṇ-nagaras* (merchant-towns).⁷ All the affairs of such towns were managed by the *Pañchakulas* elected by them. Some merchants were appointed Mayors of towns⁸ and contributed liberally to the religious and charitable institutions in the State. Some Vaiśyas distinguished themselves in the military professions also. Several later records⁹ from Chhattisgarh give a glowing description of the victories won by Vallabharāja, a Vaiśya feudatory of the Kalachuris of Ratanpur. He constructed several temples, excavated tanks and reared mango groves.¹⁰ He was specially favoured by Lāchchhalladēvi, the queen of Ratnadēva II, who treated him as her own son.¹¹

The Kāyasthas were another influential community. Their descent from a legendary sage named Kāchāra who practised penance at Kulāñchā in Gauḍa is mentioned in a fragmentary inscription of the reign of Karṇa.¹² Gōllāka *alias* Gauḍa, the *Amātya* of Yuvarājādēva I, probably belonged to the Kāyastha caste. He is known from several huge rock-cut images which he caused to be carved at Bāndhōgarh.¹³ Some of his descendants like Sōmēśvara served the Kalachuris of Tripurī by diplomacy as well as personal valour. Some Kāyasthas who settled in Chhattisgarh belonged to the Vāstavya family. Their ancestor Gōvinda had emigrated from the Chēdi *maṇḍala*. His grandson Ratnasimha and great-grandson Dēvagaṇa were learned persons who composed *prastis* of considerable merit.¹⁴ The Kāyasthas were generally employed as clerks and are mentioned as scribes in some

¹ No. 21, l. 7.

² *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 95.

³ See No. 22, l. 38 which mentions Durgabhāṭa and his son Sahabhāṭa as military officers.

⁴ No. 93, l. 22; No. 96, l. 34; No. 97, ll. 27-28. The engravers of Nos. 34 and 120 belonged to the Kshatriya Caste.

⁵ No. 100, l. 27.

⁶ No. 72, l. 9.

⁷ No. 31, l. 47.

⁸ No. 77, l. 12.

⁹ Nos. 84, 85, 87 and 95.

¹⁰ No. 95, ll. 24 ff.

¹¹ No. 85, l. 14.

¹² No. 31, ll. 20 ff.

¹³ Nos. 38-41.

¹⁴ Nos. 93 and 97.

inscriptions.¹ The *Karāṇikas* mentioned in some records² were not different from the Kāyasthas.

Some lower castes like *Sūtradhāra* occasionally find a mention in our records.³ Of the untouchables, the *Mōchī* or shoe-maker is mentioned in a late record.⁴ Dēvapāla, who belonged to this caste, was a religious-minded person. He was rich enough to construct a temple of Nārāyaṇa at Khalvāṭikā, modern Khalāri in the Raipur District.

Women were honoured and treated with respect. Polygamy was in vogue. Kings generally maintained a large seraglio. From inscriptions as well as from literature⁵ we know that Yuvarājadēva I married a large number of princesses from different countries. Gāṅgēyadēva is said to have had as many as a hundred wives.⁶ The custom of the *Satī* was in vogue. If the description in the Khairhā and Jabalpur plates is correct, all the hundred wives of Gāṅgēyadēva immolated themselves on his funeral pyre near the banyan tree at Prayāga. Another instance of the *Satī* is recorded in the Shēorinārāyaṇ inscription of K. 919. When the prince Ulhaṇadēva died fighting with Jayasīṃha of Tripurī, his three queens died as *Satis*.⁷ The inscription describes vividly the grief which the people felt on that occasion. Such self-immolation was, however, not obligatory on women. Those who did not subject themselves to it led a restrained and pious life. We know of some queens who survived their husbands and helped their sons with advice in the administration of the State. The dowager queens Alhaṇadēvī and Gōsaladēvī are notable instances of this type mentioned in our records.⁸

That the joint family system was in vogue appears clear from the numbers of relatives mentioned in commemorative *prastāvis*. The Ratanpur inscription dated V. 1207, for instance, mentions, besides the Kāyastha Ratnasīṃha, his wife, one son, two daughters-in-law, two grandsons, one grand-daughter and two other persons whose relation to him is not stated explicitly.⁹ Another instance is that of Purushōttama, the *Sarvādhikārin* of Ratnadēva II. He lived to a good old age. His four sons, all of whom distinguished themselves in statecraft, continued to live with him.¹⁰ On the other hand, we have an instance of the division of even State property. Sarvadēva, the brother of Prithvidēva I, we are told, obtained, as a share of patrimony, the territory round Sōṇṭhiva, where he later established himself. Such partitions were, however, rare.

ECONOMIC CONDITION

In India from very ancient times trade and commerce have been carried on through guilds (*śrēṇis*). The first inscription included in this Volume mentions four guilds, *viz.*, those of potters, makers of hydraulic engines, and oil-millers, and one more whose name is lost. These guilds acted also as banks and received deposits of money, on which they stipulated to pay a certain amount of interest in perpetuity. Pious persons deposited money

¹ Kīrtidhara, his son Vatsarāja and grandson Dharmarāja, who wrote several grants of the Kalachuris of Ratanpur, belonged to the Vāstavya family and were evidently Kāyasthas.

² No. 43, l. 33; No. 50, l. 49.

³ No. 64 l. 26; No. 103, l. 20 *etc.*

⁴ No. 108, l. 10.

⁵ See above, p. lxxvii.

⁶ No. 36, ll. 10-11; No. 57, l. 10.

⁷ No. 98, l. 20.

⁸ No. 60, l. 23 and No. 69, l. 1.

⁹ No. 93, ll. 10 ff.

¹⁰ No. 90, l. 20.

in these guilds to make perpetual endowments for religious purposes.¹ Traders and artisans also had their own corporations called *gaṇas*. There were, besides, other corporate organisations of persons who followed the same avocation. The Nagardhan plates of Svāmīrāja mention a corporation of elephant-drivers (*mahāmātras*).² This corporation seems to have been an influential one. It had its own assembly called *samība*. Its President was called *Sthavira*, and members of the Executive Committee *Pramukhas*, among whom were included the *Pilupati* (Chief of the Elephant force) and the *Hastivaidya* (Physician of Elephants). The grant of land made by the corporation had to be approved by the reigning king, but it affixed its characteristic seal to the charter. This circumstance indicates how much power it wielded in the State.

There were, doubtless, several other guilds and corporations functioning in both the periods, but very few of them find a mention in our records. The Vāgūlikas and Pāyaṭis, who donated fifty leaves for each bundle sold in the market in favour of a temple at Kārītalāi, were probably guilds of traders in betel-leaves.³ The Kārītalāi inscription speaks of the *Deṣi* or foreman of the guild of five kinds of spirituous liquors (*kashāya-pañchaka*).⁴ These guilds and corporations had their own militia which could be called upon to serve the State when necessary.

There was a *maṇḍapikā* or market pavilion in every town and village, where the various articles brought for sale were assessed and taxed.⁵ A voucher called *yugā* was issued for the small fee of half a *paura*, paid for permission to exhibit the articles for sale in the market.⁶ It was valid for a day. There were markets (*āpaṇas*)⁷ and shops (*vīthīs*)⁸ where articles were offered for sale in stalls (*āvāras*).⁹ Our records incidentally mention several articles which were brought and sold in the markets of towns and villages. They include, besides food-grains, areca-nuts, betel leaves, salt, pepper, and other commodities such as liquor, oil, grass and vegetables. Elephants and horses also were sold in the markets.¹⁰ Traders and merchants were required to pay excise and octroi duties as well as a sales tax on the things sold in the market.

Our records mention different kinds of weights and measures. They varied from district to district.¹¹ One grant mentions the larger measure (*brihan-māna*),¹² implying thereby that there was a smaller measure also in vogue there. The standard land-measure was the *nivartana*. Several varieties of it are mentioned in ancient works.¹³ The *nivartana*, current in the dominion of the Early Kalachuris, is described in the Ābhōṇa plates as *ubbhaya-chatvāriṃśaka-nivartanin*, i.e., measuring forty *daṇḍas* in length and breadth, or 1600 square *daṇḍas*.¹⁴ It was, therefore, larger than the *nivartanas* mentioned in ancient works.

Sometimes land was measured in *balas*.¹⁵ A *hala* signified as much land as could be

¹ No. 1, ll. 8-13.

² No. 120, ll. 4 ff.

³ No. 42, l. 34. It is noteworthy that the inscription mentions the chief of the *Vāgūlikas*.

⁴ *Ibid.*, l. 33.

⁵ No. 43, l. 30.

⁶ *Ibid.*, l. 31. See also p. 223, n. 6.

⁷ No. 31, l. 35.

⁸ No. 43, l. 31.

⁹ No. 31, l. 35.

¹⁰ No. 42, l. 33; No. 43, ll. 30-36.

¹¹ Cf. *tad-vishaya-mānina* in No. 19, l. 10.

¹² No. 20, ll. 9-10.

¹³ See below, p. 43, n. 6.

¹⁴ No. 14, l. 18. With this compare पञ्चविंशतिभिर्दण्डैरुभयोस्तु निवर्तनम् in *JNS*, adhyāya I, v. 200.

¹⁵ No. 90, l. v. 27.

ploughed by a single pair of bullocks. This is said to be equivalent to five acres. A third method of stating the intended extent of land was by mentioning the quantity of seed required for sowing it. The measures of capacity *kbāri*,¹ *piṭaka*² and *prastha*³ are mentioned in this connection. Other measures of the same kind were *khaṇḍī* or *khaṇḍikā*, *gōṇī* and *ghaṭī*.⁴ Of the weights used in that age, only one, viz., *bharaka*⁵ is found mentioned. It was used for weighing ginger, areca-nuts, pepper etc.

The records do not shed much light on the vexed question of the ownership of land. We can draw some inferences from the conditions and descriptions of the gifts in copper-plate charters. In most cases the gifts were of entire villages in favour of temples, monasteries and individuals. In such cases, what was transferred was evidently the royal prerogative of demanding land revenue and other dues in cash or kind. The donee plainly could not dispossess the individuals residing in the village of their homesteads and cultivated fields. The maxim of fallow land (*bhūmi-chebbhidra-nyāya*),⁶ usually mentioned in land-grants to describe the gifts, signified full proprietary right, i.e., a complete freedom from the payment of revenue and other dues to the reigning prince. It also transferred some other privileges usually claimed by the king, but it did not carry with it the right to oust all tenants. When fields and small plots of land were, however, donated, the case was different. The cultivators who were formerly in possession of the pieces of land are generally mentioned in such cases. The words signifying their possession used in early grants are *pratyaya*, *bbukta* and *satka*.⁷ None of these signifies absolute ownership. Besides, it is clearly stated in all these grants that the donee was free to cultivate the land himself or to get it cultivated by others as he pleased. The previous cultivators of these lands were evidently temporary tenants who had no proprietary right to them. The fields were probably a part of the crown land in the particular villages. On the other hand, those fields which the cultivators owned absolutely were known as *kauṭumba-kṣētra*. Two such fields are mentioned in a grant for the demarcation of the boundaries of the donated piece of land.⁸ Such fields were evidently held by the particular families from generation to generation and could not, therefore, be taken away from them except for the non-payment of land-revenue etc.

The bulk of the population then, as now, lived in villages. The chief village of a *vishaya* was called *jyēśṭhikā-grāma*. Some of the villages had banks which received endowments and paid interest on them in perpetuity. The boundaries of the villages were properly marked. There used to be a village common and a pasture-land surrounding it for the grazing of the cattle.⁹ Sometimes, pasture-lands were donated by private individuals. Their boundaries were clearly marked by erecting pillars with the image of the goddess Durgā carved on them.¹⁰ Among other things which constituted the common property of the villagers were the tank which irrigated their fields, the jungle which supplied them

¹ No. 42, l. 32.

² No. 19, l. 10.

³ No. 20, l. 10.

⁴ No. 42, ll. 31 and 33.

⁵ No. 43, l. 31. The exact meaning of *bharaka* is uncertain. If derived from *bhri* to fill, it may signify a measure of capacity. Perhaps, the meaning of 'a weight' would suit the context better. Cf. *bhāra* (Marathi), meaning 'a load'.

⁶ No. 7, l. 9; No. 11, l. 10. See also p. 21, n. 8.

⁷ No. 2, l. 4; No. 3, l. 4; No. 4, ll. 4-5; No. 6, l. 2; No. 22, l. 20.

⁸ No. 22, ll. 20 and 24.

⁹ Cf. सवनतुण्युतिगोचरपर्वन्तः in No. 50, l. 39.

¹⁰ No. 31, ll. 56 ff.

with fuel, and the temple where they assembled for prayers. These are mentioned in some grants in connection with the boundaries of the donated fields. The king was, no doubt, the owner of all marshy and barren land, woodland and jungles, pasture-lands, tanks and watering places. When he donated a village, he transferred his rights to the donee;¹ but in practice, the village folk used these in common. The king was also the owner of the mines of minerals and salt, of the mango and *mahuā* trees, and also of the treasure trove.² He had further the privileges of *ditya* and *vishṭi*.³ The former probably signified the obligations of the villagers to make customary presents on the birth of a prince or the marriage of a princess, and the latter, that of rendering occasional service free of charge. There were other miscellaneous royal privileges designated as *prātibhēdikā*.⁴ Besides, the villagers were required to provide for the lodging and boarding of royal officers on tour.⁵ Sometimes a small cess was levied for the purpose. The donated villages were free from all these obligations. They could also adjudicate their own law-suits and levy fines for the commission of the ten crimes (*daś-āparādhas*).⁶ They could not also be entered by soldiers and policemen except for apprehending thieves and persons accused of high treason.

The towns were in a flourishing condition. In the *Bālarāmāyana* Rājasekhara ascribes the origin of Tripurī, the capital of the Kalachuris, to the fall from the sky of a portion of the three cities of Tripurāsura burnt by Siva.⁷ The description suggests the great magnificence of the capital which justified such a fancy. It is borne out by numerous beautiful sculptures and extensive remains of buildings discovered at Tewar. Tummana, the earlier capital of a branch of the same family in Chhattisgarh, is said to have been beautified by Ratnadēva I with magnificent buildings, lofty temples of gods and beautiful groves of mango trees. Ratnapura, the later capital founded by the same prince, is said to have resembled the city of Alakā.⁸ The existing extensive ruins of buildings and temples and large tanks at both the places testify to the past splendour of the towns. Mallāla, Jājallanagara and Vikarṇapura were some of the other places in Dakṣiṇa Kōsala, noted for their grandeur and prosperity.

As remarked in a private record at Mallār,⁹ the country was well governed, it was free from the infestation of troubles, and the people were happy under the rule of the Kalachuris.

LITERATURE

We have very meagre information about the literature of the earlier period. The only reference to a literary work occurring in the earlier inscriptions is that noticed in the Nasik plates of Dharāśraya-Jayasimha.¹⁰ His religious preceptor, who was an ascetic of the Śaiva sect, but whose full name has, unfortunately, not been preserved, wrote a Sanskrit play called *Harapāravatīya*. This work has not come down to us, but its title indicates that it treated of some incident in the life of Hara and Pārvatī, probably their marriage. This is

¹ See, e.g., No. 50, ll. 38-39.

² *Loc. cit.*

³ No. 16, l. 34.

⁴ *Loc. cit.*

⁵ Some villages were exempted from these. See No. 32, ll. 33-34. See p. 156, n. 2.

⁶ No. 21, l. 27; No. 22, l. 28. See also p. 89, n. 3.

⁷ *Bālarāmāyana*, Act III, v. 38.

⁸ No. 77, ll. 9-12.

⁹ No. 97, ll. 9-10.

¹⁰ No. 28, ll. 10-11.

one of the rare instances in which a member of an ascetic order is seen busying himself with the composition of a dramatic work.

We have comparatively more information about the literature of the later period. After the Kalachuris established themselves at the fort of Kālāñjara, some of them took to literary activities. Māyurāja, whom Rājaśekhara calls a Kalachuri poet,¹ wrote a Sanskrit play named *Udāttarāghava*. This play also is not extant, but some references to and extracts from it occur in several Sanskrit works.² As the name indicates, its theme was the life of Rāma. There are some incidents in Rāma's career, as described in Vālmiki's *Rāmāyaṇa*, which are open to criticism. Māyurāja seems to have altered or omitted them in order to present the hero as absolutely free from blemish. This object of the author is indicated also by the title of the play, *Udāttarāghava*, 'The Noble Rāghava'. From some references and extracts in later Sanskrit works, it appears that Māyurāja omitted the incident of *Vālī-vadha* (the killing of Vālī). The *Rāmāyaṇa* tells us that while Vālī and Sugrīva were engaged in a deadly combat, Rāma concealed himself behind some trees and discharged an arrow which fatally wounded Vālī.³ The monkey chief reproached Rāma severely for this unprovoked wrong and the latter was hard put to it in justifying his action. Some earlier playwrights like Bhāsa⁴ had followed Vālmiki⁵ in stating Rāma's defence. Others like Bhavabhūti had given a different turn to the incident. Māyurāja seems to have cut the Gordian knot by omitting the incident altogether. In one more respect, Māyurāja is known to have deviated from the original story of Vālmiki.⁶ He sends Lakshmaṇa first to kill the *māyāmṛiga* (pseudo-deer). A Rākshasa, who had disguised himself as a sage, plaintively beseeches Rāma to go to the rescue of his brother who was in danger. Rāma hesitates at first to leave Sītā alone in the hermitage, but ultimately departs to save Lakshmaṇa. In his absence, Sītā is carried away by Rāvaṇa. By this manipulation of the original story, Māyurāja has cleverly avoided the occasion for Sītā's unmerited reproach of Lakshmaṇa.⁷ Judging by the available extracts,⁸ Māyurāja seems to have adopted the Vaidarbhī *rīti* for the composition of his play. His style is lucid and charming, being unloaded with long compounds. Jalhana's *Sūktimuktāvalī* cites two verses of Māyurāja without referring them to the *Udāttarāghava*.⁹ They describe Rāvaṇa and are in the Gaudī style. That Māyurāja wrote also a *kāvya* is known from Hēmachandra's *Kāvyaṇuśāsana*.¹⁰ Some of the verses cited in the anthologies may have been taken from that *kāvya*.

Another king of Kālāñjara, who also probably belonged to the Kalachuri dynasty, was Bhīmaṭa. According to Rājaśekhara's account,¹¹ he composed five plays, of which the

¹ मायुराजसमो नाट्यो जज्ञे कलचुरिः कविः । *SM.*, p. 46.

² *Datarūpaka*, II, 39; III, 24; IV, 13, 28; *Vakrōktijivita* (ed. by S. K. De, 1928), pp. 223 and 244; Abhinavagupta's commentary on the *Nāṭyaśāstra*, ch. XIX; *Nāṭyadarpaṇa*, pp. 66, 116, 194.

³ Cf. यथा ह्यपना वालिवधो मायुराजेनोदात्तराघवे परित्यक्तः । in the *Datarūpaka*, III, 24.

⁴ See Bhāsa's *Abhisāka*, I, 17-21.

⁵ *Rāmāyaṇa*, IV, 17, 33 ff.

⁶ *Datarūpaka*, IV, 28.

⁷ Bhattasvamin shows that the plot of the *Udāttarāghava* deviates much more from the story of the *Rāmāyaṇa* than Bhavabhūti's *Mahāvīracarita*. He, therefore, concludes that Māyurāja flourished later than Bhavabhūti and earlier than Rājaśekhara, somewhere between 750 and 880 A.C. *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XLI, p. 143.

⁸ *Loc. cit.*, pp. 142-43.

⁹ *SM.*, pp. 314, 318.

¹⁰ *Kāvyaṇuśāsana* (ed. by R. C. Parekh), Vol. I, p. 457. Māyurāja inserted the word *dhairya* in the last verse of every canto.

¹¹ Cf. कालञ्जरपतिरुचके भीमटः पञ्चनाटकीम् । प्राप प्रबन्धराजत्वं तेषु स्वप्नदशाननम् ॥ *SM.*, p. 46. Two Kalachuri princes named Bhīmaṭa are mentioned in the Kasia inscription (No. 73, ll. 17 and 21), but they flourished much later.

Svapnadaśānana was judged to be the best. Anthologies contain some verses of Bhimaṭa, which appear to be of the *subhāshita* type.¹

Another renowned author of the later period was Rājaśekhara. In the prologues of his plays as well as in the stray verses collected in Sanskrit anthologies, Rājaśekhara has given a considerable information about his ancestors who flourished in the Chēdi court. This Brāhmaṇa family hailed from Mahārāshṭra.² Vatsagulma, modern Bāsim (properly Vāsim) in the Akola District of Madhya Pradesh, was probably its original place of habitation.³ This family bore the ancient name of Yāyāvara,⁴ and was noted for its learning as well as poetic ability. Rājaśekhara mentions, as his ancestors, Akālalada, Surānanda, Tarala and Kaviṛāja, all of whom distinguished themselves by their poetic composition.⁵ Akālalada, the great-grandfather of Rājaśekhara, probably flourished in *circa* 850 A.C. He may have been a court-poet of Kōkalla I (*circa* 850-890 A.C.), whose glorious reign must have attracted learned men, poets and artists from far-off lands. *Akālajalada* was not the poet's proper name. It was a sobriquet which he earned by composing an interesting verse containing the word *akāla-jalada* (an unseasonable cloud).⁶ According to Rājaśekhara, his works were eagerly studied by later poets. Some of his verses were plagiarised by one Kādambarīrāma, who earned fame by inserting them in his play.⁷

¹ *JM.*, p. 157.

² M. M. Ghosh has questioned the identification of this Mahārāshṭra with the modern country of that name on the ground that Rājaśekhara has mentioned it as distinct from Vidarbha and Kuntala. See his edition of the *Karpūramanjari*, p. lxvi. It may be noted that there were three Mahārāshṭras known in ancient times, comprising modern Northern Mahārāshṭra, Vidarbha and Kuntala (Southern Mahārāshṭra). Rājaśekhara sometimes mentions Mahārāshṭra separately from Vidarbha and Kuntala (vide *KM.*, p. 93) and sometimes as including the latter two countries (vide *Bālarāmāyaṇa*, Act XI, v. 74 and 75). His other arguments that Rājaśekhara does not mention Mahārāshṭra as the country of Prakrit, that he wrote in Śaurasēnī and that he has great praise for Pāñchāla, have little force; for, in the verse referred to, Rājaśekhara is only quoting the opinion of others (vide *tad-uktam* in *KM.*, p. 51); if he wrote in Śaurasēnī, that was because he was then at the court of the Pratihāras; and he has praised Mahārāshṭra and Vidarbha also in as high terms. Ghosh comes to the strange conclusion that Rājaśekhara was not a native of Mahārāshṭra, though his ancestors might have come to Madhyadēśa from some place in Mahārāshṭra! His attention is drawn to the passage in the *KM.*, p. 10, which glorifies Vatsagulma in Vidarbha as the pleasure-resort of the god of love. See also the next note.

³ Rājaśekhara shows a special love for Vatsagulma. This city was formerly the prosperous capital of a branch of the Vākātaka dynasty. It seems to have retained its importance down to the time of Rājaśekhara; for, it gave its name to a particular style. In the *Karpūramanjari*, Rājaśekhara mentions *Vachchhōmī* (Sanskrit, Vātsagulmī) as a *rīti* together with Māgadhi and Pāñchālī. The poet again mentions this place as situated in the Dakṣiṇāpatha. The heroine of the *Karpūramanjari* was a princess of Vachchhōma. In the *KM.* (p. 10), Rājaśekhara states that the mythical Kāvya-puruṣa married Sāhityavidyā at Vatsagulma in Vidarbha, which is the pleasure-resort of the god of love. All these references show the poet's special admiration for the place. It may, therefore, have been his ancestral home.

⁴ The Yāyāvaras are mentioned in the *MBH.*, Ādiparvan, adhyāya 11, v. 13, where the commentator Nilakaṇṭha explains the term as meaning 'a householder living for only one night in a village'. Dēvala divides householders into Śālīna and Yāyāvara. The latter did not accumulate wealth and did not earn their living by teaching, officiating as a priest or accepting gifts as the former did. *H. D. L.*, Vol. II, pp. 641 ff.

⁵ *Bālarāmāyaṇa*, I, 13.

⁶ The following verse is ascribed to him in the *Sārāgadharapaddhati*: भेकेः कोटरवायिमिमृतमिव
क्षान्तगतं कच्छदेः पाठीनेः पुष्पक्षपीठलुठान्वास्मिन्मुहुर्मुच्छितम् । तस्मिन्लुप्तासरस्यकालजलदेनागत्य तच्चेष्टितं
यत्राकुम्भनिमग्नवन्धकरिणां यूयैः पयः पीयते ॥

The verse appears to be of the *anyōkti* type, and suggests unexpected munificent gifts of a liberal donor which relieved a great distress.

⁷ Cf. अकालजलदलोकेष्विवमात्मकतेरिव । जातः कादम्बरीरामो नाटके प्रवरः कविः ॥ *JM.*, p. 46.

This Kādambarīrāma may be identical with Kādambarīrāmakṛishṇa, the author of the *Aditi-kunḍalāheraṇa*, as suggested by J. B. Chaudhari. See *Padyavīṇī*, p. 83.

From a *subhāshita* of Rājasēkhara, we learn that Surānanda was a contemporary of the Chēdi prince Raṇavighraha.¹ As shown before, Raṇavighraha was a *biruda* of Śaṅkara-gaṇa II, son of Kōkalla I, who flourished in *circa* 890-910 A.C.² This prince is probably identical with the poet Śaṅkaragaṇa, some of whose verses are included in the anthologies *Subhāshitāvali* and *Sūktimuktāvali*.³ One of them is also cited in Bhōja's *Sarasvatī-kaṇṭhābharaṇa*,⁴ which lends colour to the identification. The poet Surānanda, patronised by Śaṅkaragaṇa, is described as an ornament of the Chēdi country. Unfortunately, none of his *kāvya*s has come down to us. The anthologies also do not contain any *subhāshitas* composed by him. About Tarala and Kavirāja, two other ancestors of Rājasēkhara, we have no information. From a *subhāshita* of Rājasēkhara we learn that Tarala's poetry was known for its excellent alliteration.⁵

About Rājasēkhara himself, we know much more, thanks to his garrulity. His father was Durduka (or Duhika), who held the post of *Mahāmantrin* probably in the Chēdi court. His mother's name was Śilavatī. His wife Avantisundarī was born in the Chauhāṇa lineage.⁶ She was a learned lady. Her views on rhetorical matters are cited in Rājasēkhara's *Kāvyamīmāṃsā*.⁷ In his early career Rājasēkhara was attracted by the prosperous court of the Pratihāras in Kanauj. Before he went there, he had written six *prabandhas* and earned the title of *Bālakavi*.⁸ These juvenile compositions, not even known by their titles, have long been lost. At Kanauj he received a high honour and the title of *Kavirāja* from the illustrious Pratihāra king Mahēndrapāla, who regarded him as his *guru*.⁹ Rājasēkhara composed there three plays—the *Bālarāmāyaṇa* during the reign of Mahēndrapāla, and the *Bālabbhārata* alias *Prachandapāṇḍava*¹⁰ and the *Karpūramañjarī* during that of his son and successor Mahipāla. The first two of these, to which he has prefixed his title *Bāla*, are in Sanskrit, and the third, which was staged at the instance of his wife Avantisundarī, is in Prakrit.¹¹

During the reign of Mahipāla, the power of the Pratihāras declined owing to the invasion of the Rāshtrakūṭa king Indra III, who advanced up to Kanauj and devastated the Imperial capital. Just about this time, Yuvarājadēva I of Tripurī rose to power. He made extensive conquests in all parts of India and dealt a staggering blow to the Pratihāra Empire during the closing years of Mahipāla's reign. Rājasēkhara then returned to Tripurī, where he composed the *Viddhaśālabbhañjikā* and other works. This Sanskrit play was staged in the Kalachuri capital to celebrate the victory of Yuvarājadēva I over a confederacy of southern kings headed by the reigning Rāshtrakūṭa Emperor Gōvinda IV.¹² The *Kāvyamīmāṃsā*, which was planned to be a comprehensive work on poetics, has remained unfinished. This was evidently his last work, since it contains quotations from all his

¹ See above, p. lxxvi, n. 5.

² Above, p. lxxvi.

³ *SA.*, vv. 1516 and 1905; *SM.*, p. 169.

⁴ *Nirṇayasāgar* ed. (1934), pp. 464 and 723.

⁵ Cf. यायावरकुलश्रेणेमुक्तायष्टेवच मण्डनम् । सुवर्णबन्धसचिरस्तरलस्तरलो यथा ॥ *SM.*, p. 47.

⁶ *Karpūramañjarī*, Act I, v. 11.

⁷ *KM.*, pp. 20, 46, 57.

⁸ *Bālarāmāyaṇa*, Act I, v. 12.

⁹ *Karpūramañjarī*, Act I, v. 9. According to Rājasēkhara, a *Kavirāja* is higher than a *Mahākavi*. He is proficient in several languages, various kinds of poetic compositions and different sentiments.

¹⁰ This play has only two acts. The author did not probably complete it. As its *maṅgala-slōka* is cited in the *KM.*, it was plainly not the last work of the poet.

¹¹ *Karpūramañjarī*, Act I, v. 11.

¹² See above, p. lxxix.

Sanskrit plays.¹ Two other works—the *Haraviṇaya*, a *kāvya*, and the *Bhuvanakośha*, a work on general geography—are known only from quotations.

As the author of a Rāma-play, Rājasekhara traces his literary pedigree from the Ādikavi Vālmiki. As a matter of fact, his enormous plays are more of the epic than of the dramatic type. He is conscious of this defect and asks the critic to *read* them if they contain any literary qualities. In the *Karpūramāñjarī* also, he defines *kāvya* as 'a beauty of expression'.² Rājasekhara has shown some inventive power, but he has little skill in the arrangement of incidents and still less in characterisation. Some of the devices he employs such as the introduction, on the stage, of marionettes with parrots in their mouths are very crude.³ Above all, he knows no restraint, but goes on piling verse on verse, regardless of monotony and hindrance to action. It cannot, however, be denied that he has a considerable felicity of expression. The ease with which he handles long metres like the *Sārdhāvikrīḍita* and the *Sragdharā* is truly remarkable. He had an inexhaustible stock of legends about old writers and their works. It cannot be gainsaid that several Sanskrit authors would have remained unknown to us, if he had not written his commemorative verses about them. His *Kāvyamīmāṃsā* is a veritable mine of information on a variety of subjects.

Rājasekhara's works continued to be studied in the Chēdi country and have considerably influenced the composition of later poets of the Chēdi court.⁴ Some of them imitated his mannerisms.⁵ Again, some of his verses with suitable modifications are found inserted in Kalachuri inscriptions.

The reign of the illustrious king Karṇa saw a rare outburst of poetic activity. Several great poets of the age flocked to his court. According to a well-known *subhāshita*,⁶ Karṇa's court-poet was Vidyāpati. Several Sanskrit verses of this poet, in some of which he praises Karṇa in a clever manner,⁷ are cited in Sanskrit anthologies. Another poet of Karṇa's court was Gaṅgādhara. From the *Vikramāṅkadēva-charita* we learn that he was challenged and defeated, evidently in a poetic contest, by the celebrated Kāshmirian poet Bilhaṇa, who visited Karṇa's court at Banaras in the course of his itineracy.⁸ While at Banaras, Bilhaṇa delighted the great king of Dāhala with his sweet poetry.⁹ He also composed a *kāvya* in glorification of Rāma on the occasion of his visit to Ayōdhyā.¹⁰ That work also is unfortunately not extant.

Other poets of Karṇa's court were Vallāṇa (or Vallana), Karpūra and Nāchirāja. Vallāṇa was a great poet. Several *subhāshitas* composed by him are found in old antho-

¹ For the chronological order of Rājasekhara's works, see my article in the *K. B. Patbak Commemoration Volume*, pp. 359 ff.

² Cf. उत्तिविसंज्ञो कव्यं in the *Karpūramāñjarī*, Act I, v. 7.

³ *Bālarāmāyaṇa*, Act V, v. 5.

⁴ For instance, the hemistich, यदेतद्वेसरमम्बरस्य ज्योतिः स पूषा पुरुषः पुराणः, occurring in the beginning of several grants of the Kalachuris of Ratanpur (vide Nos. 76, 83, 86 etc.), is taken from the *Bālarāmāyaṇa*, Act I, v. 22. Similarly the verse वः सत्पत्य निधिः खिद्यो च सरणिः etc. in the Banaras plates of Karṇa (No. 48, ll. 19-20) is taken from the *Bālabbārata*, Act I, v. 62.

⁵ Below, p. 208.

⁶ Cf. कर्णोऽपि विद्यापतेः । *SA.*, v. 186. See also *PCH.*, p. 30.

⁷ Cf. (i) त्वं द्वित्राणि पदानि गच्छसि महींमूलद्वयं यान्ति द्विषस्त्वं बाणान्दश पञ्च मूञ्चसि बहुन्वस्त्राणि मूञ्चन्ति ते । ते देवीपत्यस्तवासिनिहतास्त्वं मानुषीणां पतिस्ते निन्दास्तव वर्णनं कथमिति श्रीकर्णं निर्णयताम् ॥ विद्यापतेः । *SKM.*, III, 13, 4

(ii) कर्णं चक्षुरजीगणतव पितुस्तताः पिता ते पुनः शक्त्याधारकुमारमप्यजगत्तं कातरत्वेन सः । देवो मां महिषीति पश्यति जगत्तत्त्वं विवेक्तुं पुनः प्रागल्भ्यं प्रवयन्ति वस्तदपि च प्रज्ञाचनः साधवः ॥ विद्यापतेः । *Ibid.*, III, 54, 2.

⁸ *VDC.*, XVIII, 95.

⁹ *Loc. cit.*, v. 93.

¹⁰ *Loc. cit.*, v. 94.

logies like the *Kaṇḍavachanasamucchaya* and the *Suduktikarṇāmrīta*. In one of these, he praises Karṇa.¹ The other two poets are known from Mērutuṅga's *Prabandabhintāmaṇi*.² Nāchirāja also was a renowned poet. In a tribute which the poet Karpūra pays to him, he is said to be the only support of Bhārati after the death of Muṇja and Bhōja, the famous poet-kings of Dhārā.³ Both Karpūra⁴ and Nāchirāja⁵ have left us beautiful verses in praise of Karṇa.

It seems that there were competitions in *samasyāpīṭṭa* (completion of incomplete verses) at the court of Karṇa. Those who completed the *samasyās* successfully were liberally rewarded. Several years ago, Sir G. A. Grierson published, under the heading 'Curiosities of Indian Literature', a strange story about 'King Dahāriā Karṇa and the Paṇḍit's promise'.⁶ In this story a Paṇḍit composes extempore five verses—one about the queen of Karṇa Dahāriā, who, being attracted by his melody, goes to him at dead of night, and four more which he recites next day before the king. The latter being pleased with them makes up his mind to give him his kingdom in all the four directions. He even allows the Paṇḍit to take him as a prisoner before his mother in fulfilment of a promise made to her. The story is absurd as it stands, but some of the stanzas mentioned in it may have been recited at Karṇa's court. Two of them, which end in *kṛitakarṇi manyē bhayāni jōshitām*, are of the *samasyāpīṭṭa* type.⁷ They specifically refer to Karṇa and describe his fame as roaming about fearlessly. They were evidently composed by different poets. This is also shown by the remark *kayār=api* 'of some two poets', with which they are cited in the *Subhashitāvali*. The first of them, which does not explicitly refer to the king's fame, but apparently describes a lady coming out of the king's seraglio in pitchy darkness, seems to have given rise to the fantastic story mentioned above.

Karṇa gave a liberal patronage to Prakrit poets also. Some Mahārāshṭrī and Apabhraṁśa verses, describing the king and his victories, occur in the *Prākṛita Paṇḍala*.⁸ They were first brought to notice by Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar in his *Report on the Search for Sanskrit and Prakrit Manuscripts*.⁹ Unfortunately the authors of these verses are not named in the commentaries. Again, Kanakāmara, the author of the Apabhraṁśa work *Karakandacharita*, tells us that he delighted the mind of the king Karṇa, who was probably none other than the homonymous Kalachuri king.¹⁰

¹ लक्ष्मीसचरोजरेणुसुहृदः सेवावनम्रीभवद्भूमिपालकिरीटस्त्वकिरणज्योत्स्नानदीवाल्मिकाः ।

जीयासुः कलिकाल कर्णनृपते दरिद्रघदारुदरव्यापूर्णदुष्पुष्पन्दलध्वनमुपस्त्वत्पादयोः पौनवः ॥

वल्लभस्य । SKM., III, 10, 2.

² PCH., p. 30.

³ Op. cit.

⁴ मुने हारावाप्तिर्नयनयुगले कङ्कणभरो नितम्बे पद्माली सतिलकमभूत्पाणिद्वयलम् । अरण्ये श्रीकर्ण त्वदरियुवतीनां विधिवशादपूर्वोऽयं भूयाविधिरह जातः किमधुना ॥ Ibid., p. 30.

⁵ कुक्षेः कोटर एव कंठमरिपुषंते त्रिलोकीमिमामन्तर्भूरिभरं विनर्तत तमपि प्रीतो भुजङ्गाधिपः ।

श्रीकण्ठस्य स कण्ठमुखमभवद्देव त्वया तं हृदा विभ्राजेन परेषु विक्रमकवा श्रीकर्णं निर्णोषिता ॥ SM., Introd.,

⁶ Ind. Ant., Vol. XVI, pp. 46 ff.

P. 39.

⁷ (i) उन्नदाभ्युदयवितान्वतमसप्रभ्रष्टदिङ्मण्डले यामे यामिकजाप्रदुग्गसुभटव्याकीर्णकोलाहले ।

कर्णस्यारिमहाणवाम्बुवडवावह्लेयदन्तपुरादायातामि तदम्बुजासि कृतकं मन्ये भवं योषिताम् ॥

(ii) उद्वद्राहमुदन्वति जलमतिक्रमत्यनालम्बिनि व्योम्नि भ्राम्यति दुर्गमक्षितिभूतां मूर्धानमारोहति ।

व्याप्तं गति विषाकुलैरहिकुलैः पातालमेकाकिनी कीर्तिस्ते मदनाभिराम कृतकं मन्ये भवं योषिताम् ॥

⁸ Prākṛita Paṇḍala (Bibliotheca Indica Series), I, 69, 96, 126 and 185.

⁹ C. W. B., Vol. II, pp. 334 ff.

¹⁰ Above, p. cii.

The Kalachuris of Dakṣiṇa Kōśala also patronised Sanskrit and Prakrit poets.¹ One of them, Nārāyaṇa who composed the Pujārīpālī stone inscription of Gōpāladēva, tells us that he composed a *kāvya* named *Rāmābhyudaya*, which greatly delighted the Goddess of speech. Several Sanskrit works of this name, *kāvyas* as well as *nāṭakas*, are known, and some of them have come down to us; but this work of Nārāyaṇa seems to be different from all of them.²

Some of the authors of the *prastāvis* included here were poets of no mean order. Dhāmsaṭa, the author of the Chandrēhē inscription,³ Śrīnivāsa who composed the eulogy of the first three kings in the Bilhāri inscription,⁴ the unknown author of the fragmentary Rewa inscription of Kaṇṇa,⁵ Dēvapāṇi, the author of the Akaltarā inscription,⁶ and Kāśala who composed the Kōṇi inscription,⁷ to name only a few, had a considerable poetic talent. They have composed their respective *prastāvis* in an ornate *kāvya* style, embellishing them with numerous *arthālaṅkāras*. As the power and patronage of the Kalachuri courts declined, they ceased to attract poets of eminence. Many of the later inscriptions in this Volume are consequently written in a barbarous style.

COINS

The Nasik cave inscription of the Ābhīra king Iśvarasēna records the investment of certain amounts of Kārshāpaṇas with the guilds of Gōvardhana, but no coins of that king or his descendants have come down to us. Perhaps the Ābhīras, like some other dynasties⁸ of ancient times, did not value highly the prerogative of minting coins for currency in their own dominion, and were content to use the issues of other contemporary or past kings. This is also indicated by the find of a hoard of Kshatrapa silver coins at Karhad in the Satara District of the Bombay State. The hoard contained several coins, but those of the following Kshatrapas only could be recovered—Vijayasēna (240-250 A.C.), Dāmajada-śrī (250-255 A.C.), Rudrasēna II (255-277 A.C.), Viśvasīmha (277-279 A.C.), Bhartrīdāman (279-295 A.C.) and Viśvasēna (295-305 A.C.). It will be noticed that the last five of these Kshatrapas were contemporaries of the Ābhīras. The Karhad hoard, therefore, plainly indicates that the Kshatrapa silver coins were current in Maharashtra and probably also in Gujarat and Konkan, during the rule of the Ābhīras. The silver coins of Yājña Sātakaṇṇi, which were of similar fabric and weight,⁹ may also have continued in circulation. The potin coins struck by the Sātavāhanas perhaps supplemented this silver coinage, though no finds of them have yet been reported from these parts of the country.¹⁰

That these silver coins were called *kārshāpaṇas* appears clear from the Nasik cave

¹ An inscription composed wholly in Prakrit was put up in the temple of Ēkavīrī at Ratnapura. It is much abraded and has not yet been deciphered.

² Below, pp. 589 ff.

³ No. 44, ll. 24-25.

⁴ No. 45, l. 30.

⁵ No. 51, l. 30.

⁶ No. 84, ll. 18-19.

⁷ No. 90, ll. 26-27.

⁸ The Early Chālukyas and their feudatories such as the Harischandriyas seem to have used the *rūpakas* of the Kalachuri Kṛishṇarāja, who had flourished more than a century before. See No. 31, ll. 31 ff, and No. 32, ll. 34 ff.

⁹ C. A. D., p. 45, pl. VII.

¹⁰ They were current in Berar and the Marathi-speaking districts of Madhya Pradesh. J. N. S. I., Vol. II, pp. 85 ff.

inscription of Īśvarasēna. According to Manu,¹ the *kārshāpaṇa* was a copper coin, but some other Sanskrit and Pāli works² leave no doubt that it was a denomination of silver coins also. Prof. Rapson has shown that the references to gifts of *kārshāpaṇas* in the inscriptions of the Sātavāhanas and the Kshaharāta Kshatrapas must be understood as referring to the silver coins of those dynasties which circulated in Maharashtra and Konkan. The *Kārshāpaṇas* referred to in the Nasik inscription of Īśvarasēna must, therefore, have been silver coins, probably of the Western Kshatrapas. These coins have the head of the Kshatrpa or Mahākshatrpa with the date in the Śaka era on the obverse, and the chaitya (or hill), the sun and the crescent with a legend along the edge inside a circle of dots on the reverse. Their average weight is about 34 grains. These silver coins, though called *kārshāpaṇas*, were not, therefore, struck to the standard weight of 32 *ratīs* mentioned in Sanskrit works.³ They were evidently copied from the hemidrachmas of Apollodotus and Menander, which, according to the *Periplus*,⁴ were current in Barygaza (modern Broach).

The Coins of the Traikūṭakas

The Traikūṭakas, who succeeded the Ābhīras in Maharashtra and Gujarat, had their own silver coinage. The first notice of this coinage can be traced back to 1862. In that year Mr. Justice Newton described, in the *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol. VII, pp. 11 ff., a coin of Dahrasēna which had been found at Karhad. He noticed on it the title *Mahārāja* of both Dahrasēna and his father Indradatta, but could not read the names of these princes completely as the letters were only partially preserved. Thereafter in 1886, in an article entitled 'Two New Grants of the Chālukya Dynasty' published in the *Transactions of the Vienna Oriental Congress*, p. 222, Pandit Bhagvanlal Indrajī described a coin of this dynasty which he had obtained from Daman in Gujarat.⁵ He deciphered the legend on it as *Mahārāj-Endravarmma-putra-paramavaiśṇava-śrī-Mahārāja-Rudragāṇa*.⁶ He thought that Rudragāṇa was the first king after the revival of the Traikūṭaka power on the downfall of the Kshatrapas. Afterwards in 1903, Prof. Rapson showed that the correct reading of the legend on this coin and on those acquired by the British Museum was *Mahārāj-Endradatta-putra-paramavaiśṇava-śrī-Mahārāja-Dabrasēna*. He identified this Dahrasēna with the Traikūṭaka king Dahrasēna, whose Pārdī plates dated in the (Kalachuri) year 207 had already been published.⁷ Prof. Rapson also described another silver coin of this dynasty which had been acquired by the British Museum in 1904 from the collection of Dr. Gerson da Cunha⁸. He correctly read the legend on it as *Mahārāja-Dabrasēna-putra-paramavaiśṇava-śrī-Mahārāja-Vyāghrasēna* and thus showed that it was issued by the Traikūṭaka king Vyāghrasēna, the son of Dahrasēna.

In 1905 a hoard of Traikūṭaka coins was discovered at Kāzad in the Indāpur *tāluka* of the Poona district. Only 359 coins were recovered from it. They were examined by Rev. H. R. Scott, who published an account of them in the *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol. XXIII, pp. 1 ff. Of these, 353 coins were of Dahrasēna. On as

¹ MSM., adhyāya VIII, v. 136.

² Cf. *Kārshāpaṇaḥ dakṣiṇānyām dīti ranpyaḥ pravartatē*, Nārada cited in the *Vāchuspatyam*. See also C. A. D., Introd., pp. clxxix ff., and D. R. Bhandarkar, *Lectures on Ancient Indian Numismatics*, pp. 76 ff.

³ Cf. MSM., adhyāya VIII, v. 136.

⁴ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VIII, p. 143.

⁵ A hoard of 300 such coins was discovered in 1887.

⁶ In a foot-note Bhagvanlal admitted the possibility of the reading *-jendradatta* or *-datta*.

⁷ J. R. A. S. (1905), pp. 801 ff.

⁸ J. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. XVI, pp. 346 ff.

many as 350 of them the name of the Traikūṭaka king appeared as Dahragāṇa, and only on three, as Dahrasēna. Rev. Scott thought that Dahrasēna started his career as a feudatory of the Western Kshatrapas whose names usually ended in *sēna*, and later on, when he emancipated himself from the yoke of the Kshatrapas, he altered the termination of his name from *sēna* to *gāṇa*. The Kāzad hoard contained four coins of Vyāghrasēna also, but the royal name on all of them appeared as Vyāghragāṇa.

In a note which Mr. A. M. T. Jackson appended to Rev. Scott's article, he announced that he had obtained a Traikūṭaka copper-plate grant from Surat, in which the king's name was clearly given as Vyāghrasēna.

Finally, in the *Catalogue of the Coins of the Andhras, etc.*, (p. clxiii) published in 1908 Prof. Rapson admitted that *gāṇa* (perhaps intended for *gāṇa*) would be a more natural reading than *sēna* on most of the known coins of Dahrasēna and on all of those of Vyāghrasēna, but he contended that what appeared as *ga* might quite possibly be a conventionalised form of *sa*. This view seems to be the correct one in view of the undoubted readings *Dabhrasēna* and *Vyāghrasēna* of the royal names in the Pārḍī and the Surat plates respectively. If Dahrasēna had purposely changed his name to Dahragāṇa, he would not have named his son Vyāghrasēna.

A Coin of Dahrasēna.

Pl. A, No. 1. AR. Size in diameter—.5". Weight—34.4 grs.

Obverse—Head of the king with mustaches to the right, without any date.

Reverse—Chaitya with the sun to the left, and the legend along the edge inside a circle of dots—

Mahārāj-Andradatta-putra-parama-vaiṣṇava-śrī-Mahārāja-Dahra[sana] representing
Mahārāj-Endradatta-putra-paramavaishṇava-śrī-Mahārāja-Dahrasēna.

On some coins the sun appears to the right of the chaitya.

A Coin of Vyāghrasēna.

Pl. A, No. 2. AR. Size in diameter—.5". Weight—32 grs.

Obverse—Head of the king with mustaches to the right, without any date.

Reverse—Chaitya with the sun to the right and the legend along the edge inside a circle of dots, viz., *Mahārāja-Dahra[sana]-putra-paramavaiṣṇava-śrī-Mahārāja-Vyāghra[sana]*, representing *Mahārāja-Dahrasēna-putra-paramavaishṇava-śrī-Mahārāja-Vyāghrasēna*.

As stated before, these coins were found in Southern Gujarat, and the Poona and Satara Districts of the Bombay State. They were evidently imitated from the Kshatrapa coins which had been current in Maharashtra and Gujarat during the rule of the Ābhīras. We have no means of knowing their denomination, as they are nowhere referred to in the inscriptions of the Traikūṭakas. Perhaps, like Kshatrapa coins, they also were known as *kārshāpaṇas*.

The Coins of the Kalachuris.

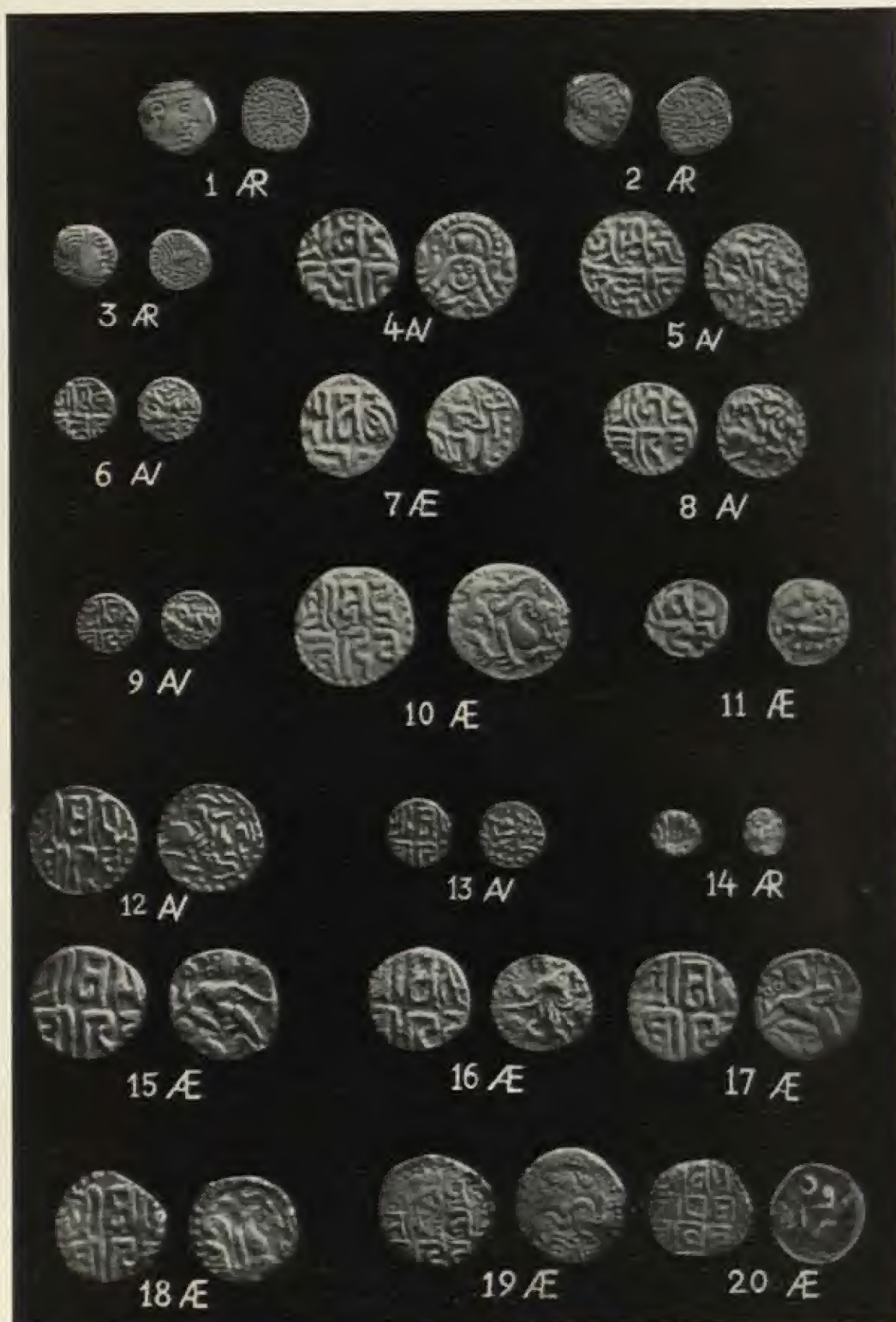
The Coins of Kṛishṇarāja.

The coins of this king were first discovered about 1870 in the village Dēvlānā in the Bāglāṇ *tāluka* of the Nasik District. The hoard comprised 82 coins, which were sent to Dr. Bhau Daji for examination. He published his account of the hoard together with facsimiles of five of the coins in the *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol. XXI (1876), pp. 213-14. All the coins were of silver and round in shape. They varied in weight from thirty to thirty-four grains.

In his article Dr. Bhau Daji drew attention to the similarity that the coins bore to the silver coins of Kumāragupta and especially to those of Skandagupta, but he read the legend

CORPUS INSCRIPTIONUM INDICARUM

COINS OF THE TRAIKUTAKAS AND THE KALACHURIS.



(From a Photograph)

on the reverse as *Rājā Parama Mahēśvara Mānasa Nṛipa-Deva Dhyāna-śrī-kaśa (?)*, and interpreted it as 'Mānasa king, the great devotee of Mahēśvara, who derives his glory from contemplating God'. He conjecturally placed this Mānasa king about the end of the fourth century A. C.

The coins were next considered by Sir Alexander Cunningham in his *Archaeological Survey of India Reports*, Vol. IX (1879), pp. 29 ff. He read the legend on them as *Parama-māhēśvara-Mahāditya-pād-ānudyāta-śrī-Kṛishṇa Rājā*. He admitted that some of the coins in his cabinet had possibly the word *Mahākshatra* in place of *Mahāditya*, in which case, he said, the translation would be 'the reverencer of the great king.' Cunningham agreed with Bhau Daji's view that the coins belonged to about the end of the fourth century A.C., but he identified the king who struck them with the Rāshtrakūṭa king Kṛishṇa whom he placed in the period 375-400 A.C.

In 1885 Dr. Fleet published his account of two silver coins of Kṛishṇarāja from Cunningham's collection in the *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XIV, p. 68. He for the first time read the legend correctly as *Paramamāhēśvara-mātā-pitri-pād-ānudyāta-śrī-Kṛishṇarāja*, which means 'the glorious Kṛishṇarāja, who is a devout worshipper of (the god) Mahēśvara (and) who meditates on the feet of (his) parents.' In the second edition of his *Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts* (1896), Fleet suggested that in all probability the Dēvlānā coins were coins of Kṛishṇarāja, the Kalachuri king, who was the father of Saṅkaragāṇa.

Prof. Rapson also discussed these coins in his *Indian coins* (1897), p. 27, Pl. IV, No. 17. He doubtfully read the legend on them as *Parama-Māhēśvara-mahādēvyōḥ pād-ānudyāta-śrī-Kṛishṇarāja*. As regards the date 375-400 A.C. proposed by Cunningham for this Kṛishṇarāja, Rapson pointed out that it was certainly incorrect, as it was too early for the style of the coins which were imitated from the latest Gupta coins current in the western provinces. For the same reason he could not also assign them to Kṛishṇarāja Rāshtrakūṭa, c. 756 A.C. Rapson was, however, unable to put forward any conjecture about the identification of this Kṛishṇarāja.

During his excavations at Besnagar in 1913-14, Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar found seven coins of Kṛishṇarāja. He supported Fleet's view that this Kṛishṇarāja belonged to the Kalachuri dynasty. As stated before, this Kṛishṇarāja flourished from *circa* 550 A.C. to 575 A.C.

Pl. A, No. 3. AR. Size in diameter—45". Wt.—29 grs.

Obverse—Head of the king with mustaches to the right, without any date.

Reverse—Inside a circle of dots along the edge, the legend *Parama-mahāśvara-mātā-pitri-pād-ānudyāta-śrī-Kṛishṇarāja* representing *Paramamāhēśvara-mātā-pitri-pād-ānudyāta-śrī-Kṛishṇarāja*. In the centre, the figure of a couchant humped bull to right.

These coins of Kṛishṇarāja resemble the silver coins of the Western Kshatrapas, the Guptas and the Traikūṭakas, which were struck to the Graeco-Bactrian weight-standard of the hemidrachma. Their fabric is also similar. But while the Kshattapa and Traikūṭaka coins have the symbols of a Chaitya (or a hill), the sun and the moon, these coins of Kṛishṇarāja have, like some western issues of Skandagupta, the figure of a couchant bull (Śiva's Nandi) facing right, in the centre of the reverse side. The coins of Skandagupta were evidently in circulation in the Anūpa country, the home province of the Kalachuris before the rise of Kṛishṇarāja.

In the legend on his coins Kṛishṇarāja, like Skandagupta, refers to his religious faith. He calls himself *paramamāhēśvara*, 'a devout worshipper of Mahēśvara'. He dropped all reference to the patronymic and the royal title which invariably appear on the coins of the Kshatrapas and the Traikūṭakas. He substituted instead an expression denoting his devotion to his parents, the like of which is noticed nowhere else in Indian numismatics.

As stated before, the coins of Kṛishṇarāja circulated over a very wide territory from Rajputana in the north to Maharashtra in the south and from Konkan in the west to Vidarbha in the east. They continued to be current long after the time of Kṛishṇarāja; for, they are mentioned in the Anjanēri plates dated K. 461 (710-11 A.C.) of Bhōgaśakti. They were, therefore, in circulation for at least 150 years after the time of Kṛishṇarāja. As might be expected, there were several issues of them; for, the inscription on the reverse does not always commence at the same place and differences in the shapes of some letters are also noticeable.

As stated before, the silver coins of the Kshatrapas which were struck to the same weight-standard as the coins of Kṛishṇarāja were called *kārshāpanas*. Later on, however, this denomination seems to have given place to *rūpaka*. The Anjanēri plates show that the coins of Kṛishṇarāja, which were then in general circulation were called *Kṛishṇarāja-rūpakas*, evidently to distinguish them from the *rūpakas* of the Kshatrapas, the Sātavāhanas and the Traikūṭakas which were similar in fabric.

The Coins of Gāṅgēyadēva.

The first coin of this king to be recorded was that figured in Pl. L, No. 1, facing page 668 in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. IV (1835). Prinsep, who published the coin, read the legend on the obverse as *Srīmad-Jāḍjēyadēva*, and described the figure on the other side as 'a rudely executed front view of a male or female (it is difficult to say which), seated in the native fashion, with a glory round the head and some incomprehensible objects in the hands'. The legend was correctly read as *Srīmad-Gāṅgēyadēva* by E. Thomas¹ in 1858, but he could not identify the king.

In his *Archæological Survey of India Reports*, Vol. X (1880), p. 21 and *Coins of Medieval India* (1894), p. 72, Cunningham described, with illustrations, gold, silver and copper coins of Gāṅgēyadēva. He identified the goddess on the reverse as Pārvatī and ascribed the coins to the Kalachuri king Gāṅgēyadēva, mentioned by Albērūnī as the contemporary ruler of Dāhala. The coins were next described by Rapson in his *Indian Coins* (1897), p. 33, and by Vincent Smith, first in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. LXVI (1897) pp. 305-6, and then in his *Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum* (1906), pp. 251 ff.

Pl. A, No. 4. AV. Size in diameter—.7" Wt.—61 grs.

Obverse—Inside a circle of dots, the legend in Nāgarī characters in three lines (1) [*Srī-mad*]-*G[ā]*-(2) *ṅgēyadē*-(3) [*va*].

Reverse—Inside a circle of dots the figure of four-armed Lakshmī, nimbate, sitting cross-legged, with lotuses in her two upper hands.²

Gāṅgēya's coins exist in all the three metals: gold, silver and copper. Gold coins generally weigh 61 or 62 grains, but Dr. V. S. Agrawala informs me that the top weight of Gāṅgēya's gold coin in the Lucknow Museum is 65 grains. Gold coins were called *ṭankas*. The Rewa stone inscription of Vijayasīṃha mentions *ṭāṇkakas* stamped with the effigy of Bhagavat (or rather Bhagavatī, i.e., Lakshmī³). They were probably the gold coins of Gāṅgēya. Another term denoting gold coins which seems to have been current in that period, though it does not occur in any record edited here, was *gadyāṇaka*. The Chandravatī plate dated V. 1148 (1090 A.C.) of the Gāhaḍavāla king Chandradēva, who was a

¹ See his edition of Prinsep's *Essays on Indian Antiquities*, p. 291.

² The Kalachuri kings were no doubt Śaivas, but the device on the seals of their copper-plate grants is a figure of Lakshmī with an elephant on either side pouring water over her head. The lotuses in the hands of the female deity on the coins of Gāṅgēya plainly indicate that she was intended to represent Lakshmī.

³ No. 67, ll. 20-21.

contemporary of Yaśaḥkarṇa, mentions *kumara-gadyāṇaka*¹ which shows that the *gadyāṇakas*, were current in the north as they were in the south.² According to the *Lilāvati* of Bhāskarāchārya (I, 3), a *gadyāṇaka* weighed 48 *ratīs*. The large gold coins of the Gāhaḍavālas weigh from 59 to 68 grains. They may be taken to be *gadyāṇakas*, making allowance for the variation in the weight of the *ratīs* and for the usual deviation from the standard type. The large gold coins of Gāṅgēya which were the proto-type of the Gāhaḍavāla coinage seem, therefore, to have been known also as *gadyāṇakas*.³

Smaller denominations of half, quarter and one-eighth *ṭanka* (or *gadyāṇaka*), struck by Gāṅgēya, are also known. The half-*ṭanka* was probably known as *dbaraṇa*.⁴ Whether the lower denominations had any special names is not known.

Gāṅgēya's gold *ṭankas* are frequently met with in the southern and eastern districts of Uttar Pradesh and some have been found in Madhya Pradesh also.⁵ Of the lower denominations the quarter-*ṭanka* is sometimes found, but the half-*ṭanka* and one-eighth *ṭanka* described by Cunningham are believed to be rare.⁶ Silver coins were called *drammas* as they were struck to the weight-standard of the Attic *drachma* or 67.5 grains, though they rarely reach that standard. The silver coins of Gāṅgēya are very rare. Vincent Smith says that all pieces which seem at first sight to be silver were perhaps regarded officially as gold.⁷ The Bēsāni stone inscription of K. 958 mentions certain contributions in *drammas*.⁸ From the Siyaḍōṇī inscription we learn that a quarter-*dramma* was known as *pañchīyaka-dramma*, because it was equal in value to five *vimśōpakas*.⁹ In the same inscription a half-*dramma* is called *drammārdha* and a three-quarter *dramma* *dramma-tri-bhāga*. Copper coins were known as *paṇas*. This name also is not noticed in the records edited here, but the Kāman stone inscription mentions *drammas* and *paṇas*, of which the former were of silver and the latter of copper.¹⁰ The standard weight of the *paṇa* was a *karṣa* or 80 *raktikās* (146.4 grains), but the recorded copper coins of Gāṅgēyadēva do not weigh more than 60 grains. Perhaps they were half-*paṇas*. The lower denominations of silver *drammas* and copper *paṇas* are wanting.

In the Numismatic Supplement, No. XVII (J.A.S.B. for 1912, p. 123, Pl. VI), Mr. Nelson Wright has described 8 gold coins of Gāṅgēyadēva which had been found in the village Isurpur in *tahsil* Rehli of the Saugor District. These coins differed in fabric from the usual coins of Gāṅgēyadēva. They were thick and in diameter half an inch. It is, therefore, suggested that they were struck by Karṇa, the son of Gāṅgēyadēva. Except for these, no coins struck by Gāṅgēya's successors are known.

¹ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IX, p. 305.

² The Khārepātan plates of the Śilāhāra Raṭṭarāja mention the levy of gold *gadyāṇas* on ships coming from foreign countries. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. III, p. 301.

³ According to an interpolated verse in the *Lilāvati* a *ṭanka* was equal to 3 *gadyāṇakas*, i.e., was 63 grains in weight.

⁴ According to the *Lilāvati*, two *dbaraṇas* make one *gadyāṇaka*. Gold *dbaraṇas* also are mentioned in the Khārepātan plates of Raṭṭarāja. *Loc. cit.*

⁵ The legend on these coins found in Madhya Pradesh was read as *Śrīmad-Udayādēva* by R. D. Banerji, who ascribed the coins to the Paramāra Udayāditya. See *J. A. S. B.* for 1920, p. 84. But the type and the legend (which is somewhat crudely executed) are like those of the coins of Gāṅgēyadēva.

⁶ Cunningham has described one gold coin of Gāṅgēya weighing 7 grains, and V. Smith another which weighs only 5.6 grains.

⁷ *J. A. S. B.*, Vol. LXVI (1897), Part I, p. 306.

⁸ No. 71, ll. 2. ff.

⁹ The Siyaḍōṇī inscription lays down in line 57 a cess of a quarter-*Ādivarāha-dramma* and then in the next line expresses the same cess as *pañc dra 1*, i.e., one *pañchīyaka-dramma*. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, pp. 175-177.

¹⁰ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXIV, p. 335.

The Lakshmi type introduced by Gāṅgēyadēva became popular in North India. It was imitated by the Chandēllas of Jajjhauti, the Gāhaḍavālas of Kanauj and the Tōmars of Delhi. It was also introduced in distant Kashmir. See, for instance, No. 7 in Pl. XXXV, *Numismatic Chronicle* for 1937. This coin has on the reverse the figure of the four-armed seated Lakshmi as on the coins of Gāṅgēyadēva. Allan ascribes it to Śrī-Harsha of Kashmir (1089-1101 A.C.).

The Coins of the Kalachuris of South Kosala

The first coin of these kings to be published was that in Pl. XXXIX, facing p. 654 in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. V (1836). It was a copper coin of Prithvīdēva from the collection of Cunningham. It had the king's name on the obverse and 'the figure of a four-armed god¹ crushing a demon' on the reverse. Prinsep read the legend correctly, but ascribed the coin to the king whose name occurs 'in the Dihli list as having reigned at Lahore in A.D. 1176-1192'. A hoard of 56 gold coins² was next discovered in 1892 in the former State of Sāraṅgarh, and some time later, three coins³ of the same type were found in the bed of the river Āṅg in the State of Patnā. All these coins were sent to the Asiatic Society of Bengal, where they were examined by Dr. Hoernle. His report on them appears in the *Proceedings* of the Society for 1893, pp. 92 ff. and 141 ff. The coins were of three kings, Jājalladēva, Prithvīdēva and Ratnadēva. All the coins were round in shape. They had the particular king's name on the obverse and the same device on the reverse. Hoernle at first took the device to be the standing figure of Hanumān, but later on changed his opinion and thought that it represented an elephant, a horse or a bull. As more than one king bore each of these names, Hoernle conjecturally ascribed the coins to Jājalladēva I, Ratnadēva II and Prithvīdēva II.

The coinage of this Kalachuri branch was next noticed by Cunningham in his *Coins of Medieval India* (1894), pp. 73 ff. In this work Cunningham described the gold coins⁴ of the three kings mentioned above, as well as two unique copper coins which he had acquired in 1835 and 1885. He identified the figure on the copper coins as that of Hanumān, but he was not certain about the device on the gold coins which he described as a number of shapeless objects surrounded by a circle of dots. Prof. Rapson, who edited Cunningham's work published posthumously, thought that the confused type on the reverse might perhaps be intended to represent a lion, facing right, rampant.⁵ In his *Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum*, pp. 254 ff., Vincent Smith has described only the gold coins of the aforementioned three kings. He follows Rapson in taking the device on the reverse to be the figure of a rampant lion. Since then some hoards of gold coins of these kings have been discovered from time to time in Chhattisgarh. The largest of them was of 600 gold coins discovered in 1921-22 at Sonsari in the *tehsil* and District of Bilaspur. It contained the coins of both the large and the small size of all the three kings together with

¹ This god is of course Hanumān, though Prinsep did not identify him at the time.

² This hoard contained 26 coins (9 large and 17 small) of Jājalladēva, 29 coins (all small) of Ratnadēva, and one coin (large size) of Prithvīdēva. Coins of the large size weigh about 60 grains, and those of the small size about 15 grains.

³ All the three coins (two large and one small) were of Jājalladēva.

⁴ In his descriptive table on p. 76 and in Pl. VIII, in *C. M. I.*, Cunningham labels three of these coins (Nos. 9-11) as those of copper. But this is incorrect; for, as he has himself stated, the coins were from the British Museum and were found in 1893. Cunningham has also quoted Hoernle's opinion about the device on them. They were, therefore, identical with the coins discovered in 1892, which were sent to the Asiatic Society of Bengal for examination. Some of them were apparently presented to the British Museum later on. As stated above, all these coins were of gold.

⁵ *C. M. I.*, pp. 75-76, n. 45.

two coins of the Gāhaḍavāla king Gōvindachandra.¹ In nearly all the hoards of gold coins discovered so far, the coins of Pṛithvidēva are seen to preponderate, which seems to indicate that he was the last of the three kings.

Copper coins also of the aforementioned three kings and of one more, *viz.*, Pratāpamalla, have been discovered at several places in Chhatisgarh. The credit of preserving them and of bringing them to the notice of scholars belongs to Pandit Lochan Prasad Pandeya, Hon. Secretary of the Mahākōshal Historical Society. The gold coins described below are from the Nagpur Museum, and the copper coins from the collection of Pandit Pandeya.

The Coins of Jājalladēva I.

No. in Plate A	Metal	Size-dia- meter in inches	Wt. in grains	Obverse	Reverse
5	AV.	.8	61	Three-line Nāgarī legend written inside a circle of dots (1) <i>Śrīmaj-J[ā]-</i> (2) <i>jalladē</i> -(3) <i>va</i> .	Lion with tail upraised to right jumping on an elephant lying prostrate below.
6	AV.	.47	15½	Legend as above (1) <i>Śrīmaj-J[ā]</i> (2) <i>jalladē</i> .	As above.
7	AE.	.7	43½	Legend as above (1) <i>Śrīmaj-J[ā]</i> (2) <i>[jā*][lladē]</i> .	Two-armed Hanumān to left trampling a demon.

Only gold and copper coins of this king have been discovered. About the identity of the figure on the reverse of the gold coins there has been a great divergence of opinion. Hoernle thought at first that like the figure on the copper coin of Pṛithvidēva which had been published before, the figure on the gold coins also was that of Hanumān. But on none of the gold coins examined by me does the figure appear like that of Hanumān. Hoernle himself changed his opinion later on and took the figure to be that of an elephant, a bull, a horse or a lion. As stated before, Rapson thought it might be that of a rampant lion. Vincent Smith has followed Rapson's view.

The figure on these coins is indeed crudely executed, and hence it has caused such a divergence of opinion among scholars. A close examination of coin No. 5 shows that its reverse has the figure of a lion with the tail upraised, facing right and jumping on an elephant which lies prostrate below.²

On the copper coins, the figure of Hanumān is, of course, quite clear. In the coin figured in Pl. A, No. 7, the god is turned to the left. The demon on the left, on whom he must be trampling, is cut out on this coin.

¹ Twenty-seven coins were discovered in the former State of Sonpur, some of which have been published in *J. N. S. I.*, Vol. XIII, pp. 199 ff.

² The device was correctly interpreted for the first time by Mr. B. N. Nath in *J. N. S. I.*, Vol. XIII, pp. 199 ff. His view that this coinage was first introduced by Ratnadēva II does not, however, appear to be correct; for, it would relegate all coins with the legend *Śrīmaj-Jājalladēva* to Jājalladēva II. This is precluded by the palaeographic evidence detailed below.

The Coins of Ratnadēva II.

No. in Plate A	Metal	Size- diameter in inches.	Weight	Obverse	Reverse
8	AV	.7	62 grs.	Two-line Nāgarī legend: (1) <i>Śrīmad-Ra-</i> (2) <i>tnadē- va.</i>	Lion to right attacking an elephant.
9	AV	.45	15½ „	As above.	As above.
10	AE	.9	100 „	As above.	Lion to right, with tail upraised.
11	AE	.6	23½ „	As above: (1) [<i>Śrī</i>] <i>mad-Ra-</i> (2) [<i>tna*</i>] <i>dēva.</i>	A sheathed dagger below some indistinct object (debased figure of a lion?).

Of this king also, only gold and copper coins are known. I have not seen any copper coins of this king with the Hanumān device. The seal of the Pāraḡaon plates of this king (No. 122) has a sheathed dagger as on some of his copper coins.

The Coins of Pṛithvidēva II.

No. in Plate A	Metal	Size- diameter in inches.	Weight	Obverse	Reverse
12	AV	.77	61 grs.	Two-line Nāgarī legend: (1) <i>Śrīmat-Pṛi-</i> (2) <i>thvī- dēva.</i>	Lion with tail upraised to right with elephant lying prostrate below.
13	AV	.5	15 „	As above: (1) <i>Śrīmat-[Pṛi]-</i> (2) [<i>thvīdē</i>] [<i>va*</i>].	As above.
14	AR	.35	6 „	As above: (1) <i>Śrīmat-[Pṛi]-</i> (2) [<i>thvīdē</i>] [<i>va*</i>].	Some shapeless objects perhaps representing a lion.
15	AE	.85	99½ „	As above: (1) <i>Śrīmat-Pṛi-</i> (2) <i>thvīdē[va]</i> .	Four-armed Hanumān to left. He carries a mace in his upper left hand and something (a hill?) in his upper right hand. His other two hands are engaged in seizing two demons, one on right (cut out) and the other on left, whom he tramples under his right foot.

No. in Plate A	Metal	Size diameter in inches.	Weight	Obverse	Reverse
16	AE	.75	68 grs.	As above (1) <i>Srīmat-Prī-</i> (2) <i>[thvī]dē[va]</i> .	Hanumān to right, with a demon on left.
17	AE	.85	99½ „	As above (1) <i>Srīmat-[Prī]-</i> (2) <i>thvīdē[va]</i> .	Hanumān to left. He tramples a demon on left and has an attendant on right.
18	AE	.8	73 „	As above (1) <i>Srīmat-[Prī]-</i> (2) <i>thvīdē[va]</i> .	Lion with tail raised to right.

Of this king, coins in all the three metals are known, but his silver coins are very rare. Pandit L. P. Pandeya has so far been able to secure only three silver coins. All these are very small in size and resemble the one-eighth *dramma* pieces of Gāṅgēyadēva. This king's copper coins have both the devices of the lion and Hanumān (facing right or left).

The Coins of Pratāpamalla.

No. in Plate A	Metal	Size	Weight	Obverse	Reverse
19	AE	.8	38 grs.	Three-line Nāgarī legend (1) <i>[Srī]mat-Pra-</i> (2) <i>tā-</i> <i>pama-</i> (3) <i>[lla]dēva</i> .	Lion to left, looking backward.
20	AE	.75	29 „	Three-line Nāgarī legend (1) <i>Srīmat-Pra-</i> (2) <i>tāpa-</i> <i>ma-</i> (3) <i>[lla]dēva</i> , with a sheathed dagger below.	Some indistinct device, perhaps a lion.

No gold and silver coins of this king have been reported till now. His copper coins were found for the first time in 1924. Pandit L. P. Pandeya's conjecture that Pratāpamalla was a Kalachuri king has been confirmed by the subsequent discovery of the Peṇḍrābandh plates.¹ The seal of these plates has a sheathed dagger below the legend as on some coins of this king.

As the name Ratnadēva is repeated thrice and the names Prithvīdēva and Jājalladēva twice in the genealogical list of the Kalachuris of Ratanpur, the question of the attribution of these coins becomes very difficult. While describing the hoard from the Sāraṅgarh, Dr. Hoernle conjecturally ascribed the coins to Jājalladēva I, Ratnadēva II and of Prithvīdēva II,² but he gave no reason to support his view. Cunningham, on the other hand, assigned the same coins to Prithvīdēva I, Jājalladēva I and Ratnadēva II.³ Vincent

¹ No. 101.

² *P. A. S. B.* for 1898, p. 93.

³ *C. M. I.*, p. 76.

Smith was not certain about the matter. He doubtfully referred them to Prithvidēva II, Jājalladēva II and Ratnadēva III, but did not deny the possibility of their being assigned to earlier homonymous kings.¹ No satisfactory reasons have, however, been given for any of these identifications. Mr. Allan has recently pointed out² that in view of the probability that Prithvidēva I was still a feudatory³ and that the dynasty became completely independent in the reign of Jājalladēva I, it is not improbable that some at least of the coins should be attributed to Prithvidēva II. He thinks that the same is true of the distribution of coins between Jājalladēva I and II and Ratnadēva II and III.

An important clue to the identification of the kings who struck these coins is afforded by the form of the palatal *ś* in the legends on these coins. On the gold coins of Jājalladēva the left member of this letter is either joined to the vertical on the right, or resembles the English letter S, which shows that this prince must be identified with Jājalladēva I.⁴ There is another piece of evidence which points in the same direction. Jājalladēva I was a powerful prince. The Ratanpur stone inscription of his reign states that the ruling chiefs of the neighbouring territories, *viz.*, South Kōsala, Andhra, Khimiḍi, Vairāgara, Lañjikā, Bhāṇāra, Talahāri, Daṇḍakapura, Nandāvali and Kukkuṭa, paid him annual tributes, and that as he was valiant, his alliance was sought by the lords of Chēdi, Kānyakubja and Jējābhuktika.⁵ Jājalladēva I's alliance with the contemporary Chandēlla king, who is evidently meant here by the lord of Jējābhuktika, is reflected in his coinage. It is well known that Chandēlla coinage begins in the reign of Kīrtivarman (*circa* 1060-1100 A.C.). Only gold coins of this king are known. Copper coins appear for the first time during the reign of Sallakshaṇavarman, the son and successor of Kīrtivarman, who was a contemporary of Jājalladēva. Sallakshaṇavarman's copper coins are extremely rare. Cunningham had only one in his cabinet, which is figured as No. 16 in Plate VIII of his *Coins of Medieval India*. It has the king's name in three lines on the obverse and the figure of Hanumān facing right on the reverse. The Hanumān type was apparently evolved in the Chandēlla kingdom⁶ where we find the earliest reference to the worship of the monkey-god in a stone inscription, dated in the Harsha year 316 (922 A.C.)⁷ This type seems to have been copied with a slight variation⁸ by Jājalladēva I after he formed an alliance with the Chandēlla king Sallakshaṇavarman.

The type 'Lion attacking an elephant' seen on the gold coins of this dynasty seems also to have been introduced for the first time by Jājalladēva I. It probably symbolises his victory over the contemporary Gaṅga king. The Ratanpur inscription of his reign mentions his conquest of Khimiḍi which lay in the kingdom of the Gaṅgas. The latter were known as *Gajapatis* or *Gajādhiṣas*, 'lords of elephants'. Jājalladēva's victory over the Gaṅga king was, therefore, fittingly represented by a lion attacking an elephant which lies prostrate below.

Some coins of debased gold with the legend *Srīmaj-Jājalladēva* may have been struck by Jājalladēva II, whose reign does not appear to have been very prosperous.

¹ *I. M. C.*, pp. 254-55, Pl. XXVI.

² *Numismatic Chronicle* for 1937, pp. 298 ff.

³ In his Amōḍā plates dated K. 831, (No. 76, l. 25), Prithvidēva I describes himself as *Mahāmaṇḍaliśvara*, which indicates his feudatory rank.

⁴ This form of *ś* is no longer seen in grants of Jājalladēva II. See the facsimile of No. 99.

⁵ No. 77, ll. 22-23.

⁶ The Hanumān type was evidently suggested by the Ādivarāha type used by Bhōja I of the Gurjara-Pratihāra dynasty.

⁷ This date was read by Cunningham as *Saṁvat* 940, and by Kielhorn as *Saṁvat* 215. D. R. Bhandarkar read it as *Saṁvat* 316, which he referred to the Harsha era. See *P. R. A. S., W. C.*, for 1903-4, p. 47.

⁸ On the coins of Jājalladēva, the god appears two-armed as on the Chandēlla coins, but is shown to be trampling on a demon. On those of his successors he appears four-armed.

On the coins of Ratnadēva and Prithvidēva, the left member of the palatal *ś* has a somewhat longer serif at the bottom¹ than in the Sarkhō plates of Ratnadēva II, but the letter has not yet assumed the form seen in later records.² These kings must, therefore, be identified with Ratnadēva II and Prithvidēva II. It is noteworthy that the Sonsari hoard mentioned above, which contained the coins of all these kings, had also two coins of Gōvindachandradēva. This Gāhaḍavala king of Kanauj had a long reign of nearly 45 years (circa 1110-1155 A.C.) and so was a contemporary of Jājalladēva I, Ratnadēva II and Prithvidēva II. The Sonsari hoard seems to have been secreted some time during the reign of Prithvidēva II.

Besides *pankas* and *drammas*, some other coins are mentioned in the Kalachuri inscriptions, to which we shall now turn. The Tahankāpār plate of Pamparāja, dated K. 965, mentions 130 *Sarāhagaḍām āchhu*³ which may mean 130 gold coins minted in Sarāhagaḍa⁴ (modern Sāraṅgarh). It is noteworthy that a similar Marathi word *āsu* occurs in inscriptions⁵ found in Maharashtra and in the Mahānubhāva literature of the 14th century A.C. From several passages in the *Līlācharitra*,⁶ the Marathi biography of Chakradhara, the founder of the Mahānubhāva sect, *āsu* appears to have been a gold coin current in Maharashtra in the 13th century A.C. The *Līlācharitra* speaks in one place of a *pāṇṇa āsu* or three-quarter *āsu*, which shows that lower denominations of one-quarter, one-half and three-quarter *āsus* were also current.

The Bilhāri stone inscription mentions *śoḍaśikā*, which seems to have denoted a copper coin equal in value to one-sixteenth of a *dramma* just as *vinīśōpaka* denoted one-twentieth of a *dramma*.⁷ Another coin mentioned in the same inscription is *paurā*, which was probably a small coin of silver. A tax of four *pauras* was levied on every elephant, and that of two *pauras* on every horse, sold in the local market.⁸ *Kaparda* and *dyūta-kaparda* were other coins current at the time. Kauṭilya also mentions *kaparda* as a copper coin.⁹ It was probably identical with *kākiṇī* mentioned by Bhāskarāchārya as equivalent to twenty cowries. Four *kākiṇīs* made one *paṇa*.¹⁰ *Dyūtakaparda* was probably so called because it was frequently used as a stake in gambling.¹¹ Some of these coins may be represented by the smaller Kalachuri coins which are often found in Chhattisgarh. But they are so much worn and so irregular in weight that it is often difficult to say what denominations they represent.¹²

¹ V. Smith, *I. M. C.*, pp. 234 ff., Pl. XXVI.

² In the time of Prithvidēva II the earlier form of *ś* had no doubt gone out of use, but it seems to have continued on his coins; for, conservatism in regard to forms of letters is a characteristic of Indian coinage.

³ No. 116, l. 6.

⁴ The Rājim stone inscription of Jagapāla mentions this place as *Sarabarāgaḍha*. No. 88, l. 10.

⁵ See, e.g., the Pāṭan inscription of the time of Yādava Siṅghaṇa (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, p. 343), which mentions *āsu*, *dāma* and *viśōvā*. These appear to be coins of gold, silver and copper respectively.

⁶ See *Līlācharitra* (Marathi) ed. by H. N. Nene, part III, pp. 50-51.

⁷ *Viśōvā* mentioned in the aforementioned Pāṭan inscription is derived from Sanskrit *vinīśōpaka*. The *vinīśōpakas* were so called because they were equal in value to one-twentieth of a *dramma*. This appears quite clear from l. 20 of the Siyaḍḍḍī inscription which first mentions in words a monthly tax of half a *Vigrahātūgīya-dramma* and then states the same as *vi 10* (i.e., 10 *vinīśōpakas*). One *dramma* was, therefore, equal to 20 *vinīśōpakas*. Similarly, it may have been equal to 16 *śoḍaśikās*. It is noteworthy that Bhāskarāchārya's *Līlāvatī* (I, 2) states that sixteen *paṇas* make one *dramma*. Perhaps *śoḍaśikā* was another name of the copper *paṇa*. According to the *Sārāgaḍhara-saṁhitā*, it was so called because it weighed sixteen *māśas*.

⁸ Similar taxes are laid down in other inscriptions of the period. See, e.g., the Bayānā stone inscription (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXII, pp. 122 ff.), which in line 23 mentions the gift of one *dramma* per horse (sold locally) in favour of a god, installed at Bayānā.

⁹ *Arthasāstra*, II, 12.

¹⁰ *Līlāvatī*, I, 2.

¹¹ It is perhaps identical with the smallest copper coin *ardha-kākiṇī* mentioned in Kauṭilya's *Arthasāstra*, II, 12.

¹² The smallest of them may be *māśas*. According to Nārada cited in the *Mitākṣarā* on *Yājñavalkya-smṛiti* (II, 159), a *māśa* was one-twentieth of a copper *paṇa*.

GENEALOGICAL TABLES¹

I The Mahārājas of Valkha

Svāmidāsa

K. 67.

|
Bhulūṇḍa

K. 107.

|
Rudradāsa

K. 117.

II The Traikūṭakas

Indradatta (415-440 A.C.)

|
Dahrasēna (440-465 A.C.)

K. 207.

|
Vyāghrasēna (465-492 A.C.)

K. 241.

III The Early Gurjaras

Dadda I (570-595 A.C.)

|
Jayabhāṭa I—Vitarāga (595-620 A.C.)|
Dadda II—Praśāntarāga (620-645 A.C.)

K. 380; K. 385; K. 392.

|
Jayabhāṭa II (645-665 A.C.)|
Dadda III—Bāhusahāya (665-690 A.C.)

K. 427.

|
Jayabhāṭa III (690-715 A.C.)

K. 456; K. 460.

|
Ahirōla (715-720 A.C.)|
Jayabhāṭa IV (720-738 A.C.)

K. 486.

IV The Sēndrakas

Bhānuśakti *alias* Nikumbha (620-625 A.C.)|
Ādityaśakti (625-650 A.C.)|
Allaśakti (650-675 A.C.)

K. 404; K. 406; S. 577.

|
Jayaśakti (675-700 A.C.)

S. 602.

¹ Where possible, approximate reign-periods are given in brackets. The known dates are given under the respective names of kings.

V The Chālukyas of Gujarat

Dharāśraya-Jayasīṃha (670-695 A.C.)

K. 436.

Sryāśraya-Silāditya
K. 421; K. 443.

Jayāśraya-Maṅgalarasa
S. 613; S. 653.

Avanijanaśraya-Pulakēśin
K. 490.

VI The Dynasty of Hariśchandra

Svāmichandra (660-685 A.C.)

Siṃhavarman (685-700 A.C.)

Bhōgaśakti (700-715 A.C.)
K. 461.

VII The Kalachuris of Māhishmatī

Kṛishnarāja (550-575 A.C.)

San̄karagaṇa (575-600 A.C.)
K. 347.

Buddharāja (600-620 A.C.)
K. 360; K. 361.

VIII The Kalachuris of Tripurī

Vāmarāja (675-700 A.C.)

San̄karagaṇa I (750-775 A.C.)

Lakshmanarāja I (825-850 A.C.)
K. 593.

Kōkalla I (850-890 A.C.)

San̄karagaṇa *alias* Mugdhatuṅga-Presiddha-
dhavala-Raṇavigraha (890-910 A.C.)

Arjuna
Āmaṇadēva

Bālaharsha
(910-915 A.C.)

Yuvarjadēva I (915-945 A.C.)
m. Nōhalā

Lakshmanarāja II (945-970 A.C.)
m. Rāhaḍā

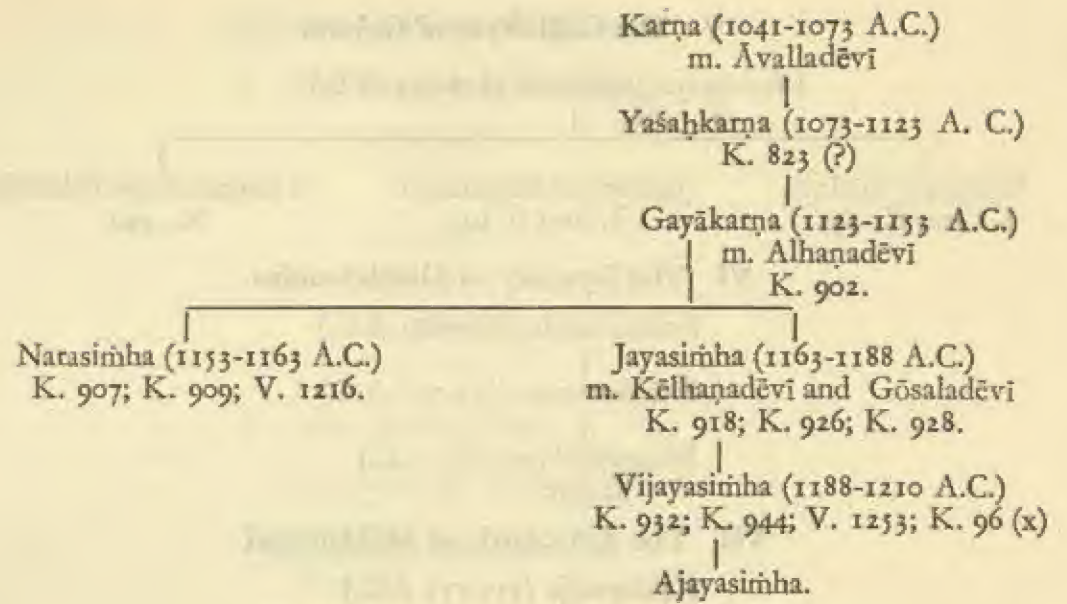
San̄karagaṇa III (970-980 A.C.)

Yuvarjadēva II (980-990 A.C.)

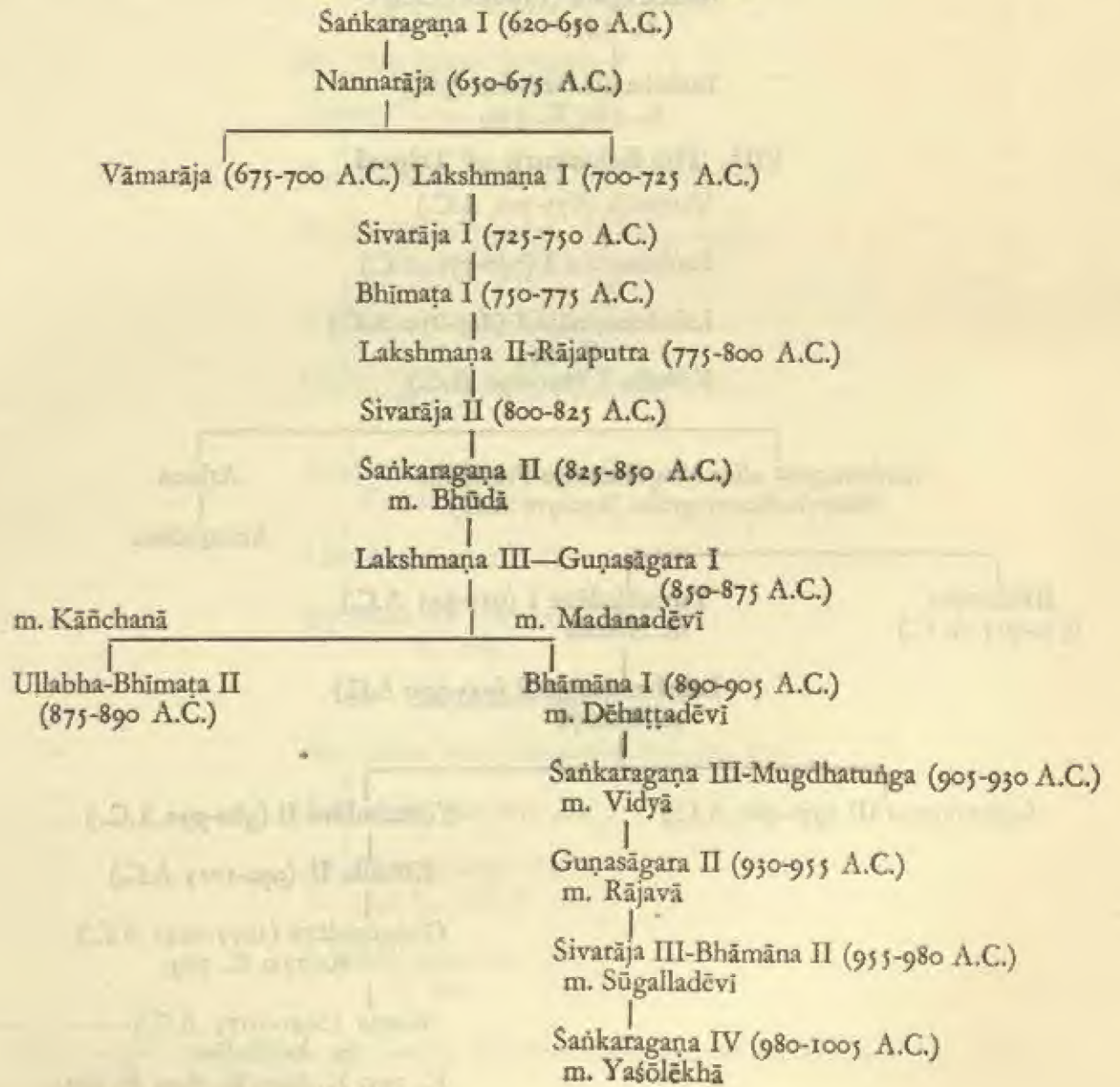
Kōkalla II (990-1015 A.C.)

Gāṅgēyadēva (1015-1041 A.C.)
K. 772; K. 789.

Karṇa (1041-1073 A.C.)
m. Āvalladēvi
K. 793; K. 800; K. 810; K. 812.



IX The Kalachuris of Sarayūpāra



Śaṅkaragaṇa IV (980-1005 A. C.)

|
Bhīma (or Bhīmaṭa III) (1005-1031 A.C.)
m. Lāvanyavatī

|
Vyāsa (1031-1055 A.C.)
V. 1087.

|
Sōḍhadēva (1055-1080 A. C.)
V. 1134; V. 1135.

X The Kalachuris of Ratanpur (Ratnapura)

Kaliṅgarāja (1000-1020 A.C.)

|
Kamalarāja (1020-1045 A.C.)

|
Ratnadēva I (1045-1065 A.C.)
m. Nōnallā

|
Prithvidēva I (1065-1090 A.C.)
K. 821; K. 831.

|
Jājalladēva I (1090-1120 A.C.)
m. Lāchchhalladēvī
K. 866.

|
Ratnadēva II (1120-1135 A.C.)
K. 878; K. 880; K. 885.

|
Prithvidēva II (1135-1165 A.C.)
K. 890; K. 893; K. 896; K. 897; K. 900; K. 905; K. 910; K. 915.

|
Jagaddēva (1170-1175 A. C.)
m. Sōmaladēvī

|
Jājalladēva II (1165-1170 A.C.)
K. 919.

|
Ratnadēva III (1175-1200 A.C.)
K. 933.

|
Pratāpamalla (1200-1225 A.C.)
K. 965; K. 969.

|
Lakshmīdēva (1325-1355 A.C.)

|
Śimhaṇa (1355-1375 A.C.)

|
(Ratanpur Branch)

Daṅghīra (1375-1400 A.C.)

|
Madanabrahman (1400-1425 A.C.)

|
Rāmachandra (1425-1450 A.C.)

|
Ratnaśēna (1450-1480 A.C.)
m. Guṇḍāyī

|
Vāhara (1480-1525 A.C.)
V. 1552; V. 1570.

|
(Raipur Branch)

Rāmachandra (1375-1400 A.C.)

|
Brahmadēva (1400-1425 A.C.)
V. 1458; V. 1470.

TEXTS AND TRANSLATIONS

INSCRIPTION OF THE ABHIRAS

No. 1; PLATE I

NASIK CAVE INSCRIPTION OF ISVARASENA : (KALACHURI) YEAR 9

THIS inscription was first brought to notice by Messrs. Edward W. West and Arthur A. West in their article entitled 'Nasik Cave Inscriptions' published in the *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol. VII (1864), pp. 37 ff. They published a fairly correct eye-copy of the record and, though they gave no transcript of it, they noticed correctly the date which occurs in lines 2-3. The record was first transcribed, with notes and an English translation, by Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar in his *Notices* published in the *Transactions of the International Congress of Orientalists*, London, 1874, pp. 341 ff. It was next copied by Pandit Bhagvanlal Indrajī. Though the Pandit did the work with his wonted skill, his facsimile published in the *Archæological Survey of Western India*, Vol. IV, Plate LIII, No. 12, is considerably worked up by hand. In 1883 Pandit Bhagvanlal published a transcript of the inscription together with a Sanskrit rendering and an English translation in the *Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency*, Vol. XVI (Nasik District), pp. 579 ff. In the same year Dr. Bühler also, working on Pandit Bhagvanlal's facsimile, published a transcript and an English translation of the epigraph in the aforementioned volume of the *Archæological Survey of Western India*. The inscription was finally edited with a purely mechanical facsimile by Prof. E. Senart in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. VIII, pp. 88 ff. and Plate VII (15). Prof. Senart's edition has remained the standard one to the present day. The record is edited here from the Plate accompanying Prof. Senart's article as well as a fresh estampage supplied by the Superintendent, Archæological Survey, Western Circle.

The epigraph is incised on the left wall of the court in Cave No. X on the so-called Pāṇḍu-lēṇa hill, 5 miles south-west from Nasik, the head-quarters of the Nasik District in the Bombay State. It seems to have originally consisted of 15 lines, but only the first thirteen of them can now be read. Even in this part, the record has suffered considerably on the right-hand side by exposure to weather, and three or four *akṣaras* at the end of almost every line have now become almost illegible. In several cases they can, however, be read from the traces left behind, or restored conjecturally. The average size of the letters is 1.2".

The characters belong to the Brāhmī alphabet of a slightly later age than in the inscriptions of the Śātavāhanas. In some respects, however, as in the subscript tripartite *y*, they show archaic forms; see *Māḍharīputrasya*, l. 1; *-vāstavyasya*, l. 7, etc. Notice also *p* in *gaṇapaka-*, l. 4, which has a long vertical on the left. As Dr. Bühler has already noticed,¹ some of the letters are cursive; see, e. g., the forms of *t* and *n*, derived from looped types, in *parvata-*, l. 7 and *Īśvarasēnasya*, l. 2, as well as the form of *jīṇa* in *vājñāḥ*, l. 1. Some of the other peculiarities worthy of notice are as follows:—*n* in *upāsikāyā*, l. 6, has a horizontal stroke at the top; the rare *ō* occurs in *ōdayamtrika-*, l. 10; the medial *n* in *dubitrā*, l. 4, is formed by a curve open on the right, like the medial *ṛi* of later times. *Kb* has a loop on the right; see *sukb-ārtham*, l. 7; *y* is generally flat as in Kushāṇa records, but the

¹ I.P., p. 43.

round form also occurs sporadically; see *upāsikāyā-*, l. 6 and *ōdayamtrika-*, l. 10; *l* is bent towards the left; see *tilapīshaka-*, l. 11. Finally, the palatal *ś* has two forms, the earlier one with a vertical middle stroke occurs in *viśvavarmasya*, l. 5, while the later one in which the stroke is placed horizontally is noticed in other places; see e.g. *Sak-Agnivarmmaṇaḥ*, l. 4. The numerical symbol for 1000 occurs in l. 10, that for 500 in l. 11, those for 10, 4 and 3 in l. 3 and that for 2 in l. 10. A symbol denoting 9 seems to have occurred at the end of line 2, but it is now rather indistinct.

The language is Sanskrit with some admixture of Prakrit forms. See, e.g., *Gimha-pakhe* and *ebotbe* in l. 3, [*eta*] *yā purvayā* in ll. 3-4; *giḷāna-*, l. 8, etc. As for orthography, the only point which calls for notice is the reduplication of *m* after *r* in *Sak-Agnivarmmaṇaḥ*, l. 4.

The inscription refers itself to the reign of the Ābhīra king (Rājan) *Īśvarasēna*, the son of the Ābhīra *Śivadatta* and *Māḍharī*. The object of it is to record the foundation, by an *upāsikā* or lay devotee named *Vishṇudattā*, of a perpetual endowment to provide medicines for the sick among the community of Buddhist monks from the four quarters, dwelling in the monastery on the *Triraśmī* mountain. *Vishṇudattā* belonged to the Śaka race. She was the daughter of the Śaka *Agnivarmaṇa*, wife of the *Gaṇapaka* (Accountant) *Rēbhīla* and mother of the *Gaṇapaka* *Viśvavarmaṇa*. For the aforementioned perpetual endowment, the following amounts in *kārshāpāṇas*¹ were invested with the various guilds evidently of *Gōvardhana*, viz., a thousand *kārshāpāṇas* with the guild of *kularikas* (potters), two thousand with the guild of manufacturers of hydraulic machines, five hundred with another guild whose name is lost, and some more with the guild of oil-millers.

The record is dated on the thirteenth day of the fourth fortnight of the season *Grīshma* in the ninth (regnal) year of the Ābhīra king *Īśvarasēna*. As shown in the Introduction, *Īśvarasēna* was probably the founder of the so-called *Kalachuri-Chēdi* era. This date must, therefore, be referred to that era. Later dates of the era cite some lunar month, fortnight, *tithī* and week-day, but this first known date of the reckoning is recorded in season, fortnight and day in accordance with the prevailing custom of the time.² According to the epoch of 248-49 A. C. with the year commencing on *Kārttika* śu. di. 1, the thirteenth day of the fourth fortnight of *Grīshma* would fall in 258 A. C. if the year 9 was current, and in 259 A. C. if it was expired. The date does not admit of verification.

Of the geographical names which occur in the present record, *Triraśmī-parvata* (or the three-rayed hill) is plainly identical with the *Pāṇḍu-lēṇa* hill where the epigraph is incised. Pandit Bhagvanlal has suggested that its pyramidal or triple fire-tongue shape was the origin of its name *Triraśmī*³. *Gōvardhana* which was probably mentioned in line 8 is identical with the modern village *Gōvardhan-Gaṅgāpur*⁴ on the right bank of the *Gōdāvarī*, about 6 miles west of *Nasik*. It is mentioned in four other inscriptions on the cave-hill and was, in ancient times, the head-quarters of a territorial division (*ābhāra*) named after it.

¹ *Kārshāpāṇa* was a silver coin weighing about 34 grains. The *kārshāpāṇas* mentioned here were probably those of the Western Kshatrapas which appear to have circulated in Maharashtra during the time of the Ābhīras.

² Most of the Kshatrapa and Sātavāhana inscriptions in the *Nasik* caves contain similar season dates, but two records, viz., Nos. 12 and 14, mention the lunar months *Vaiśākha*, *Kārttika* and *Chaitra*. Season dates survived down to the time of the *Vākātakas*. See the date of the *Dudia* plates of the *Vākātika* *Pravarasēna* II. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. III, pp. 258 ff.

³ *Bom. Gaz.*, Vol. XVI, p. 541.

⁴ The village is in two parts, *Gōvardhan* or *Gōrdhan* above and *Gaṅgāpur* below; *loc. cit.*, p. 558.

TEXT¹

- 1 सिचं [१*] राज्ञः [मा]ढरीपुत्रस्य² शिवदत्ताभीरपुत्रस्य
 2 आभीरस्येश्वरसेनस्य³ संवत्सरे नव[मे]⁴ [९] [गि*]-
 3 म्हपखे⁵ चोथे ४ दिवस त्रयोदश १० ३ [एत*]⁶-
 4 या पुर्वया⁷ शकाग्नवर्मणः दुहित्रा⁸ गणपक[स्य*]⁹
 5 रेभिलस्य [भा]यया गणपकस्य विश्ववर्मस्य [मा*]-
 6 त्रा शकनिकया¹⁰ उपासिका(क)या विष्णुदत्ता(त्त)या सर्वसत्व(त्त्व)हि-
 7 [त]सुखार्थं त्रिरश्मिपर्वतविहारवास्तव्यस्य [चातुदिश]¹¹[स्य]
 8 भिक्षुसंघस्य गिलानभेषजार्थमक्षयनीवी प्रयुक्ता . व . . [वास्त-]¹²
 9 व्यासु आगता[नागता]सु¹³ श्रेणिषु यतः कुलरिकश्रेण्या हस्ते क(का)र्षापण-
 10 सहस्रं १००० ओदयंत्रिकश्रेण्यां¹⁴ सहस्राणि द्वे २ ¹⁵.....
 11 [ण्यां] शतानि पंच ५०० तिलपिषकश्रे[ण्यां]¹⁶.....
 12 एते च क(का)र्षापणा चतालो[पि]¹⁷.....
 13[त]स्य [मास]वृद्धि[तो]¹⁸.....

¹ From 'Nasik Inscriptions'—Plate VII (15), facing p. 88 in *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VIII, and a fresh estampage.

² Pandit Bhagvanlal was the first to read this name, but he admitted that the first two letters of it were doubtful. The facsimile shows clear traces of *gha. Mā* appears to be very much cramped for want of space and may have been added subsequently.

³ Dr. Bhandarkar read आभीरस्य वीरसेनस्य Here, again, Bhagvanlal first read the name which appears to be quite certain.

⁴ The last character मे of नवमे is somewhat indistinct. Bhagvanlal and Senart read नवम, but the Plate shows a slanting stroke to the left on the top, denoting medial *z*. This word seems to have been followed by a symbol denoting 9 (cf. *chothe* 4 in l. 3, below), but it is now rather indistinct. The last character in this line may have been *gi*. Bühler read *gi* in the beginning of the next line.

⁵ Here and in some places below, Prakrit forms have been used. As they are easily intelligible, they have not been rendered into Sanskrit.

⁶ These two *aksharas*, though now completely gone, can be conjecturally restored from the context.

⁷ The superscript *r* of *rva* in *purvayā*, though not noticed before, is as clear here as in *parvata* in line 7, below.

⁸ This *akshara*, though indistinct, appears like *tr* in *Trirasmī*, l. 7.

⁹ Here and in the next line, Bühler read *gaṇāpaka*, but the *ā* stroke is clear in neither case. *Sya* is partially seen on the right border.

¹⁰ Bhandarkar read *bhrātṛi-kani(nya)kayā*. Bhagvanlal's reading [mā]trā *Sakanikayā* accepted by Senart is, however, supported by both the facsimile and the context.

¹¹ These four *aksharas* are rather indistinct. There appears one more *akshara*, viz. *sya*, at the end of the line.

¹² The *aksharas* lost here were conjecturally restored by Bühler as *Gōvardhanavāsta*. *Vāsta* is faintly seen at the end of this line.

¹³ Bühler read *Sugatāgatāsu*, but it gives no good sense. Besides, the Plate shows the *akshara* *nā* between *tā* and *ga*. Like Senart, I have adopted the above reading, first proposed by Bhandarkar.

¹⁴ Bhagvanlal read *ōḍayanitrika*, but as Senart has already observed, the letters *da* and *ḍa* can hardly be distinguished in so defaced an inscription. The *anusvāra* on *nyā* is clear in the estampage.

¹⁵ The facsimile in *A.S.W.I.* as well as the fresh estampage shows the figure 2. One would rather expect here the symbol for a thousand with a horizontal stroke added on the right. The name of the *śrēṇī* which must have occurred at the end of this line is now illegible.

¹⁶ The facsimile in *A.S.W.I.* shows two more *aksharas* *śatā* which are omitted in the Plate in *Ep. Ind.*

¹⁷ See below, p. 4, n. 6.

¹⁸ The facsimile in *A.S.W.I.* has traces of seven more *aksharas* which can be read as सर्व रक्षति विद्या, but they are omitted in the Plate in *Ep. Ind.* The *aksharas* in the next two lines are completely effaced.

TRANSLATION

Success! In the ninth—9—year of the king, the Ābhīra Īśvarasēna, son of the Ābhīra Śivadatta (and) son of Mādharī, on the thirteenth—10 (and) 3—day in the fourth—4—fortnight of summer, on this aforementioned (day) the lay devotee Viṣṇudattā of the Śaka race¹, mother of the Gaṇapaka² Viśvavarman, wife of the Gaṇapaka Rēbhila (and) daughter of the Śaka Agnivarman, has invested the (following) perpetual endowment in the present and future guilds,³ dwelling at Gōvardhana, in order to provide medicines for the sick among the community of monks from the four quarters dwelling in (this) monastery on Mount Triraśmi, for the well-being and happiness of all creatures, viz., a thousand—1000—*kārshāpaṇas* in the hands of the guild of *Kularikas*⁴, two thousand—2000—*kārshāpaṇas* in the guild of the manufacturers of hydraulic machines⁵, five hundred—500—in the guild of (and) in the guild of oil-millers.

(Line 12) All these four⁶ (investments of) *kārshāpaṇas* by the monthly interest of⁷

¹ *Sakanikā* seems to be used here in the sense of a woman of the Śaka race. *Nikā* was added as a suffix in the sense of a woman, like the later *ambā*. Cf. *Vijayā* and *Vijayanikā* in inscriptions Nos. 1, 9 and 19 at Kuṇḍā. *I.C.T.W.I.*, pp. 4 ff.

² Bühler took *Gaṇapaka* to mean 'the protector or leader of a *gaṇa*'. A *gaṇa*, according to him, consists of three *gūlmas* or battalions, and may be taken as an equivalent of 'a colonel' or 'a brigadier-general.' Senart derived the word from *gaṇāpayati* (irregular for *gaṇayati*) and understood it to mean 'an accountant' or 'an astrologer'. Mr. Bakhle, on the other hand, thinks that it means the President of a *gaṇa* or republican state. *J.B.R.B.A.S. (N.S.)*, Vol. IV, p. 78.

³ Bühler, who read *Sugatāgatāsu*, translated, 'with the Buddha (?) companies dwelling in (Gōvardhana)'. The expression *āgatānāgatāsu* is intended to commit the specified guilds existing at the time and their successors to the payment of the perpetual interest.

⁴ *Kularika* may be identical with *kuḷāla*, a potter, as conjectured by Bühler, or with *kaulika*, a weaver, as suggested by Bhandarkar. The guild of the *kaulikas* (*kōlika-nikāya*) is mentioned in l. 2 of the Nāsik cave inscription No. 12.

⁵ *Ōḍayantrika* is properly *andayantrika*. It probably signified 'a worker fabricating hydraulic engines, water-clocks or others' (Senart).

⁶ Previous editors, who read *ebatālāpa* or *ebatālepa*, failed to understand it and omitted it in their translations. The correct reading appears to be *ebatālo-pi* and signifies 'all the four'. *Ebatālo* is plainly to be equated with *ebatāro* meaning 'four'. Cf. *SHC.*, VIII, 3, 122. The reference is evidently to the investment of the four amounts of *kārshāpaṇas* in the four guilds named in the epigraph.

⁷ The last two lines of the record, now completely effaced, may have stated how the interest was to be utilised. Compare ll. 3 ff. of Nāsik cave inscription No. 12. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VIII, p. 82.

NASIK CAVE INSCRIPTION OF ISVARASENA: (KALACHURI) YEAR 9.



INSCRIPTIONS OF THE MAHARAJAS OF VALKHA

NO. 2; PLATE II A

INDORE PLATE OF SVAMIDASA: (KALACHURI) YEAR 67

THIS was one of the two copper-plates obtained by Dr. D.R. Bhandarkar from Pandit Vamanasastri Islampurkar of Indore¹. Dr. Bhandarkar handed them over to Dr. R. C. Majumdar, who edited them together in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XV, pp. 286 f. and plates. Their contents and dates were discussed by me in an article entitled 'An Ancient Dynasty of Khandesh' published in the *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute*, Vol. XXV, pp. 159 f. The inscription on the present plate is edited here from the facsimile accompanying Dr. Majumdar's article.

The inscription is incised on one side only of a single copper-plate measuring 7.6" broad and 4.1" high. It has no ring-hole and shows no sign of a seal having ever been attached to it. The plate has nine lines of writing, of which the last, containing the sign-manual of the reigning king, is incised in the margin on the left. The writing is in an excellent state of preservation. The size of the letters varies from .2" to .4".

The characters belong to the western variety of the southern alphabets, with knobs at the top. They show considerable development over those of the Nasik cave inscription of Īśvarasēna,² which was incised only about sixty years before. The letters *a*, *k*, *ñ* and *r*, for instance, have developed curves at the lower end of their verticals, distinctive of the southern alphabet; *th* is shown by a curling curve open to the right; see *-pathakē*, l. 3; *n* has developed a loop, while the vertical of *l* curves to the left; see *-pād-ānuddhyātō*, l. 1 and *Sāṇḍīya*, l. 3; the subscript *y* has assumed a bipartite form; see *Āryya*, l. 4. As regards medial vowels, *i* now forms a complete curve; its long form is indicated by a curling curve turned to the left; the *mātrās* for *ā*, *ē*, *ai* and *ō* appear in some cases above the line; and the medial *au* is bipartite in *-pauṭra*, l. 5. The symbols for 60, 7 and 5 occur in l. 8.

The language is Sanskrit. There is now little admixture of Prakrit forms, the only cases occurring in this epigraph being *santaka*, l. 2 and *kṛishāpayatub*, l. 7, which however persisted for a long time. As regards orthography, the only peculiarity which calls for notice is the reduplication of the consonant before *y* and after *r*; see *pād-ānuddhyātō*, l. 1 and *sarvān*, l. 2.

The inscription refers itself to the reign of *Mahārāja Svāmidāsa*. The object of it is to record confirmation,³ by Svāmidāsa, of the gift of a field in the village *Dakṣhiṇa-Valmika-tallavāṭaka* (South Valmika-tallavāṭaka) which was situated in the territorial subdivision *Nagarikā-pathaka*. The plate was issued from Valkha, which was evidently then the royal capital. The *Dūtaka* was Nannabhaṭṭi. The record is dated on the 5th tithi of the bright fortnight of *Jyēshṭha* in the year 67 (expressed by numerical symbols) of an unspecified era. It may be noted that the year in this case is introduced with the

¹ See *Ep. Ind.*, Vols. XV, p. 286 and XXIV, p. 52. The other copper-plate was issued by Bhulūṇḍa. See below, No. 3.

² Above, No. 1.

³ The use of the words *samanujjāyā* (mō) in ll. 2-3 and *kṛit-ānujñāya* in l. 6 as well as the absence of any statement that it was a royal grant indicate that *Mahārāja Svāmidāsa* only confirmed the gift. Who the donor was is not known. The plate of Bhulūṇḍa (No. 3, below), which bears close resemblance to the present record, mentions a person named Āśhādhanandin at whose request the gift was confirmed.

word *varsha* in stead of the usual *samvat*. The plate is signed by the *Mahārāja*, the illustrious Svāmidāsa.

Svāmidāsa who issued the present plate was only a feudatory chief; for he describes himself as *parama-bhaṭṭāraka-pād-ānudyāta* 'meditating on the feet of the Great Lord', though he does not name his suzerain. The latter probably belonged to the Imperial family which started the era in which the date of the present inscription is recorded. The date does not admit of verification in the absence of such details as a week-day or a *nakshatra*. We must therefore identify the era to which it refers, on other evidence. Unfortunately, the provenance of the plate has not been recorded, but there is one circumstance which affords a clue. The present grant bears close resemblance to the Sirpur grant¹ of Rudradāsa, dated in the year 107, in several respects, *viz.*, (i) the names of the princes in both the cases end in *dāsa*; (ii) both the princes bear the title *Mahārāja* and acknowledge their feudatory status in the same words; (iii) the characters and phraseology of the two grants are strikingly similar; (iv) the date is similarly worded and the year is introduced with the word *varsha* in both the grants. These similarities² leave no doubt that the two grants belong to the same royal family and came originally from the same part of the country. As the grant of Rudradāsa is known to have been found at Sirpur in the Khandesh District, that of Svāmidāsa also must, in all probability, have originally belonged to the same district of Northern Maharashtra. Pandit Islampurkar, who was engaged in collecting manuscripts and ancient historical records in different parts of the country, seems to have obtained the plate somewhere in Khandesh and taken it to Indore.

Dr. Majumdar referred the date of the present plate to the Gupta era on the ground that its characters resemble those of the Sāñchī inscription of Chandragupta II. This view cannot now be upheld; for we have no evidence of the spread of the Gupta era to Northern Maharashtra where, as we have seen, the plate was probably found.³ The use of the word *varsha* in recording the year of the grant may perhaps be taken to point to the Śaka era⁴, but that era is out of the question here, as the characters of the present grant are far more developed than those current in the second century A. C. The only other era to which the date can be referred is the so-called Kalachuri era founded in 249 A. C. by the Ābhīra king Īśvarasēna. Accordingly, the date would correspond, for the expired year 67, to the 2nd May 317 A. C.⁵ It does not admit of verification.

As for the localities mentioned in the present grant, Valkha, which was probably the

¹ No. 4, below.

² The place of issue is not named in the extant portion of the Sirpur grant, but it must have been mentioned in the beginning of the first line where two or three letters have been lost owing to the breaking off of a piece of the plate on the left. The sign-manual of *Mahārāja* Rudradāsa, which must have been incised in the margin on the left, is also lost.

³ In fact there is no evidence of the spread of the Gupta era south of the Narmadā except the solitary grant of Bhīmasēna II (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IX, pp. 342 ff. and Vol. XXVI, pp. 227 ff.) That grant, however, belongs to Kōsalā or modern Chhattisgarh, the ruler of which had submitted to Samudragupta. Khandesh, on the other hand, was never under the direct or indirect rule of the Guptas. The old identification of Ēraṇḍapalli mentioned in the Allahabad pillar inscription of Samudragupta with Ēraṇḍōl in Khandesh, proposed by Fleet, is now held to be untenable. See Dubreuil, *Ancient History of the Deccan*, pp. 59 f.

⁴ Dr. Kielhorn has shown that the word *varsha* is characteristic of the Śaka era. See *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXVI, p. 150. The use of that word in the present grant seems to be in imitation of the older grants dated in the Śaka era which was previously current in Maharashtra.

⁵ In the case of early records of the Kalachuri era (Nos. 1-34), the dates are calculated according to the epoch of 249-50 A. C. for an expired year.

royal capital at the time, may be identical with Vāghlī, about 6 miles north by east of Chalisgaon in the East Khandesh District, on the Bombay-Bhusawal line of the G.I.P. Railway. It is an old place as it contains some ancient temples and old Sanskrit inscriptions.¹ One of these inscriptions² in three parts, edited by Dr. Kielhorn, shows that Vāghlī became afterwards the capital of a feudatory royal family which originally hailed from Valabhī in Kathiawad, and later on owed allegiance to the Yādavas of Khandesh.³ Nagarikā, the head-quarters of the territorial division (*pathaka*) named after it, may be identical with Nagar Dēvlā, about 10 miles north-east of Vāghlī, which also contains an old *Hēmāḍpanti* temple of Mahādēva.⁴ Finally, Valmika-tallavāṭaka may be Talwāḍ khurd, about 15 miles north by west of Nagar Dēvlā.⁵

TEXT⁶

- 1 वल्खा[त्*] परमभट्टारकपादानुद्धातो महाराजश्रीस्वामिदासः समाज्ञा-
- 2 पयति सर्वनिवास्मत्सन्तकाना⁷युक्तकाटि⁸ज्ञातमस्तु व[ः*] समनुजा-
- 3 नीयोस्मि⁹ शाण्डिल्यसगोत्रमुण्डब्राह्मण(ण)स्य नगरिकापथके दक्षिणव-
- 4 लिंकतल्लवाटके आय्यवानि(णि)जकप्रत्ययक्षेत्रपदं ब्रह्मदेयमाचन्द्रा-
- 5 कंतारककालीयं पुत्रपौत्रान्वयभोज्यं¹⁰ भोगायैव¹¹मिदानि(नी)मस्य(स्या)स्मा-
- 6 भिवक्तुतः नन्नस्यो¹²चितया ब्रह्मदेयभुक्त्या भुञ्जत[ः*] कृपतः कृपा-
- 7 पयतश्च¹³ सर्वरेवा[स्म]पक्षतक्तुल्यादिभि¹⁴स्मामनुमन्तव्यं(व्यम् ।)
- 8 नन्नभट्टि दूतकः¹⁵ [1*] वर्षे ६० ७ ज्येष्ठ शु ५ [1*]
- 9 (In the margin) महाराजश्रीस्वामिदासस्य [1*]

TRANSLATION

From Valkha—the *Mahārāja*, the illustrious *Svāmidāsa*, who meditates on the fee of the *Paramabhaṭṭāraka* (Great Lord), issues the (*following*) order to all his¹⁶ officers—

“Be it known to you that We (*hereby*) give Our assent to the *brahmadēya* gift of a field, belonging to the merchant Ārya and situated in the southern Valmika-tallavāṭaka in the *pathaka* of Nagarikā, to this Brāhmaṇa Muṇḍa of the Śāṇḍilya *gōtra*, to be enjoyed

¹ K. D. G., p. 478.

² Ep. Ind., Vol. II, pp. 221 ff.

³ Rao Bahadur K.N. Dikshit suggested that Valkha might be identical with Bāhaj in the Chalisgaon tālukā, where a large hoard of punch-marked coins was recently found.

⁴ K. D. G., p. 457.

⁵ The place-name seems to have dropped *Valmika* in course of time. Dr. Majumdar's identification of Nagarikā with Nagar which lies 75 miles from the borders of the former Indore State, and of Tallavāṭaka either with Adalwār, 37 miles north-east from Nagar, or with Talōrā, 50 miles north-east from the same city, cannot be accepted as the plate did not come from North India.

⁶ From the facsimile facing p. 289, Ep. Ind., Vol. XV.

⁷ This should properly be स्वसन्तका—.

⁸ Read —नायुक्तकान्विज्ञात—.

⁹ Read समनुजानीभोज्य as in the plate of Bhulūṇḍa (No. 3).

¹⁰ Read पुत्रपौत्रान्वयभोज्य.

¹¹ Read भोगाय । एवमिदानी—.

¹² Read —स्माभिः कृतानुब्रस्यो—.

¹³ Read कर्षयतश्च.

¹⁴ Read —स्मत्पक्षतक्तुल्यादिभि—.

¹⁵ Read नन्नभट्टिदूतकः.

¹⁶ Lit., Our.

(*by him*) (*and*) by a succession of his sons and sons' sons as long as the moon, the sun and the stars would endure.

(Line 5) (*Wherefore*) all persons connected with Us, those born in their families and others should consent to this grant, (*since*) he has now been permitted by Us, so long as he enjoys (*the field*), cultivates it and causes it to be cultivated according to the conditions for enjoying *brahmadēya* (*land*)."

(L. 8) The *Dūtaka*¹ is Nannabhāṭṭi. In the year 60 (*and*) 7, (*in the month of*) Jyēṣṭha (*and*) the bright fortnight, (*on the lunar day*) 5.

(*In the margin*) Of the *Mahārāja*, the illustrious Svāmidāsa.

NO. 3; PLATE II B

INDORE PLATE OF BHULUNDA: (KALACHURI) YEAR 107

THIS copper-plate, like the preceding one of Svāmidāsa,² was in the possession of Pandit Vamanasastri Islampurkar of Indore, from whom it was obtained by Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar. The two plates were edited together by Dr. R. C. Majumdar in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XV, pp. 286 ff. and plates. I edit the record here from the facsimile accompanying Dr. Majumdar's article.

The present record also is on a single copper-plate and is incised only on one side of it, measuring 8.25" broad and 3.75" high. The plate has no ring-hole and does not appear to have ever had a seal attached to it. It has 9 lines of writing, of which the last one containing the royal sign-manual is incised in the margin on the left as in the case of Svāmidāsa's plate. The size of the letters varies from .2" to .5".

The characters belong to the western variety of the southern alphabets, generally resembling those of the preceding plate, though more cursive in form. The only peculiarities worth noting are—(i) medial *ī* (long) is shown by two curves turned in opposite directions as also by a curve curling to the left; see *samanujānīmō*, l. 2; *-kālīnam*, l. 5 etc.; (ii) *ḍ* and *d* are not clearly distinguished; see *Bhulunḍaḥ*, l. 1 and *Skandō*, l. 8; (iii) the *jibvāmūliya* occurs in l. 6 and numerical symbols for 100, 10, 7 and 2, in l. 8.

The language is Sanskrit. The wording of the grant closely resembles that of the grant of Svāmidāsa. The orthography also shows the same peculiarities.

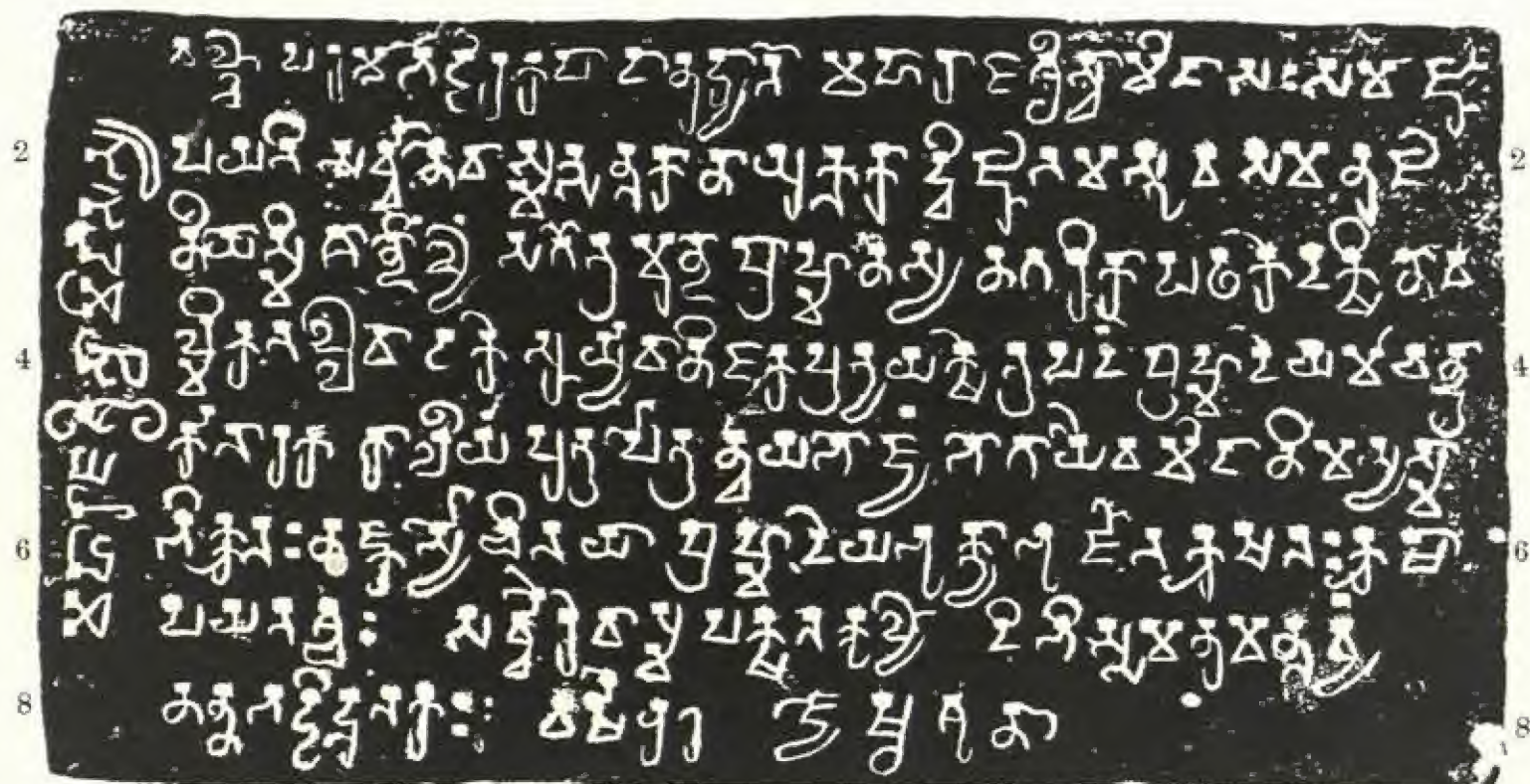
The inscription refers itself to the reign of *Mahārāja Bhulunḍa*. Like Svāmidāsa, he also describes himself as *paramabhoṭṭāraka-pād-ānudhyāta* and therefore seems to have owed allegiance to some lord paramount.³ The object of the inscription is to record the assent, by *Mahārāja Bhulunḍa*, to the *brahmadēya* gift of a field belonging to one Khuddataka together with the surrounding *kacchha* (bank), to a Brāhmaṇa named Kusāraka, at the request of Āshāḍhanandin. The field was situated on the boundary of a place named Ulladana. Āshāḍhanandin seems to have purchased the field from the owner, donated it to the Brāhmaṇa, and applied to the king for the confirmation of the gift. The royal order was issued from Valkha. The record is dated in the year (*varsha*) 107 (expressed in numerical symbols only) on the 12th tithi of the dark fortnight of Phālguna. The *Dūtaka* of the grant was the *Pratihāra* Skanda. The plate is signed by the *Mahārāja Bhulunḍa* in the margin on the left.

¹ *Dūtaka*, also called *Ajñapti* in some grants, mentioned generally at the end of early copper-plate charters, was an officer charged with the execution of the royal order. Compare *kārāvaka* used in the same sense in a grant of the Vākātakas. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXIII, p. 87.

² No. 2, above.

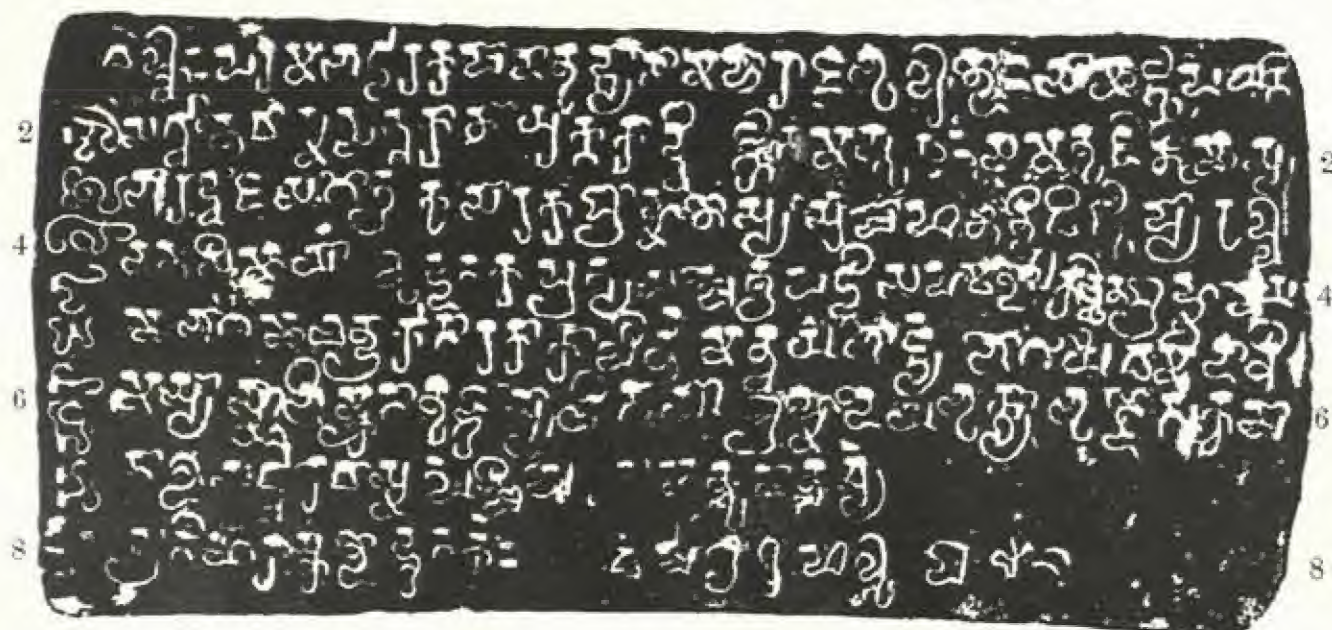
³ See above, p. 6.

A.—INDORE PLATE OF SVAMIDASA: (KALACHURI) YEAR 67.



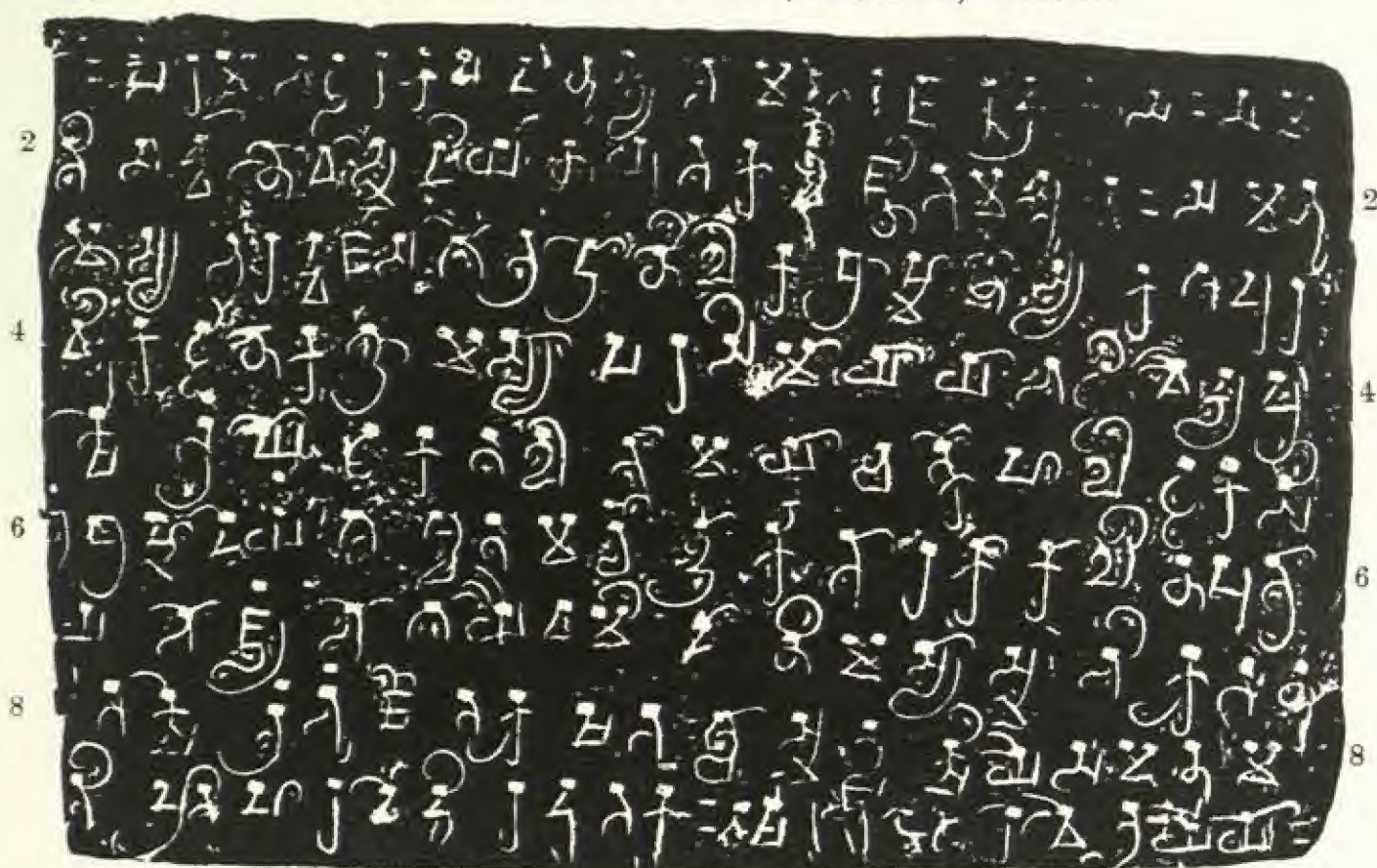
ACTUAL SIZE.

B.—INDORE PLATE OF BHULUNDA: (KALACHURI) YEAR 107.



ii,c.

C.—SIRPUR PLATE OF RUDRADASA: (KALACHURI) YEAR 117.



ACTUAL SIZE.

The close similarity in the characters, phraseology, royal sign-manual and mode of dating of the plates of the *Mabārājas* Svāmidāsa and Bhulūṇḍa leaves no doubt that they originally came from the same part of the country, which, as already stated, was probably the Khandesh District. The date of the present plate must therefore be referred to the same reckoning, *viz.*, the Kalachuri era. According to the epoch of 248-49 A. C., it corresponds, for the *amānta* Phālguna in the expired year 107, to the 4th March 357 A. C. The date does not admit of verification.

As for the places mentioned in the present record, Valkha, as shown before,¹ is probably identical with Vāghlī near Chalisgaon in the East Khandesh District. Ulladana may be the same as Udhli, about 9 miles east of Bhusawal. The description in the present plate that the field in Ulladana was granted together with the surrounding *kachchha* suits Udhli very well; for it is situated on the bank of the Tāpi.

TEXT²

- 1 वल्खाः (ल्वात् ।) परमभट्टारकपादानुद्धृतातो महाराजभुलुण्डः समाज्ञापयति
- 2 सव्वनिवासत्सन्तका³नायुक्तकाद्विज्ञातमस्तु वः समनुजानीमोस्य
- 3 भारद्वाजसगोत्रकुसारकब्राह्मणस्य आषाढण (न) न्दिविज्ञाप्या⁴ उल्ल—
- 4 दन⁵सीमायां खुदतकप्रत्ययक्षेत्रपट्टि (ट्टि) सह मण्डलकच्छेन ब्रह्मदेय—
- 5 मभागमाचन्द्रार्कतारकाकालीनमन्वयभोज्यं⁷ भोगायै⁸वमिदानी—
- 6 मस्यास्माभिः⁹कृतानुज्ञस्योचितया ब्रह्मदेयभुक्त्या भुञ्जतः[*] कृपा—
- 7 तावच्च⁹ स[र्व]रेवास्मत्पक्षीयै¹⁰ समनुमन्तव्यं (व्यम्) [1*]
- 8 प्रतिहारस्कन्दो दूतकः [1*] वर्षे १०० ७ फल्गु¹¹ व १० २ [1*]
- 9 (In the margin) मा (म) महाराजभुलुण्डस्य [1*]

TRANSLATION

From Valkha—*Mabārāja Bhulūṇḍa*, who meditates on the feet of the *Paramabhaddāraka* (Great Lord), issues the (*following*) command to all his¹² officers:—

(Line 2) “Be it known to you that at the request of Āshāḍhanandin, We (*hereby*) give Our assent to the entire *brahmadēya* gift of a strip of land consisting of the field belonging to Khuddataka, together with the surrounding *kachchha* (*bank*), on the boundary of Ulladana, to the Brāhmaṇa Kusāraka of the Bhāradvāja *gōtra*, to be enjoyed by (*him and*) his descendants as long as the moon, the sun and the stars would endure.

(L. 5) (*Wherefore*), all persons connected with Us should consent to this grant, now

¹ Above, p. 6.

² From the facsimile facing page 289, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XV.

³ This should properly be सव्वनिव स्वसन्तका—.

⁴ Read —नायुक्तकान्वि—.

⁵ Read आषाढनन्दिविज्ञाप्या.

⁶ Dr. Majumdar read उल्लदन, but the first *akshara* is clearly *u*. In *ru*, the curve should have been turned to the left, and another, turned downwards, added to the vertical stroke.

⁷ Read —कालीनमन्वयभोज्यं.

⁸ Read भोगाय । एवमिदानी—.

⁹ Read कृपात—.

¹⁰ Read —स्मत्पक्षीयैः.

¹¹ Read फाल्गुन.

¹² *Lit.*, Our.

that he has thus been permitted by Us, so long as he enjoys and cultivates the field according to the conditions for enjoying *brahmadēya* (land)."

The *Dātaka* is *Pratibāra Skanda*.

(L. 8) In the year 100 (and) 7, in the month Phālguna (and) the dark fortnight, (on the lunar day) 10 (and) 2.

(In the margin) Of the *Mahārāja Bhulunḍa*.

No. 4; PLATE II C

SIRPUR PLATE OF RUDRADASA: (KALACHURI) YEAR 117

THIS copper-plate was discovered in 1884, in the possession of one Motiram Patil of Sirpur¹ in the West Khandesh District of the Bombay State. It has been edited before, with a lithograph, but without a translation, by Pandit Bhagvanlal Indraji in the *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XVI (1887), pp. 98 ff. It is edited here from the same lithograph.

It is a fragmentary plate, the extant piece measuring 7" broad and 4.5" high. It is intact at the top, the bottom and the right side; but from the left side a narrow piece, about 1" broad, has been broken off the whole way down, so that about three *akṣharas* have been lost at the beginning of each line. There is no hole in the extant piece; and from the close resemblance which the record on this plate bears to the last two grants, it does not seem likely that there was any hole in the lost piece also. In any case no ring or seal was discovered with the plate. The present inscription is incised only on one side of it, but on the other side, Pandit Bhagvanlal found seven faintly cut shell-characters.

The inscription consists of nine lines. The writing is in a state of good preservation throughout. The average size of the letters is .3". The characters belong to the western variety of the southern alphabets and resemble those of the plate of *Mahārāja Svāmidāsa*,² though they are somewhat more angular. Like the latter, they have knobs at the top of the letters. They include, in line 9, the symbols for 100, 10 and 7. In some cases we see an admixture of different forms; *ν*, for instance, has generally the triangular form as in the inscriptions of *Svāmidāsa* and *Bhulunḍa*; see *sarvāṇ-ēva* in line 2 and *bhōgāy-aiva* in line 7; but in *yāvat*, l. 5, it has the same shape as in the copper-plate inscriptions of the *Vākātaka Pravarasēna II*. Pandit Bhagvanlal referred the present record to the beginning of the sixth century A. C., but in view of the earlier forms of some letters like *d* and *m*, I would date it about the middle or end of the fourth century A. C.

The language is Sanskrit, and the inscription is in prose throughout. The wording of the grant resembles, *mutatis mutandis*, that of the preceding grants of *Svāmidāsa* and *Bhulunḍa*, but it is written very carelessly. The orthography also shows the same peculiarities.

The inscription refers itself to the reign of *Mahārāja Rudradāsa*. He describes himself as *paramabhaṭṭāraka-pād-ānudyāta* 'meditating on the feet of the Great Lord', which clearly indicates his feudatory status. The object of the inscription is to record the assent, by *Mahārāja Rudradāsa*, to the gift of a field named *Ghōṭakatala* situated on the western boundary of the village *Vikattāṇaka*. This village seems to have been included in the *Kaśapura* sub-division(?). The boundary of the field extended as far as *Kōhalaṭṭaka*, which may have been the name of a field or a village. The donee was the *Brāhmaṇa Drōṇilaka* of the *Bharadvāja gōtra*. The place of issue is not named in the extant portion. It must

¹ This place-name is spelt as Shirpur in the Degree Map No. 46 K.

² Above, No. 2.

have been mentioned in the beginning of the first line, where two or three letters have now been lost owing to the breaking off of a piece on the left, and was, in all probability, Valkha. It is noteworthy that the two dots which followed the name of the place of issue are still seen in the beginning of the first line, as on the plate of Bhulūṇḍa. The signature of *Mahārāja* Rudradāsa, which must have occurred in the margin on the left as on the plates of Svāmīdāsa and Bhulūṇḍa, is also lost.

The inscription is dated in line 9 in numerical symbols which are carelessly incised. The intended date appears to be the **third tithi of the month Vaiśākha in the year 117.**¹ The fortnight has not been specified, but it may have been the bright one, as the *tithi* was probably *akṣaya-tritīyā* (Vaiśākha śukla tritīyā). The date is introduced with the word *varsha* as in the preceding two grants. In view of the close resemblance which the present grant bears to those of Svāmīdāsa and Bhulūṇḍa, this date must be referred to the **Kalachuri era.**² According to the epoch of 248-49 A.C. which suits early dates of the era, the present date would correspond, for the expired year 117, to the 18th April 367 A. C. It does not admit of verification.

As for the localities mentioned in the present record, **Vikaṭṭāṇaka** may be Viṭṇērā, about 20 miles south by east of Sirpur. The other places cannot be traced in the vicinity of Sirpur.

TEXT³

- 1 [वल्खा*⁴]: परमभट्टारकपदानुद्धचतो⁵ महाराजरुद्रदसः⁶ समा—
- 2 [ज्ञापय*⁷]ति सव्वणिवा*स्मदीयानयुतक⁸[न्वि]ज्ञातमस्तु वः समनु—
- 3 [जानी*]मोस्य भरद्वज¹⁰सगोत्रद्रोणिलकन्नाहणस्य कशपुरा—
- 4 [न्तर्गत*]विकट्टाणकग्रामस्थापरसीमाया(यां) या¹¹ भट्टिवैद्यप्र—
- 5 [त्ययं*] क्षेत्रं घोटकतल्लताम¹² यावत्कोहलट्टकसी—
- 6 [मासन्वि¹³*] ब्रह्मदेयं शाश्वतमचन्द्रार्कतारकाकालीन¹⁴ पुत्रा¹⁵—

¹ Pandit Bhagvanlal read the date as 118, but the unit figure is 7, not 8. See the figure in No. 12, line 34, below.

² It may be noted here that Dr. Fleet also has, though doubtfully, referred to the Kalachuri era the date of this record, which he, following Pandit Bhagvanlal, read as 118. See *Bom. Gaz.*, Vol. I, Part ii, p. 294.

³ From the photo-lithograph accompanying Pandit Bhagvanlal's article in *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVI, pp. 98 f.

⁴ As the beginning of the second line shows, two or three letters are lost here and at the commencement of each subsequent line. The initial *akṣaras* may have been *Valkhā* (for *Valkhāt*) as in the previous two grants. The horizontal stroke at the top of the second *akṣara* can be marked in the upper left corner.

⁵ Read परमभट्टारकपादानुद्धचतो.

⁶ Read महाराजरुद्रदसः.

⁷ The *akṣaras* marked with an asterisk in this and other rectangular brackets in the beginning of lines 2-9 are supplied conjecturally on the analogy of the previous two grants.

⁸ Read सव्वणिवा—.

⁹ Read —नायुक्तकान्वि—.

¹⁰ Read भरद्वज—.

¹¹ This *akṣara* is redundant.

¹² Read घोटकतल्ल नाम.

¹³ Bhagvanlal suggested —मासान्वयं here.

¹⁴ Read —माचन्द्रार्कतारकाकालीन.

¹⁵ Read पुत्र—.

- 7 [पोत्रान्व*]यभोज्यं¹ भोगायैवमिदानी²मस्यास्माभि[:*] कृतनु³—
 8 [ज्ञस्यै*]तक्षेत्रं भुञ्जत[:*] कृषतः इचा⁴स्मत्पक्षीयै[:*] समनुम—
 9 [स्तव्यमि*]ति [1*] प्रतिहरदोद्विरदुतकं⁵ ॥ वर्षे⁶ १०० १० ७⁷ वै तृयाया⁸ ॥

TRANSLATION

[From Valkha]⁹—*Mahārāja Rudradāsa*, who meditates on the feet of the *Parama-bhaṭṭāraka* (Great Lord), issues the (*following*) order to all his¹⁰ officers—

“Be it known to you that We (*hereby*) give Our assent to the *brahmadēya* gift of a field, called Ghōṭakatala, which belonged (*formerly*) to Bhaṭṭi Vaidya, which is situated on the western boundary of the village *Vikaṭṭāṇaka* included in the *Kaśapura* (sub-division?), extending as far as the boundary of *Kōhalaṭṭaka*, to the Brāhmaṇa Drōṇilaka of the Bharadvāja *gōtra*, to be enjoyed (*by him*) (*and*) by a succession of his sons and sons’ sons for all time as long as the moon, the sun and the stars would endure.

(Line 8) (*Wherefore*), all persons connected with Us should consent to it while he is enjoying and cultivating that field, (*since*) he has now been permitted by Us.

(*This charter has been issued*), the *Pratihāra Dōddhira* being the *Dūtaka*, in the year 100 (*and*) 10 (*and*) 7, (*in the month of*) *Vaiśākha*, on the third (*lunar day*).

¹ Read —भोज्यं.

² Read भोगाय । एवमिदानी—.

³ Read कृतानुज्ञस्यैतत्क्षेत्रं.

⁴ Read कृषतश्चा—.

⁵ Read प्रतिहारदोद्विरदुतकं. Some words like लिखितमिदं are required to be supplied here. See the concluding portion of Nos. 9, 11, 12, etc.

⁶ Read वर्षे. The following *daṇḍa* is superfluous.

⁷ The unit symbol denotes 7, not 8 as supposed by Pandit Bhagvanlal; for it is exactly like the one used in l. 34 of the Ābhōṇa plates of Śaṅkaragaṇa (No. 12).

⁸ Read वैशाखतृतीयायाम्. Bhagvanlal suggested the reading द्वितीयायां which he thought was supported by the two dots at the end. But the latter may be a sign of punctuation like those after दूतकं.

⁹ See above, pp. 10 ff.

¹⁰ *Lit.*, Our.

INSCRIPTIONS OF THE KINGS OF MAHISHMATI

No. 5; PLATE III A

KANAKHERA STONE INSCRIPTION OF SRIDHARAVARMAN: (KALACHURI) YEAR 102

THE inscription was discovered by one of the Assistants of Sir John Marshall, Director General of Archaeology in India at Kānākhērā, a village near Sāñchī in the Bhopal State, Central India.¹ It is now preserved in the Sāñchī Museum. The inscribed stone was found built into a well. The record was first briefly noticed by Mr. R. D. Banerji in the *Progress Report of the Archaeological Survey of India, Western Circle*, for the year 1917-18, p. 37, and later edited by him in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XVI, pp. 230 ff. It was re-edited by Mr. N.G. Majumdar, first in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, New Series, Vol. XIX (1923), pp. 337 ff., and later in the *Monuments of Sāñchī*, Vol. I, pp. 392 ff. and Vol. III, Pl. CXXXIX. Mr. Majumdar corrected some mistakes in the transcript of Mr. Banerji and gave a different reading of the date at the end. The record is edited here from an excellent ink impression kindly supplied by the Government Epigraphist for India.

The inscription consists of six lines of writing, and covers a space, 6.75" broad and 2.5" high. It is in an imperfect state of preservation. Several *aksaras* towards the end of the first line have either become illegible or have been completely lost owing to the breaking off of the upper right edge of the stone. Besides, many more have been damaged in the middle of lines 4 and 5 by the flaking off of the surface of the stone. The size of the letters varies between 1.25" and .4".

The characters belong to the western variety of the southern alphabets. Their striking features are the elongated verticals of *k*, *r* and *l*, the beautiful superscript curves denoting medial *i* (short and long) and rarely medial *ā*, and the ornamental forms of the subscript *y* and *r*. The following peculiarities may be noted:—*n* and *n* have a loop in the lower part; see *tridaśa-gaṇa-* and *senāpatēr=*, both in l. 1; *dh* has generally an oval shape; see *dharmma-vijayinā*, l. 2, but its archaic form is also noticed; see *Śrīdhavararmmanā* in the same line; *y*, though still tripartite, has a hook for its left limb; see *-nāyaka-* l. 2; and *f* has generally a short horizontal bar, but in ligatures it assumes a tripartite form; see *śrāddhaya*, l. 3 and *śāśvatē*, l. 4. On the evidence of palaeography, the inscription may be referred to the 4th century A. C.

The language is Sanskrit. The record begins in prose, but is rounded off with a verse in the *Sārdūlavikrīḍita* metre, composed in a good *kāvya* style. The influence of Prakrit is seen in the forms *trayōdaśamē* and *khānāpita*. The orthography shows the usual reduplication of the consonant following *r*; see *Śrīdhavararmmanā*, l. 2.

The inscription refers itself to the reign of the *Mahādaṇḍanāyaka Śaka Śrīdhavarman* who was the son of the *Śaka Nanda*. Though Śrīdhavarman belonged to the Śaka race, he was a follower of the Hindu religion; for he was apparently described in the mutilated line 1 as a worshipper of Svāmi-Mahāsēna (Skanda or Kārttikēya), the commander of the celestial army. The object of the inscription is to record the excavation of a well by Śrīdhavarman for the increase of welfare and prosperity, the acquisition of religious merit and fame, and the everlasting attainment of heaven.

¹ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XVI, p. 230.

The inscription contains in lines 2 and 3 the following date, viz., the tenth tithi of the dark fortnight of Śrāvaṇa in the victorious thirteenth year. This date is mentioned in close connection with the name of the *Mahādandanāyaka* Śrīdharavarman to whose reign it apparently refers, but Banerji thought that as Śrīdharavarman did not claim any royal title, it was extremely improbable that the year 13 was of his reign. He therefore referred the date to the reign of Jivadāman, the father of Rudrasīmha II and the founder of the third dynasty of the Satraps of Saurāshtra, whose name, he thought, he could read in line 1.¹ But, as Majumdar has shown, this view is untenable;² for (i) the existing traces of letters in line 1 show that the correct reading of the passage where Banerji read the name of the Kshatrapa ruler is *vīrya-ājjita-vijaya*³; (ii) no title like *Svāmin* is prefixed to the name of Jivadāman even according to the reading of Banerji; and (iii) the victorious thirteenth year mentioned in line 2 is described as augmenting the reign evidently of Śrīdharavarman who is named immediately before in that line. It seems therefore that Śrīdharavarman, though he held only the military title of *Mahādandanāyaka*, was, to all intents and purposes, an independent ruler, since he does not mention any overlord in this epigraph⁴.

There is another date towards the close of the record which has been differently read by Banerji and Majumdar. The former called attention to the two symbols which immediately follow the aforementioned verse in the *Sārdūlavikṛīḍita* metre. The first of these, he thought, was 'the Western Kshatrapa symbol for 200 written at one stroke', while the second signified the unit. The date was thus 201 which Banerji referred to the Śaka era and took as equivalent to 279 A. C. Mr. Majumdar, on the other hand, thought that the first sign had no resemblance to a 200 figure and that it was unlikely to be a numerical symbol since it was not introduced by a word like *varsha* or *samvatsara*. He, therefore, took it to be a sign of interpunction indicating the end of the verse. Mr. Majumdar, however, drew attention to the letter *sa* which occurs at some distance from this sign followed by 'apparently three numerical symbols'. He was not certain about the reading of the first of these, but took it tentatively as signifying 200. The other two signs he read as 40 and 1. The date of the epigraph was thus, according to Majumdar, 241. He referred this year to the Śaka era and took it as equivalent to 319 A.C.⁵

Whatever may be the correct reading of this date, the attribution of it to the Śaka era is not plausible;⁶ for there is no other early date of that era coming from either Eastern or Western Malwa. The Śaka era was, no doubt, used by the Kshatrapas in Kathiawad, but no records of their rule have been found in Malwa. In fact Kshatrapa supremacy in Malwa seems to have terminated about the middle of the third century A.C.⁷ It seems therefore better to refer the date to the so-called Kalachuri-Chedi era which was undoubtedly current in the adjoining Anūpa country as evidenced by the inscriptions of Subandhu.⁸

¹ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XVI, 231.

² *J.A.S.B.*, N.S., Vol. XIX (1923), pp. 340 ff.

³ Banerji read here *śāditya-vīrya-jivadāma*.

⁴ An analogous instance is that of the Śuāga Emperor Pushyamitra, who retained his military title of *Sēnāpati* to the last. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XX, p. 37; Kālidāsa, *Mālavikāgnimitra*, Act. V.

⁵ *J.A.S.B.*, N.S., Vol. XIX, p. 342.

⁶ Dr. D.R. Bhandarkar also gives this date doubtfully under the Śaka era. See *I.N.I.*, p. 144. The earliest date of the Śaka era found in Central India is the year 784 in a Jain inscription from Deogad in the Jhansi District. *I.N.I.*, No. 1085.

⁷ Kshatrapa copper coinage of the Malwa fabric ceases about 240 A.C. Rapson, *C.A.D.*, Introd., p. cxxxiii.

⁸ Nos. 6 and 7, below.

The first of the two signs, which immediately follows the completion of the verse in line 6, is definitely *not* a sign of interpunction as supposed by Majumdar; for, so far as I know, such a sign is not used for this purpose anywhere else. Banerji seems to be right in taking it to be a numerical symbol,¹ notwithstanding the unusual omission of an introductory word like *varsha* or *samvat*. The symbol, however, signifies 100, not 200; for the horizontal stroke which is generally attached to the top of its vertical in order to convert it into a symbol for 200² is not noticed in this case. This symbol is followed by two horizontal strokes, one below the other,³ signifying the unit figure 2. This is followed by some *aksharas* which are indistinct. The first appears to be *sa* and the last *stu*. They may be remnants of *Siddham=astu*.⁴

The date of the record is thus the year 102, which, being referred to the Kalachuri era, becomes equivalent to 351-52 A. C. The tenth *tithi* of *amānta* Svāvaṇa va. di. 10 in the expired year 102 fell on the 22nd July 352 A. C. The date does not admit of verification, but it is supported by the palæographical evidence stated above.

TEXT⁵

- 1 सिद्धम्⁶ [1*] भगवत्स्त्रिदशगणसेनापतेरजितसेनस्य स्वामिमहासेनमहा [कुमारस्य*⁷] [दिव्य]—
वीर्यज्जितविज[य*]
- 2 धर्मविजयिना शकनन्दपुत्रेण महादण्डनायकेन शकेन श्रीधरवर्मणा व[र्षसह]स्राय स्वरा—
ज्याभिवृद्धिकरे वैजयिके संवत्सरे त्रयोदश[मे*]⁸
- 3 श्रावणबहुलस्य दशमीपूर्वकमेतद्विषयं¹⁰ कल्याणाम्युदयवृ[द्धचर्त्यम]क्षयस्वर्गावाप्तिहेतोर्द्धर्म—
यशोर्त्य धर्मासिसंबुद्धया आ(श्र)द्ध[या*]
- 4 शाश्वते¹¹ चन्द्रा[दित्य¹²] [कालि]कोयं (1*) — — — ७७ —¹³
प्रसन्नसलिलः सर्वधिगम्यः सदा

¹ Majumdar's statement that this sign is not used as a numerical symbol is incorrect. As a matter of fact, it is the usual symbol denoting a hundred and is used in several records edited here. See, e.g. the dates of Nos. 3, 6, etc.

² See e.g. the symbol denoting hundreds in the plates of Dahrasēna (No. 8).

³ These strokes are rather indistinct in the plate accompanying Banerji's article in *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XVI, but they appear clear in Pl. cxxxix of the *Monuments of Sāñchi*, Vol. III, and also in the fresh estampage supplied to me.

⁴ D. C. Sircar has suggested the reading *swasty=astu*. *S.J.*, Vol. I, p. 181. It has, however, to be admitted that the first *akshara* shows no trace of the subscript *r*, and the second does not look like *styā*. Mr. Majumdar takes the last *akshara* *stu* as a numerical symbol denoting 40. But see the forms of the symbol for 40 in Plate IX in Bühler's *Indische Palæographie*. The shape of that symbol is clearly different.

⁵ From an inked estampage.

⁶ This word is incised in the margin on the left, between lines 3 and 4.

⁷ These four *aksharas* are damaged but can be read from the traces left. The following two *aksharas* *divya* are fairly clear. Banerji reads तेजसादित्य which yields no good sense. Majumdar first read *s-āditya-* and subsequently *-tījap-prasādāt*. See *J.A.S.B.*, N.S., Vol. XIX and *M.S.*, Vol I, p. 393.

⁸ Majumdar read [*rshiba*], but as the *akshara* is much defaced, it is difficult to say whether the consonant *sh* was reduplicated.

⁹ There are some traces of an *akshara* after *sa*, which may be of *mē* as supposed by Banerji and Majumdar. Read त्रयोदशे.

¹⁰ Read दशम्यामेतद्विषये.

¹¹ Read शाश्वत.

¹² Banerji read चतुःसत्य— and Majumdar चन्द्रसूर्य—. But the reading चन्द्रा— is quite clear. Besides, there is no trace of the medial *ñ* of *sn*. The correct reading appears to be चन्द्रादित्य—, which was later adopted by Majumdar.

¹³ These six *aksharas* are illegible. I would restore आकारेऽप्रतिमः. The upper part of *kā*, the medial *i* of *ñ* and the *visarga* are clearly seen.

- 5 सत्वा(त्वा)नां प्रियदशंनो जलनिधिर्दम्मा[भूतः¹] शाश्वतः (1*) — — — [प्रणम्य मनसा
द्रव्यस्य²] [कृत्वा व्ययम्³]
6 [कृ]पः श्रीधरवर्मणा गुणवता खानापितो[यं] शुभः³ (11*) १०० २⁴[1*] [स] . . स्तु⁵ ॥

TRANSLATION

Success! [This well], lasting for ever as long as the sun (*and*) the moon would endure, [has been excavated] by the *Mahādandanāyaka Śaka Śrīdharavarman*, the son of the *Śaka Nanda*, the righteous conqueror, [who meditates on the feet of] the Great [Kumāra], the divine Lord Mahāsēna (*Kārttikēya*), the Commander of the celestial hosts, whose army has never been vanquished and who, by his celestial prowess, attained victories on this day (*namely*) the **tenth day of the dark fortnight of Śrāvaṇa** in the victorious **thirteenth year** augmenting his dominion for a thousand years, [being actuated] by religious faith awakened by the sword of righteousness, for the increase of welfare and prosperity, the eternal attainment of heaven (*and*) the acquisition of religious merit and fame.

(Line 4) This excellent well containing clear water, [matchless in shape], which is always accessible to all, has an appearance pleasing to all living beings, and is a perennial store of water, has been caused to be excavated, for the acquisition of religious merit, by the meritorious Śrīdharavarman, having mentally paid obeisance to (*and*) spent (*a large sum of*) money.

(L. 6) (*The year*) 100 (*and*) 2. May there be success!

¹ Banerji and, following him, Majumdar read -दम्ममिलः, but the third *akṣhara* appears more like *bb* than *m*, and the following one has no resemblance to *l*. Besides, *dharmāmalaḥ* has a queer comparison.

² These nine *akṣharas*, read here for the first time, appear to be quite certain from the traces still-extant.

³ Metre: *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*.

⁴ For the reading of these symbols, see above, pp. 14 ff.

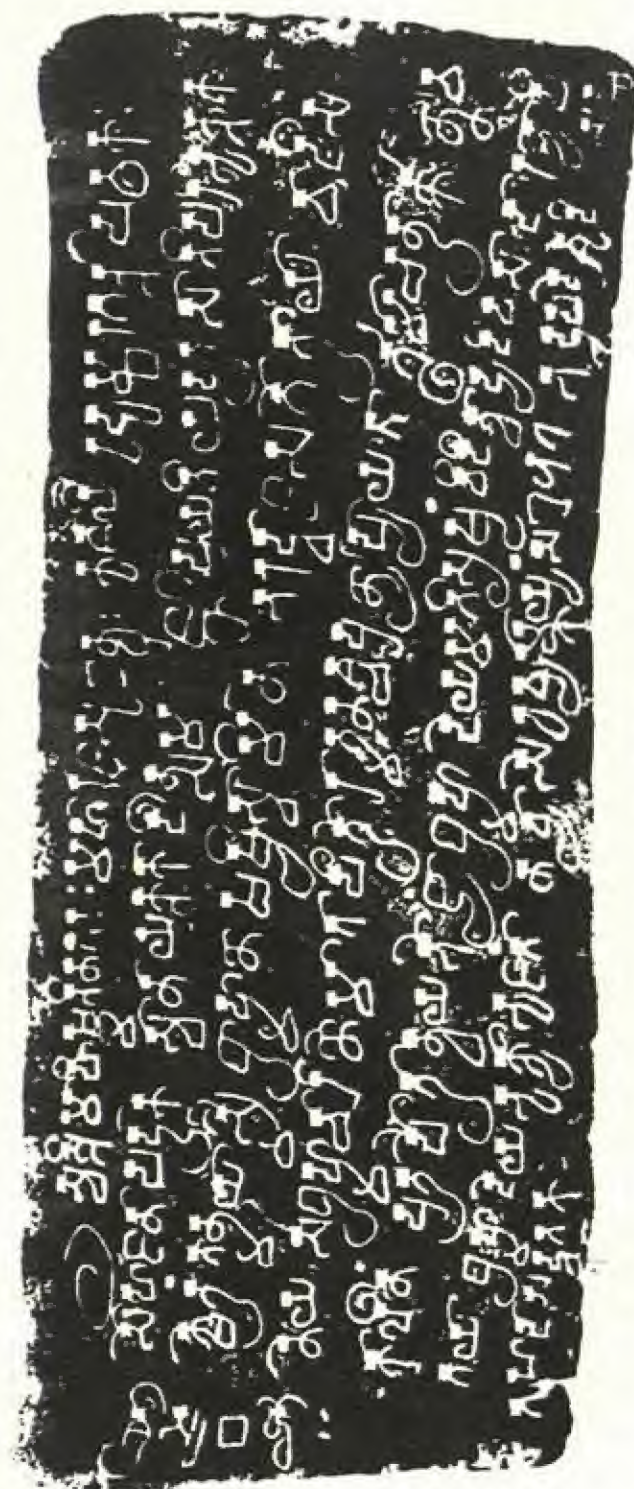
⁵ Read सिद्धमस्तु.

A.—KANKHERA STONE INSCRIPTION OF SRIDHARAVARMAN: (KALACHURI) YEAR 102.

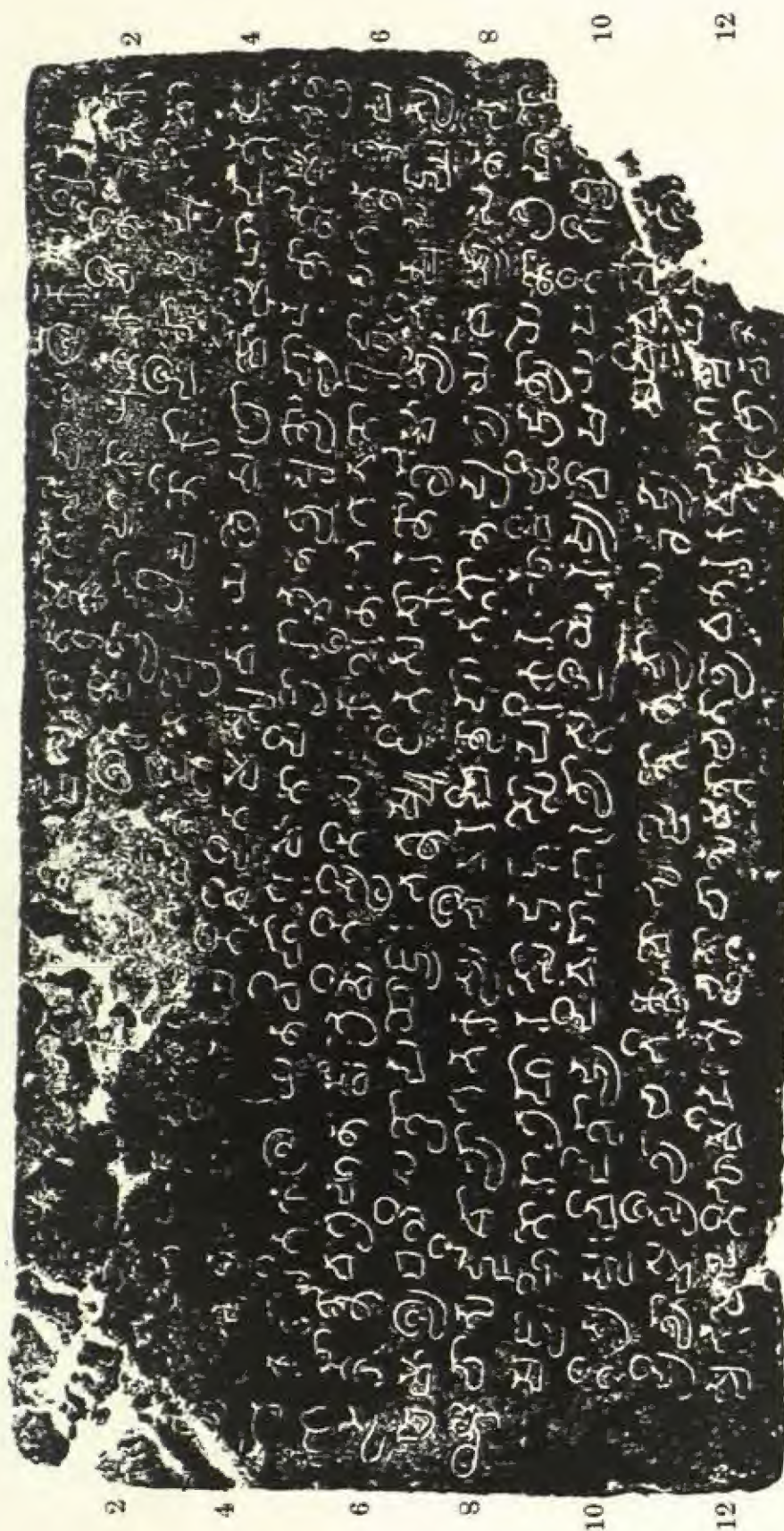


SCALE: ONE-THIRD.

B.—BARWANI PLATE OF SUBANDHU: (KALACHURI) YEAR 167.



ACTUAL SIZE.



No. 6; PLATE III B

BARWANI PLATE OF SUBANDHU : (KALACHURI) YEAR 167

THIS Copper-plate was found in the Barwani District in Madhya Bhārat. Its exact findspot has not been recorded. The inscription on it was first noticed very briefly in the *Annual Report of the Rajputana Museum* for 1924-25, and was later on edited, without any facsimile or translation, by Mr. R. R. Haldar in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XIX, pp. 261 f. Its contents and date were discussed by me in an article entitled 'The Age of the Bāgh Caves' in the *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol. XXI, pp. 79 f. The record is edited here from an excellent facsimile which I owe to the kindness of the Government Epigraphist for India.

The record is incised on a single copper-plate and on one side of it, measuring 8" broad by 3.2" high. The plate has no ring-hole and there is no indication of a seal having ever been attached to it. The inscription consists of eight lines, of which the last, containing the sign manual of Subandhu, is incised in the margin on the left.

The characters resemble those of the so-called Indore plate of Svāmīdāsa and have knobs or boxes at the top. The numerical symbols for 100, 60 and 7 occur in line 6. The language is Sanskrit. There is no admixture of Prakrit forms in the wording of the grant. The orthography shows the usual reduplication of the consonant preceding and following *r*, see *garitā-pathakāḥ*, 1.1 and *-paddrakē*, 1.2.

The inscription refers itself to the reign of *Mahārāja Subandhu*. Unlike Svāmīdāsa and other princes of Khandesh, he gives no indication that he acknowledged the suzerainty of any other ruler, though, as shown below, his grant is probably dated in the same reckoning as theirs. The object of the present inscription is to record the grant, by *Mahārāja Subandhu*, of a field owned by a person named Sāti in the village (*padruka*) Sōhajanā which was included in the *pathaka* of Udumbaragartā. The donee was the Brāhmaṇa Shashṭhisvāmin of the Bhāradvāja *gōtra*. The order was issued from the city of Māhishmatī. As no word like *vāsaka* is attached to the place-name, Māhishmatī was probably the royal capital at the time. The *Dūtaka* was Guhadāsa. The royal sign manual *Sri-Subandhāḥ* occurs in the margin on the left as in the case of the Khandesh plates.¹ The record is dated in the year 167 (expressed by numerical symbols) of an unspecified era, on the seventh tithi of the bright fortnight of Bhādrapada. The date does not admit of verification.

Mr. Haldar, who first edited the present inscription, referred its date to the Gupta era and took it as equivalent to 486 A.C.² He thought that *Mahārāja Subandhu* was a subordinate of the Gupta Emperor Budhagupta whose Eran Stone inscription is dated in the Gupta year 165 (484-85 A.C.), i.e., just two years before the date of the Barwani grant.

This view, however, presents several difficulties. If *Mahārāja Subandhu* was a feudatory of the Guptas, it looks strange that he does not name his liege-lord or even generally refer to the suzerainty of the Guptas as in the grants of the so-called Parivrājaka *Mahārājas*. As a matter of fact, Gupta suzerainty seems to have received a setback in Central India in the second half of the fifth century A.C.; for we have several records from Mandasor and the adjoining places in the ancient Daśārṇa country, which are dated not in the Gupta era, but in the Mālava *saṃvat*. Further, we learn from the Bālāghāt plates of Prithivīshēṇa II (circa 470-90 A.C.) that the king of Mālava was one of the vassals of his father Narēndrasēṇa. If Daśārṇa and Mālava had broken away from the Gupta

¹ Above, Nos. 2 and 3.

² *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIX, p. 262.

Empire, it is not likely that Anūpa which lay further to the west continued to acknowledge Gupta supremacy.¹ The year 167 is not, therefore, likely to be of the Gupta era.

The general resemblance that the present grant bears to the three preceding grants from Khandesh in respect of characters, phraseology, royal sign manual etc., indicates that it belongs to the same period as the latter. The era in which these four grants are dated must therefore be identical. As shown above, the three grants from Khandesh are dated in the so-called **Kalachuri-Chēdi** era founded by the Ābhīra king Śīvarasēna in 249 A.C. The date of the present grant, if referred to the same era, would correspond to the 5th August 417 A.C. As stated above, it does not admit of verification.

Māhishmatī, from which the plate was issued, is generally identified with the holy place **Onkāra Māndhātā** on the Narmadā, in the Nēmāḍ District of the Madhya Pradesh. The description of the city given by the Sanskrit poet Kālidāsa in his *Raghuvamśa* (VI, 43), namely, that it was surrounded by the river Narmadā like a girdle, suits **Onkāra Māndhātā** very well. **Udumbaragartā**, which was the chief town of a *pathaka* named after it, may be Umarbār, now a small village on the western border of the Barwani District. It lies on the Jharkhal, a small tributary of the Narmadā. **Sohajanā** may be Sejwānik, about 4 miles south-east of Barwani.

TEXT²

- 1 सिद्धम्³ [1*] स्वस्ति [1*] माहिष्मतिनगरः⁴ महार(रा)जसुबन्धुः कुशली उदुम्बर-
गर्तपथकः(के)
- 2 सोहजनापट्टके स्वानायक्तकादीन्समाज्ञापयति यदत्र सातिपरिभुक्तक-
- 3 क्षेत्रं तन्मयास्मै ब्राह्मणपट्टिस्वामिने भरद्वाजसगोत्राय⁵ वा[जि]स-
- 4 नेय⁶सब्रह्मचारिणे मातापित्रोरात्मनश्च पुण्याप्यायता(ता)र्त्यमाचन्द्रावर्कणा(र्ण)व-
- 5 कालीनं पुत्रपौत्रान्वयभोज्यं⁷ ब्रह्मदेयमसिद्धं(ष्टम्) [1*]विदित्वाद्यदिवसादारभ्योपि(चि)-
- 6 तथा ब्रह्मदेयभुक्त्या भुज(ञ्ज)तां न व्यासेषव्य⁸काय्य⁸(1*)सं १०० ६०७ भ(भा)द्रपदे [बु]दि
स[प्त] [1*]
- 7 गुहदासदूतकः [1*]
(In the margin) श्रीसुबन्धोः [1*]

TRANSLATION

Success ! Hail ! From the city of **Māhishmatī**—*Mahārāja Subandhu*, being in good health, issues the (*following*) order to his (*officers*), *Ayuktakas* and others, at the village (*padraka*) of **Sohajanā** in the *pathaka* (district) of **Udumbaragartā**:—

The field, which is at present enjoyed by *Sāti* here (*i.e.*, at the village **Sohajanā**), has been granted by me as a *brahmadēya* gift to this Brāhmaṇa *Shashthisvāmin* of the *Bhara-*

¹ For a detailed discussion of this matter, see my aforementioned article on the age of the Bāgh Caves in *I.H.Q.*, Vol. XXI, pp. 79 f.

² From an excellent photograph of an inked estampage of the plate supplied by the Government Epigraphist for India.

³ Expressed by a symbol.

⁴ Read माहिष्मतीनगरात्.

⁵ Read सगोत्राय.

⁶ Read वाजसनेय.

⁷ Read पुत्रपौत्रान्वयभोज्यं.

⁸ Read व्यासेषकाय्यः ।

dvāja *gōtra* who is a religious student of the Vājasaneyā *śākhā*, (to be enjoyed by him) as long as the moon, the sun and the ocean would endure, for the increase of religious merit of my parents and myself.

(Line 5)—Having known (*this*), you should not cause from this day, (*any*) obstruction while he is enjoying it according to the condition of enjoying *brahmadēya* land.

(L. 6) (In) the year 100 (and) 60 (and) 7, in (the month) Bhādrapada (and) the bright (fortnight), on the (lunar) day seven. The Dūtaka is Guhadāsa.

(In the margin) Of the illustrious Subandhu.

NO. 7, PLATE III C

BAGH CAVE PLATE OF SUBANDHU

THIS copper-plate was found in the debris of Cave No. II at Bāgh in Madhya Bhārat. The inscription on it was first brought to notice in the *Annual Report of the Archaeological Department of the Gwalior State* for 1928-29, pp. 15 and 28. Its date was discussed by me in an article on the age of the Bāgh Caves published in the *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol. XXI, pp. 79 f. It is edited here from an ink impression kindly supplied by the Director of the Archaeological Department of Madhya Bhārat.

The record is on a single copper-plate and, like the preceding inscription of Subandhu, it is incised on only one face of it, measuring 8.3" broad by 4.5" high. It has no ring-hole and there is no indication of a seal having ever been attached to it. The inscription consists of fourteen lines, of which the last containing the royal sign manual is incised in the margin on the left. The record is in a good state of preservation except in the first three lines where a few *aksharas* in the upper left corner have now become illegible. Again, the plate has lost a small triangular piece with its two arms measuring 1.5" each in the lower right corner which has resulted in the unfortunate loss of an important portion of the grant mentioning its date. The size of letters varies from .15" to .3".

The characters are of the western variety of the South Indian alphabets resembling those of Svāmīdāsa's plate¹ except that most of the letters have nail-heads instead of knob-heads. The only peculiarities that call for notice are that the length of the medial *i* is shown by a double curve as in the Vākāṭaka grants, see *chivara*, l. 8, and that *t*, which is generally unlooped, shows a loop in *āchchhattā* l. 12. The orthography shows the usual reduplication of the consonant following *r*, see *chandr-ārkk-ārṇava*, ll. 5-6.

The inscription refers itself to the reign of Mahārāja Subandhu. The object of it is to register the grant, by Subandhu, of a village situated in the *pathaka* of Dāsīlakapalli.² The grant was made for providing materials for the worship of the Buddha and maintaining an alms-house in the *vihāra* called Kalāyana,³ for repairing the broken and dilapidated portions of the *vihāra* and for supplying clothing, food, medicine, beds and

¹ Above, No. 2.

² The name of this *pathaka* was read at first as *Dasibhakapalli*. See *A.R.A.D.G.S.* for 1928-29, p. 28.

³ Kalāyana "the Abode of Art" is a fitting name for the caves at Bāgh which, like those at Ajanṭā, are well known for their beautiful paintings. See *Bāgh Caves* published by the Archaeological Department of the Gwalior State.

seats to the Community of Venerable Monks hailing from all the four directions. The order was issued by the king personally from Māhishmatī which was evidently his capital at the time. His sign manual *Mahārāja-Subandhō* occurs in the margin on the left as on the preceding Barwani plate.

The plate bore a date at the end of lines 12 and 13, but owing to the breaking off of a piece of it, only the name of the month Śrāvaṇa now remains. All other details are now lost. The date of the Barwani grant made by the same *Mahārāja Subandhu* shows, however, that the inscription can be referred to the early decades of the fifth century A.C. Māhishmatī, as stated before, is probably identical with Oāṅkār Māndhātā in the Nēmāḍ District of the Madhya Pradesh. Dāsīlakapallī may be identical with Dēswālīā which lies about 14 miles almost due south of the Bāgh Caves.

TEXT¹

- 1 सिद्धम्² (1*) [स्वस्ति] (1*) माहिष्मतीनगरान्महाराजसुबन्धुः³ कुशली दासिलकपल्लीप—
- 2 [यके*]³ ग्रकांश्च (स्थान?) लकदित्योद्ग्राहकायुक्तकविनियुक्तक—
- 3 चाटभट[गो]ष्ठिकगमागमिकदूतप्रेषणिकादीन्ग्रामप्रतिवा—
- 4 सिनश्च समाज्ञापयति [1*] विदितमस्तु वः यथैष ग्रामो मया दत्त—
- 5 ककारितकला⁴यनविहारे मातापित्रोरात्मनश्च पुण्याप्यायनात्थमाचन्द्रा—
- 6 कर्काण्णवग्रहनक्षत्रक्षितिस्थितिसमकालीनः⁵ भगवतो⁶ बृद्धाय गन्धधूप—
- 7 माल्यबलिसत्रोपयोज्यः⁷ भग्नष्कु (स्फु) टितसंस्का (स्क) रणात्थमाय्यभिक्षुसङ्घस्य
- 8 चातुर्दिशाभ्यागतकस्य चीवरपिण्डपातग्लानप्रत्ययशेय्यासनभै—
- 9 पज्यहेतोराग्रहार⁸स्सोद्रङ्गस्सोपरिकरः⁹ भूमिच्छिद्रन्यायेनाग्रहारो¹⁰
- 10 तिसृष्टः¹¹ विदित्वाद्यदिवसादारभ्यास्मदीयैरप्य (न्य) विषयपतिभिश्च . . .¹²
- 11 प्रि(प्री)त्यास्मत्प्रीत्या च भिक्षवो भुञ्जन्तो न व्यासेद्व्याः [1*] षष्टिवर्षसह . . .¹³
- 12 स्वर्गो मोदति भूमिदः (1*) आच्छत्ता चानुमन्ता च तान्येव नरक(के) वसत(वसेत्) ॥ स्वय—
[माज्ञा] [1*]¹⁴
- 13 श्रावण¹⁵

(In the margin) महाराजसुबन्धोः [1*]

¹ From an ink impression kindly supplied by the Director of Archaeology, Madhya-Bhārat.

² Expressed by a symbol.

³ About four *aksharas* are illegible here. They must have contained the name of the village granted.

⁴ The stroke denoting medial *ā* of *lā* is rather faintly seen in the impression, but it is there.

⁵ Read कालीनो.

⁶ Read भगवते.

⁷ Read -त्रोपयोज्यो.

⁸ Read -रग्रहार.

⁹ Read -स्सोपरिकरो.

¹⁰ This word is redundant.

¹¹ Read अतिसृष्ट इति विदित्वा

¹² Two *aksharas* are lost here. They may have been वन्मै—

¹³ Two *aksharas* are lost here also. Read सहस्राणि.

¹⁴ Three or four *aksharas* appear to have been lost here. They must have been *Sam* followed by two or three numerical symbols denoting the year.

¹⁵ About four or five *aksharas* have been lost here. They must have contained the name of the fortnight followed by symbols denoting the *tithi*.

TRANSLATION

Om ! Hail ! From the city of Māhushmatī—Mahārāja Subandhu, being in good health issues the (following) order to Sthānalakas¹ (?), Dityōdgrāhakas,² Ayuktakas, Vinīyuktakas, Chāṭas, Bhaṭas, Gōshṭhikas³, Gamāgamikas⁴, Dūtapreshanikas,⁵ and others as well as villagers at...in the pathaka of Dāsīlakapallī.

(Line 4) Be it known to you that for the increase of the religious merit of my parents and myself, this village has been granted by me together with *udraṅga*⁶ and *uparikara*,⁷ as an *agrahāra* according to the maxim of waste land,⁸ in order that it may be used for (defraying the expenses of) perfume, frankincense, flowers and offerings as well as for maintaining an alms-house, for repairing broken and rent portions (of the *vihāra*) and for providing the Community of Venerable Monks coming from (all) the four quarters, with clothing, food, nursing of the sick, beds, seats as well as medicine in the Monastery called *Kalāyana* (the Abode of Art) caused to be constructed by Dattatāka, as long as the moon, the sun, the oceans, planets, constellations and the earth would endure.

(L. 10) Having known this, our officers and rulers of other countries should not cause obstruction out of their love [for religion] and regard for us, while the monks (of this *Vihāra*) are enjoying (the village).

(Here occurs a benedictive and imprecatory verse.)

(L. 12) My own command in (the month) *Srāvaṇa*

(In the margin) Of the Mahārāja Subandhu.

¹ I have not come across the name of this officer elsewhere. His name appears like that of the officer *Purillaka* mentioned in the recently discovered plates of the Rāshtrakūṭa Nannarāja.

² *Dityōdgrāhaka* was the collector of the royal cess called *ditya* which is mentioned in the records of the Gurjaras. For *chāṭa* and *bhaṭa* see below, p. 43, n. 12.

³ *Gōshṭhikas* were members of the Managing Committee. See *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXIV, pp. 332 f.

⁴ *Gamāgamikas* were officers who issued passports for egress and ingress. See also No. 25, l. 19.

⁵ *Dūtapreshanikas* were officers who despatched *dūtas*.

⁶ The meaning of *Udraṅga* is still uncertain. Monier Williams in his *Sanskrit Dictionary* gives *inter alia* the following meanings :—the place where anything is kept, a store-room or receptacle. *S-ōdraṅga* in this sense would correspond to *sa-kṣipta* in l. 12 of No. 20, below; but it is noteworthy that it is mentioned there in addition to the latter. *S-ōdraṅga* and *s-ōparikara* are generally used together to qualify the village or the land granted. They correspond to *sa-kṣipta* and *s-ōpakṣipta* which occur in a similar context in other records. In line 17 of the Hyderabad plates of the Western Chālukya king Pulakēśin II (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VI, p. 73) the expression *sa-kṣiptaḥ s-ōparikaraḥ* is used in place of *s-ōdraṅgaḥ s-ōparikaraḥ* which shows that *udraṅga* has the same meaning as *kṣipta*. Kauṭilya's *Arthasāstra* (second ed. by Shama Sastry, p. 60) mentions *kṣipta* as one of the sources of royal income. Its derivation from *kṣip* to fix seems to point to the meaning of 'fixed assessment'. *Udraṅga* which, as shown above, is a synonym of *kṣipta*, has therefore probably the meaning of a land-tax.

⁷ *Uparikara* is the counterpart of *antaḥ-kara* or *antar-āya*, which is mentioned in some southern records. See *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXIII, p. 27. It seems therefore to denote an external or additional tax, probably levied in kind such as is mentioned in the *MSM.*, *adhyāya* VII, vv. 130-32. It corresponds to *bhōga* mentioned in some early records. Cf. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXII, p. 175, n. 8.

⁸ *Bhūmi-cchēbbidra* is explained in the lexicon *Vaijayantī* as *kṛishya-nyōgyā bhūḥ i. e.*, land unfit for cultivation. The person, who brought such land under cultivation by cutting down trees etc., became the owner of it. Cf. *sthānu-cchēbbādārya kādāram* in *MSM.*, *adh.* IX, v. 44. *Bhūmi-cchēbbidra-nyōyēna* therefore means 'with full proprietary rights'.

INSCRIPTIONS OF THE TRAIKUTAKAS

No. 8; PLATE IVA

PARDI PLATE OF DAHRASENA : (KALACHURI) YEAR 207

PARDI is the headquarters of a *tāluka* of the same name, 50 miles south of Surat, in the Surat District of the Bombay State. The present plates, which were found in 1884 in the course of digging a tank at Pārdī, were first brought to notice by Pandit Bhagvanlal Indrajī who edited them with a translation, but without a lithograph, in the *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol. XVI, pp. 346 ff. They were subsequently published, with a translation and collotype plates, by Dr. E. Hultzsch in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. X, pp. 51 ff. I edit them here from the facsimiles accompanying Dr. Hultzsch's article.

"The plates are two in number, each measuring about $9\frac{3}{8}$ " by 3". They are quite smooth, the edges of them being neither fashioned thicker nor raised into rims; but, as may be seen from the facsimile, the inscription is in a state of perfect preservation almost throughout. They are somewhat thin, so that the letters, though not very deep, show through on the backs of them, to such an extent that some of them can be read there. The interiors of the letters show the marks of the working of the engraver's tool.

"There is no ring of the ordinary kind, with a seal on it. But at each of the two ring-holes the plates were held together by a long copper wire, $\frac{1}{8}$ " thick in the thickest part, which, after being passed through the ring-holes, had its ends twisted over and round and round so as to form a kind of complicated tie, without the ends being soldered together. As the ring-holes are not much larger than the wires, and as the plates appear to have been secured as soon as they were discovered, it would seem that these wires are the means by which the plates were fastened together *ab initio*.

"The weight of the two plates is 31 tolas, and of the two wires $1\frac{1}{2}$ tolas; total, $32\frac{1}{2}$ tolas = $12\frac{1}{2}$ oz."¹

The record consists of nine lines only, of which four are inscribed on the first and the remaining five on the second plate. The outer sides of the plates are blank. The engraver seems to have found the metal somewhat hard to work upon; his tool seems to have slipped occasionally (see e.g., *kh* of *Vaiśākha* 1.9) and his strokes and curves are not properly formed. The average size of letters is .2".

The characters are of the western variety of the southern alphabets. Most of the letters have knobs at the top. The *mātrās* for the medial *ā*, *ē* and *ai* generally appear above the line (see e.g., *skandhāvārād-* and *Traikkutakānām* both in 1.1), while those for the medial *ō* appear as a horizontal stroke on either side, see *karmmakarō*, 1.2, *pitrōr-*, 1.4, *yaśō-*, 1.5 etc. Medial *au*, which occurs only once, is bipartite as in *Vākātaka* records, see *pautr-*, 1.6. No distinction is made between the short and the long medial *i*. The signs for medial short and long *u* are added to the right of the vertical stroke in some cases and to its left in others. As instances of the former, see *śuddha*, 1.9 and *bhūmidah*, 1.8 and for those of the latter, notice *pād-ānuddhyātō*, 1.1 and *dātakam-*, 1.8. The curve for medial *ri* is curled in *pitrī* 1.1, but in other cases (as e.g. in *bhivṛiddhayē*, 1.5, *samatisriṣṭō* and *kṛiṣṭō* in 1.6), it is exactly like that for *r*. The right hand hook of *ñ* is added to its subscript *ch* which is open on the left, see *uktañ=cha*, 1.7. The subscript

¹ From Dr. Fleet's description of the plates in *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. X, p. 51.

n appears in two forms, see *Naṇṇa*, 1.3 and *-ārṇṇava*-, 1.5. The superscript *n* is unlooped in *-antarggata*, 1.4. The sign for *b* has a round top in *brāhmaṇa*-, 1.3. *Sh* generally appears with a notch in its left limb, see *shashṭi*-, 1.7, but notice its subscript form in *kshiti*, 1.5. The sign for the *jihvāmūliya* occurs in ll.6 and 7, and the numerical symbols for 200, 10, 7 and 3 in 1.9.

The language is Sanskrit, and except for an imprecatory verse towards the close, the record is in prose throughout. Attention may be drawn to the word *santaka* in 1.2 which is used here as in Vākāṭaka records in the sense of an official, and *bhōjya*, 1.6 which, contrary to Pāṇini VII, 3, 69, is employed in the sense of what is to be enjoyed.¹ The expression *Buddhagupta-dūtaka* in 1.8, which is evidently copied from an earlier record where it must have qualified some word like *likhitam*, is here wrongly connected with *ājñā*. As regards orthography we may note that a consonant following *r*, with the exception of *sh*, is doubled in several cases, see *karmmakarō*, 1.2, *-ārṇṇava*, 1.5, etc. Similarly *dh* is doubled before *y* in *anuddhyāta*, 1.1. Rules of *sandhi* have either not been observed, or violated in a few cases, see *svāmīna atr*-, 1.3, *-bhivṛiddhayē ā*-, 1.5, and *krishatō praviśata*-, ll.6-7.

The plates were issued from the victorious camp at Āmrakā by Mahārāja Dahrasēna (of the dynasty) of the Traikūṭakas. The object of the inscription is to record the donation, by Dahrasēna, of the village Kanīyas-Taḍākāsārikā in the Antar-Maṇḍalī *vishaya* to the Brāhmaṇa Naṇṇasvāmin, a resident of Kāpura. The grant was made for the increase of religious merit and glory of the king and his parents. The *dūtaka* was *Buddhagupta*.

The date of the grant is given in line 9 as the thirteenth tithi (expressed both in words and in numerical symbols) of the bright (fortnight) of Vaiśākha in the year 207 (expressed in numerical symbols only). The palaeography of the present inscription leaves no doubt that this date refers to the Kalachuri era. According to the epoch of 248-49 A.C., it would correspond, for the expired year² 207, to the 23rd April 457 A.C. It does not admit of verification.

Dahrasēna calls himself *Bhagavat-pāda-karmakara*, 'a servant of the feet of Bhagavat'. He was, therefore, a worshipper of Vishṇu. He is identical with Dahrasēna, the son of Indradatta, 'the most devout worshipper of Vishṇu', whose silver coins were discovered at Daman in the Surat District, Kāzad in the Indāpur *tāluka* of the Poona District, Karād near Sātārā and some other places.³ He was apparently an independent king, as he is said, in the present grant, to have performed an *Aśvamedha* sacrifice.

The localities mentioned here were identified by Dr. Fleet.⁴ According to him the Antar-Maṇḍalī *vishaya* denotes 'the district of the territory between' the rivers Miṇḍhōlā on the north and the Pūrṇā on the south. I would rather take the expression to mean the district on both the banks of the Maṇḍalī (modern Miṇḍhōlā) river on the

¹ *Santaka* and *bhōjya* occur in the earlier records also. See e.g. Nos. 2 and 3, l. 2.

² The date was first calculated by Dr. Fleet. It would correspond to the 4th April 456 A.C. if the year is taken to be current. In the case of the early records of the Kalachuri era, Nos. 1-34, the dates are calculated according to the epoch of 248-49 A.C.

³ Rapson, *C.A.D.* Introd., p. clx, f. n. 2. On some coins the name appears as *Dabragana*, from which Rev. R. Scott conjectured that the king altered the termination of his name from *sēna* to *gana* at an early period of his reign. But even in the later Surat plates of his son Vyāghrasēna his name appears as Dahrasēna. As Rapson has pointed out, some letters of the coin legends have assumed conventional forms, which has caused the confusion. See Rapson, *C.A.D.* Introd., pp. clxii f.

⁴ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. X, p. 53

analogy of Antar- Narmadā *vishaya* mentioned in the Sunao Kalā plates of Saṅgamasirīha.¹ Kāpura² is a village of the same name, three miles south-south-west from Vyārā the head-quarters of the Vyārā subdivision of the Surat District. Kanīyas-Taḍākāsārikā means Smaller Taḍākāsārikā and may be represented by 'Tarsāri, fifteen miles almost due west of Kāpura and about half way between the Miṇḍhōlā and the Pūrṇā'. Āmrakā, where the king's camp was fixed, cannot be definitely identified as there are several villages of the name Ambachh or Āmbachh in the neighbourhood, but of them the nearest to Kāpura is Ambachh, about 2 miles towards the south-west.

TEXT³

First Plate

- 1 स्वस्ति [1*] विजयस्कन्धावारादाम्रकावासकात्त्रैक्कुटकानां⁴ मातापितृपादानुद्धृतातो भग-
- 2 वत्पादकर्मकरोश्वमेधाहर्ता श्रीमहाराजदहसेनः सञ्चिनेवास्मत्सन्तकानन्त-
- 3 र्मण्डलि⁵विषयवासिनस्समाज्ञापयति यथा कापुरवास्तव्यब्राह्मणनण्णस्वामिन⁶
- 4 अत्रैव विषयान्तर्गतकनि⁷यस्तडाकासारिकाग्रामो मा[ता]पि[त्रो]रात्मनश्च पुण्य-

Second Plate

- 5 यशोभिवृद्धये आचन्द्र(न्द्रा)क्कर्णव[क्षि]तिस्थितिकालिका⁸श्चोरराजापत्यकारिवर्ज⁹
- 6 सर्वदित्वविष्टिपरिहारेण पुत्रपौत्रान्वयभोज्य¹⁰स्समतिसृष्टो यतोस्य भुञ्जतः¹¹कृपतो¹¹
- 7 प्रविशतश्च न कनचि¹²प्रतिषेधः¹²कार्यं इत्युक्तञ्च¹³ भगवता व्यासेन [1*] षष्टिवर्षसहस्रानि¹⁴
- 8 स्वर्गे वसति भूमिदः [1*] आच्छेत्ता चानुमन्ता च तान्येव नरके वसेदिति¹⁵[11*] बुद्धगुप्त-
दूतकमाज्ञा¹⁶
- 9 सं २०० ७ वैशाखशुद्धत्रयोदश्या¹⁷ १० ३ [11*]

TRANSLATION

Hail! From the victorious camp fixed at Āmrakā, the illustrious Mahārāja Dahrasēna (of the family) of the Traikūṭakas, who meditates on the feet of (his) mother and father, who is a servant of the feet of Bhagavat and who has performed an *Aśvamēdha*, issues the following order to all his¹⁸ officials residing in the *vishaya* (district) of Antar-Maṇḍali.

¹ Below, No. 11.

² As Pandit Bhagvanlal pointed out (*J. B. B. R. A. S.*, p. 346), this is identical with Kāpura mentioned as the chief town of an *āhāra* in two Nāsik cave inscriptions.

³ From the facsimile facing p. 35 in *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. X.

⁴ Read त्रैक्कुटकानां.

⁵ Read -नन्तर्मण्डली-.

⁶ Read स्वामिनेवैव.

⁷ Read कनीय-.

⁸ Read कालिक-.

⁹ Some expression like अचाटभटप्रावेश्यः is omitted after चोरराजापत्य-. See text of No. 9, lines 10-11, p. 27, below.

¹⁰ Read भोग्यस्समतिसृष्टः । यतो-.

¹¹ Read कृपतः .

¹² Read प्रविशतश्च न केनचित्.

¹³ Read कार्यं इति । उक्तञ्च.

¹⁴ Read सहस्राणि.

¹⁵ Read वसेत् । इति । Metre: *Anuṣṭubh*.

¹⁶ Read बुद्धगुप्तदूतकमाज्ञा.

¹⁷ Read त्रयोदश्या.

¹⁸ *Lit. our.*

A.—PARDI PLATES OF DAHRASENA: (KALACHURI) YEAR 207.

i.
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥

ii.
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥

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ii, a.

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(Line 5) For increasing the religious merit and fame of (*Our*) mother and father and Ourselves, the village **Kaṇīyas-Taḍākāsārikā** (Smaller Taḍākāsārikā), situated in this very *vishaya*, has been conferred (*by Us*) on the Brāhmaṇa Nannasvāmin, a resident of Kāpura, for as long as the moon, the sun, the oceans and the earth will endure, (*not to be entered by chāṭas and bhaṭas*¹) except (*to punish*) thieves and rebels, to be exempt from all taxes (*ditya*) and forced labour (*and*) to be enjoyed by a succession of sons and sons' sons.

(L. 6) Wherefore, none shall cause obstruction while he enjoys, cultivates and assigns (*this village*).

(*Here follows one benedictive and imprecatory verse*).

(L. 8) (*This*) order (*is issued*), **Buddhagupta** being the *dātaka*, (*in*) the year 200 (*and*) 7, on the thirteenth, (*in figures*) 10 (*and*) 3, (*lunar day*) of the bright (*fortnight*) of Vaiśākha.

No. 9; PLATE IV B

SURAT PLATES OF VYAGHRASENA: (KALACHURI) YEAR 241

THE plates were first brought to notice by Mr. A. M. T. Jackson, I. C. S., in a note which he added to Rev. H. R. Scott's article entitled 'Traikūṭaka coins from the Poona District' published in the *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol. XXIII, pp. 1 ff. They were subsequently edited with a translation and collotype plates, by Dr. E. Hultzsch in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XI, pp. 219 ff. I edit the inscription here from the facsimiles accompanying Dr. Hultzsch's article.

The copper-plates were found at Surat. They are two in number, each measuring between 9½ and 9¾ inches in breadth and about 3½ inches in height, and bear writing only on their inner sides. They are comparatively thin and have no raised rims, but the writing on them is in a state of fairly good preservation. A number of letters are filled with verdigris and therefore have not come out on the impressions, though their outlines are quite visible on the original plates. As in the case of the Pārḍī plates there are two ring-holes at the bottom of the inscribed side of the first plate, and two corresponding ones at the top of the second plate. A long copper wire is passed through the two holes on the right, and its ends are twisted round, but not soldered. A second copper wire may have held the plates together on the left, but is now missing. The total weight of the plates and wire is 50 tolas.² The record consists of eighteen lines, nine being inscribed on the inner side of each plate. The average size of letters is about .2".

The characters are of the western variety of the southern alphabets and resemble those of the Pārḍī plates³. Attention may be drawn here to the following additional peculiarities. The medial *ā* which is generally denoted by a horizontal stroke to the right is brought down like a vertical stroke in *-ārāti-*, l. 5, while in the case of *m* and *l* it is shown by a curve attached to the bottom of the letter, see *pramāṇī-*, l. 14, *Hālāhala*, l. 18. Notice also the curve denoting the *mātrā* for medial *ē* and *ō* in the case of *m* and *n* in *śarmmaṣē*, l. 10 and *mōdati*, l. 16. The length of medial *i* is in some cases (*e.g.*, in *śrī-Mahārāja*, l. 7) indicated by a dot and in others (*e.g.*, in *pallikā-*, l. 14), it is indicated by two curves turned in opposite directions. The medial *ri* is generally denoted by curled curve, but in one case (*viz.* *pramāṇīkritya*, l. 14) the vowel is shown by a curve

¹ See above, p. 24, n. 9 *Chāṭas* and *bhaṭas* were charged with the maintenance of peace and order in the kingdom. They correspond to modern policemen and soldiers. See below, p. 43, n. 12.

² *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XI, p. 219.

³ Above, No. 8.

turned downwards and added to the left of the vertical. The subscript *th* is shown by a double curve open on the left, see *sthira*, 1.6 and *sthitī*, 1.12. The sign for the *jihvāmāliya* occurs in 1.1, and that for the *upadhmāliya* occurs in ll. 4, 5, 6 and 14. The numerical symbols for 200, 40, 10, 5 and 1 occur in 1.18.

The language is Sanskrit and except for two benedictive and imprecatory verses at the end, the record is in prose throughout. In copying the formal part of the grant from previous records, the official draftsman has forgotten to change the genders of some adjectival expressions to make them conform to the feminine name of the donated village. As regards orthography, it may be noted that the *anuvāra* is in most cases correctly replaced by a class nasal, but in *vañśā*, 1.5 and *vañśya*, 1.12 it is wrongly changed to the guttural nasal. The consonant following *r* is doubled in such cases as *karmma-*, 1.1, *sarvva-*, 1.3 *dirgggha*, 1.13 and that preceding *y* is doubled in *-anuddhyātō*, 1.1 and *rāj-āpatthya*, 1.10.

The plates were issued by the illustrious *Mahārāja Vyāghrasēna* (of the dynasty) of the *Traikūṭakas* from the victorious *Aniruddhapura*. The king is described as the servant of the feet of Bhagavat (*i.e.*, Vishṇu) and the lord of the *Aparānta* and other countries. *Aparānta* is North Konkan, the strip of land between the sea and the Western Ghats. It is, therefore, interesting to read in line 6 that the king had stationed an army of many great warriors to guard the sea as well as forts and towns.

The object of the inscription is to record the grant, by *Vyāghrasēna*, of the village *Purōhitapallikā* in the *Iksharakī āhāra* to the Brāhmaṇa *Nāgaśarma* of the *Bharadvāja gōtra*. The grant was made for the increase of the religious merit of the donor and his parents. The writer of the grant was the *Mahāsāndhivigrahika Karka* and the *dūtaka*, *Hālāhala*.

The date is expressed in numerical symbols only in 1.18 as the **fifteenth tithi of the bright (fortnight) of Kārttika of the year 241**. *Mahārāja Vyāghrasēna* of the present plates who was a devotee of Vishṇu is clearly identical with the *Paramavaishṇava Vyāghrasēna* whose silver coins have been found at Kāzad in the Indāpur Taluka of the Poona District¹ and other places² in Western India. From these coins which resemble those of Dahrasēna, we learn that he was the son of *Mahārāja Dahrasēna*. The date of the present plates, therefore, must, like that of the Pārdī plates, be referred to the Kalachuri era. According to the epoch of 248-249 A.C., it would correspond, for the expired³ year 249, to the 14th October 490 A.C. It does not admit of verification.

As for the localities mentioned in the present plates, *Aparānta*, Ariake of Ptolemy and the *Periplus*, is, as already remarked, identical with North Konkan. As the *Traikūṭakas* were ruling over *Aparānta*, *Trikūṭa*, their home land, must have been situated in the west. It is noteworthy in this connection that Kālidāsa places *Trikūṭa* in *Aparānta* and the lexicographer Kēśava gives *Sahyādri* as a synonym for *Trikūṭa*.⁴ The victorious *Aniruddhapura* was probably the *Traikūṭaka* capital as no word like *vāsaka* (camp) is attached to it. As Dr. Hultsch has pointed out, it is probably identical with

¹ *J. B. B. R.A.S.*, Vol. XXIII, p. 2. For the latter part of the name which Rev. R. Scott read as *gaṇa*, see above, p. 23, n. 4.

² *J.B.B.S.* (1905), pp. 801 ff.

³ If the year 249 is applied as current, the date would correspond to the 25th October 489 A.C. As the Kalachuri year began on Kārttika śu. di. 1, the date of the present plates (Kārttika śu. di. 15) cannot in any case fall in 491 A.C., as supposed by Hultsch.

⁴ Cf. *Sahyābalas-tu Mārddhādriḥ=Trikūṭas=Trikakuch=cha saḥ. Kalpadrukṣa* (Gaekwad's Oriental Series), Vol. I, p. 342. For the exact location of *Trikūṭa*, see below, No. 51, l. 38.

the victorious Aniruddhapurī mentioned in the Bagumrā plates¹ of the Sēndraka Allaśakti. He identified it with Sūrpāraka, Sopārā in the Ṭhāṇā District, on the authority of the lexicon *Vaijyanti*.² But the statement in the lexicon only places Sūrpāraka in the Aparānta country. It does not state that it was the capital of Aparānta at any time, much less at the time of the Traikūṭakas. Besides, the mention of Aniruddhapurī as the place of residence of the Brāhmaṇa donee of the Bagumrā grant indicates that it should be looked for not very far from the donated village which was near Bagumrā. It was, therefore, probably situated in South Gujarāt. I have not, however, been able to trace any place-name similar to it in that part of the country. *Purōhitapallikā*, the donated village, is probably identical with Pāl, two miles to the west of Surat.³ *Iksharakī*, the headquarters of the *āhāra* in which it was situated, is probably represented by Achchhāran, about 9 miles north of Surat.

TEXT⁴

First Plate

- 1 स्वस्ति [1*] विजयानिरुद्धपुरात्त्रैकूटका[नां] [म]तापितृपादानुद्धयातो भग[व]त्पादकर्मकर-
Xकरगतक्रमागत-
- 2 स्फीतापरान्तादिदेशपतिरपरिमितनृपतिनतचरणकम[लस्व]भुजपरिपालन[प्र]ता-
- 3 पाधिगतप्रचुरद्रविणविश्राणनावृत्तसर्वदिग्व्यापिशुक्लयशशा[रद]रजनिकरु[चिरवपु]-
- 4 रनद्यकालीनपुरुषविशेषसदृशोदारचरितस्सुचरितनिदर्शना[त्यमि]व [निर्मितप्रति]-
- 5 हृतसामन्तारातिरन्यनरपतिप्रतिविशिष्टस्ववङ् शा⁵लङ्कारभूत[प्रभूतप्रवी]रसाधना-
- 6 विष्टितदुर्गता[न]गर⁶सागरस्सागरगम्भीरगिरिगुरुस्थिरप्रकृतिप्रकृ[तिजन]मनोहरप्रज्ञ-
- 7 संश्रितगुरुस्वजनसाधुसाधारणधनोभिजनसदृशयन्त्रणोपगृहीतस्पृहणीयश्रीश्रीमहा-
- 8 राजव्याघ्रसेनः सर्वानिवे⁷क्षरक्याहारान्तर्गतपुरोहितपल्लीकाप्रतिवासीनो⁸-
- 9 स्समाज्ञापयति [1*] विदितमस्तु वो यथास्माभिर्म्मातापित्रोरात्मनश्च स्वपुण्याभिवृद्धये

Second Plate

- 10 [भरद्वाज]सगोत्रब्राह्मणनागशर्मणे⁹ इयं पल्लिका चोरराजापत्यकारिवर्ज¹⁰ अचाटभट-
- 11 प्रा[वे]स्या सर्वदित्यविष्टिपरिहीणो¹¹ग्राहारस्थित्यान्वयभोज्या¹²आचन्द्राकर्णव-
- 12 क्षितिस्थितिसमकालीनो¹³तिसृष्टा [1*] तदस्मद्वृक्ष¹⁴राजभिरत्यैश्च विभवानभावानुबद्धा-
नायुर्व्वि-

¹ Below, No. 26, line 25.

² Cf. *Aparāntās-tu pāśchātyās-tē cha Sūrpārak=ādayaḥ* cited by Mallinātha on *Raghuravāṇśa*, Canto IV, v. 55.

³ From the name *Purōhitapallikā* of the donated village, Dr. Hultzsck inferred that the donee Nāgaśarman was the king's family priest (*purōhita*). But the conjecture appears improbable, as the village bore the name even before the grant.

⁴ From the facsimiles facing page 221 of *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XI.

⁵ Read वंशा-.

⁶ Dr. Hultzsck reads नगर but the sign of the medial ā is clean in his lithograph.

⁷ Read सर्वनिवेक्ष-.

⁸ Read पल्लिकाप्रतिवासीन- . The length of ī in *pallikā* is quite clear in the lithograph.

⁹ Read शर्मण इयं.

¹⁰ Read वर्जमचाट-.

¹¹ Read परिहीणाग्राहार-.

¹² Read भोग्याचन्द्रा-.

¹³ Read कालीनाति-.

¹⁴ Read -द्वृक्ष-.

- 13 योगानुगतङ्गुणांश्च दीर्घकालानुगुणान्विगणय्य दानञ्च गुणवतामवदातमपदान—
 14 मिति प्रमाणीकृत्य शशिकरशुचिरुचिरञ्चिराय यशश्चिषुभिरियं¹ पल्ली(ल्लि)कादायो-
 नुमन्तव्यः पा—
 15 लयितव्यश्च [1*] यस्मादुक्तम्भगवता वेदव्यासेन व्यासेन [1*] पूर्वदत्तान्द्विजातिभ्यो य[त्ना]—
 ब्रक्ष युधि—
 16 [ष्टिर][1*] महीम्महिमतां श्रेष्ठ दानाच्छ्रेयोनुपालनं(नम्)² [॥१॥*] षष्टिवर्षसहस्राणि
 स्वर्गो मोदति
 17 [भूमिदः] [1*] आच्छेत्ता चानुमन्ता च तान्येव नरके वसेदिति (वसेत् ॥२॥ इति) प्रतिपृच्छघ
 लिखितं मया महासान्धिविग्र—
 18 [हिककक्के]ण हालाहलदूतकं सं २०० ४० १ कार्तिक शु १० ५ [॥*]

TRANSLATION

Hail! From the victorious **Aniruddhapura**,—the illustrious *Mahārāja Vyāghrasēna* (of the family) of the **Traikūṭakas**—who meditates on the feet of (his) mother and father; who is a servant of the feet of Bhagavat; who is the lord of the **Aparānta** and other prosperous countries acquired by his arms and (of those) inherited (by him); whose lotus-like feet are bowed to by countless kings; whose bright fame, acquired by bestowing (in charity) abundant wealth obtained by the protection (of his subjects) with his arm (as well as) by his prowess, has pervaded all quarters; whose body is lovely like the autumnal moon; whose noble actions resemble those of distinguished men of bygone times; who has been created as if to show an example of good conduct; who has overcome neighbouring foes; who is more distinguished than other kings; who is an ornament of his family; who, by his armies of many great warriors, has occupied forts, cities and seas; who by nature is as grave as the sea (is deep), and as firm as (Himālaya,) the chief of mountains; who is naturally attractive to people; whose wealth is shared by learned men, refugees, elders, relatives and good persons; whose enviable fortune is allied with self-restraint worthy of his noble birth—issues this order to all residents of **Purōhita-pallikā** included in the **Iksharakī āhāra**.

(Line 9)—“Be it known to you, that for augmenting the religious merit of (Our) mother and father and Ourselves, We have given this village, (which is) not to be entered by policemen and soldiers except for (arresting) thieves and rebels, which is exempt from all taxes and forced labour, (and is) to be enjoyed as an *agrahāra* by his descendants as long as the moon, the sun, the oceans and the earth will endure, to the Brāhmaṇa *Nāgaśarman* of the *Bharadvāja gōtra*.

(L. 12) “Therefore, considering that wealth is liable to be lost, that life is followed by separation, and that virtues (alone) endure for a long time, and believing that gifts made to meritorious persons are noble deeds, kings born in our family and others, (who are) desirous of accumulating, for a long time, fame as bright and splendid as moon-beams, should consent to and preserve this gift of the village.”

(L. 15) For, the holy Vyāsa, who arranged the *Vēdas*, has said—
 (Here follow two benedictive and imprecatory verses).

¹ Read —रयं.

² Metre of this and the next verse: *Anushtubh*.

(L. 17) Having inquired again (*about the details of the grant*) I, the *Mahāsāndhivigrahika* Karka, have written (*this charter*), Hālāhala being the *dātaka*.

The year 200, 40 (*and*) 1, (*the month*) Kārttika, the bright (*fortnight*), (*the lunar day*) 10 (*and*) 5.

NO. 10; PLATE V A

KANHERI PLATE OF THE TRAIKUTAKAS : (KALACHURI) YEAR 245

KANHERI is situated on the island of Salsette, about twenty miles from Bombay. It is well-known for its numerous Buddhist caves. The place was visited by the Chinese pilgrim Fa Hian who has left us a description of a five-storeyed cave temple there. The present plate was discovered in 1839 by Dr. James Bird. He gives the following account of its discovery in his article entitled 'the opening of the Topes at the caves of Kānari and the relics found in them', which was published in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. X, pp. 94 ff. 'Immediately in front of the large arched cave and on a ledge of the mountain, some thirty or forty feet below, there are several small Thopas or monumental receptacles for the bones of a Buddha or Rahat, built of cut stone at the base. They were once of a pyramidal shape, but are now much dilapidated, and appear like a heap of stones. Several years ago I thought of opening some of them, in expectation of obtaining coins or other relics; but found no favourable opportunity until lately, when several lengthened visits in company with Dr. Heddle gave me the desired means of doing so.

"The largest of the topes selected for examination appeared to have been one time between twelve and sixteen feet in height. It was much dilapidated, and was penetrated from above to the base, which was built of cut stone. After digging to the level of the ground and clearing away the materials, the workmen came to a circular stone, hollow in the centre, and covered at the top by a piece of gypsum. This contained two small copper urns, in one of which were small ashes mixed with a ruby, a pearl, small pieces of gold and a small gold box containing a piece of cloth; in the other a silver box and some ashes were found. Two copper-plates containing legible inscriptions in the Lath or cave character, accompanied the urns and these, as far as I have yet been able to decipher them, inform us that the persons buried here were of the Buddhist faith. The smaller of the copper-plates bears an inscription in two lines, the last part of which contains the Buddhist creed.'

Dr. Bird kept the plates with himself and published a small lithograph in his *Historical Researches*. He subsequently wrote the aforementioned article in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* which was accompanied by an eye-copy of the record with an interlinear transcription in Dēvanāgarī and an English translation. Later on Rev. J. Stevenson, D.D., attempted a transcript and a translation from the same eye-copy, as the plate could not be traced after Dr. Bird's death. His article was published in July 1853 in the *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol. V, pp. 10 ff. The work of both Dr. Bird and Dr. Stevenson was very imperfect, though the former recognised that it was a Buddhist inscription and the latter gave a correct reading of its date. The record was first correctly read by Pandit Bhagvanlal Indraji with his wonted ingenuity, from the eye-copy published in the *J.A.S.B.* His transcript, which was accompanied by an English translation and an enlarged facsimile of Dr. Bird's lithograph, was published in the *Inscriptions from the Cave-Temples of Western India*, pp. 56 ff. The plate is edited here from the same facsimile. It will be seen that the transcript given here differs from Pandit Bhagvanlal's text in very few places.

The record consists of nine lines written breadthwise on one side of the plate.¹ The latter does not seem to have been properly cleaned before Dr. Bird's facsimile was prepared; for several curves, *mātrās* and *anusvāras*, which were probably filled with verdigris on the original plate, do not appear at all in the lithograph. In making the transcript given below I have, however, taken the lithograph to be an accurate copy of the original plate, as it is now impossible to say which of the mistakes in the lithograph are due to the fault of the copyist.

The characters belong to the western variety of the southern alphabets and closely resemble those of the other Traikūṭaka plates. The only points worth noticing are that the length of the medial *i* is denoted by a curve curling to the right in *kshirōdab*, l. 7 and to the left in *kshira-tōyō* in the same line; the medial *ā* is shown in a peculiar way in *ghūrppat*-, l. 7; the sign for the *upadhmanīya* occurs in l. 2 and that for the *jihvāmūliya* in l. 7. The language is Sanskrit and except for a verse at the end, the record is in prose throughout. The only orthographical peculiarities that call for notice are that the consonant following *r* is reduplicated in many cases; see e.g., *pravarddhamāna*-, l. 1, *-antarggata*- l. 2, etc., and that *v* is doubled seemingly after an *anusvāra* in *sa[m̐]vatsara*, l. 1.

The inscription refers itself to the prosperous regime of the Traikūṭakas and records that in the year two hundred and forty-five (expressed in words only) Buddharuchi, the son of Buddhaśrī and Pushyavarman and a devoted servant of the holy Sākya Sage (Buddha) and the venerable monk who heard his law, who hailed from the village Kāṇaka included in the Sindhu *vishaya*, erected at Kṛishṇagiri the Chaitya, in which the plate was found, and which he dedicated to the venerable Śāradvatīputra, the foremost disciple of the great sage (Buddha). After invoking the blessings of gods, Yakshas, Siddhas, Vidyādharas, Māṇibhadrās, Pūrṇabhadra, Pañchika, Vajrapāṇi, etc., the record closes with the hope that the fame of Pushyamitra's son (i.e., Buddharuchi) would last as long as the milky ocean, the Mēru mountain and rivers would endure. The last line contains only two letters which seem to read *dādḥā* and perhaps refer to the tooth relic of Śāradvatīputra on which the *stūpa* was erected.

Pandit Bhagvanlal, who first read correctly the dynastic name Traikūṭaka, connected it with the expression containing the date, and understood it to mean the two hundred and forty-fifth year of the sovereignty of the Traikūṭakas. He, therefore, thought that he had found in the present plate a clear statement that the era known as the Kalachuri or Chēdi era was founded by the Traikūṭakas, who, in later times, assumed the dynastic name of Haihaya or Kalachuri². This view was at first accepted by Fleet³, but later on⁴ he pointed out in his article on the era that the real meaning of the expression, in accordance with an early Hindu method of expressing dates, may just as well be 'during the augmenting sovereignty of the Traikūṭakas and in the year 245 (of an unspecified era).' As a matter of fact, we find no dynastic or regional name associated with the era till the eleventh century A.C. The date of the present inscription would correspond to 493-94 A.C. or 494-95 A.C., according as the year 245 was current or expired. It does not contain any details for calculation.

¹ No details about the plate, e.g., its breadth, height and weight, have been recorded.

² See his article 'Two new grants of the Traikūṭaka dynasty' in the *P.V.O.C.*, pp. 222 ff.

³ D.K.D. (*Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. I, Part II), pp. 294-95.

⁴ See his article 'Trikuṭa and the so-called Kalachuri or Chēdi Era', *J.R.A.S.* (1905), pp. 366 ff.

As for the localities mentioned in this inscription, *Kṛishṇagiri* is evidently Kanheri, and *Sindhū viśaya* the district of Sindh in North India. The village *Kāṇaka*, from which Buddharuchi hailed, I am unable to identify.

TEXT¹

- 1 नमस्सर्व[त्र]ाय ॥ तत्र(त्रै)कूटकाना(नां) प्रवर्द्धमानराज्य(ज्ये) स³व्वत्सरशतद्वये पञ्चचत्वारि(रि)शतुत्तरे कृ[ण्ण]गिरिमहाविहारे
- 2 सि[न्धु]⁴विषया[न्तर्ग]तया⁵मिकाणकवास्तव्य[*] सुप्रभायाः बुद्धश्रियापुण्यवर्मणश्च [पु?]त्रो दशवलवल(लि)–
- 3 नो भगवत्तशाक्यमुनेस्सम्यक्सम्बु[द्ध]स्य तद्धर्मा[श्र]वकाय्यं⁶भ(भि)[क्षो?][*] च[र]ण–परिचरणकुशलो] बुद्धरुचिर–
- 4 दं तस्यैव परममुनेरप्रचन्नावकस्याय्यंशार[द्ध]⁷तीपुत्रस्य चेत्य(त्यं) घटितपाषाणेष्टकाभिराच–
- 5 [न्द्र]⁸वकण्णिवप्पि(क्षि)तिस्थितिसमकालीन(नं) प्रतिष्ठापितवा(वां)स्तदस्य देवय[क्ष]–सिद्धविद्याधरगणभाणिभद्रपू–
- 6 ण्णंभद्रपञ्चिकाय्यंवज्रपाणिवाङ्मण[का?]दयः¹⁰ स्वस्ति दिशन्त्वपि च[1*] [य]ा[व]दीचि–(ची)सहस्रप्रचलि[त]मकरा–
- 7 धूर्णं(ण्णं)तावतंतोय[*] क्षीरोदः क्षीरतोयो बृहदुपलक्षितः⁹कक्कंशो वापि मेरुः [1*] यावद्ध–(द्वा) यान्ति नद्य–
- 8 स्सुविमलसलिल(ला)स्सागरं तोयवत्यः तावत्कीर्त्ति¹¹ स्थिरेय(यं) भजतु शुभकरी सत्सुतं पुण्यनाम्न[*]॥१॥¹²
- 9 दाढा¹³(?) [1*]

¹ From the lithograph in the *Inscriptions from the Cave Temples of Western India*, A. S. W. I.

² Neither of the two *mātrās* on *tra* can be seen, but there is no uncertainty about the dynastic name which occurs in the two other records (Nos. 8 and 9). Pandit Bhagvanlal read त्रिकूटकानां.

³ There was evidently an *anusāra* on *sa* which is responsible for the reduplication (wrong, of course,) of *r*. Pandit Bhagvanlal took the upper sign for *m*. Read संवत्सर–.

⁴ The vertical stroke joining what now looks like an *anusāra* to the horizontal stroke of the superscript *n* has not come out in the lithograph.

⁵ Perhaps ग्रामकाणक was intended. Bhagvanlal read ग्रामे काणक.

⁶ The superscript *r* has been wrongly written like the medial *i*. The sign for the medial *i* on *bb* has not come out in the lithograph.

⁷ The superscript *k* of *ksh* is cursive like that in *kshiti*, in line 3 of the Pārṣi plates of Dahrasēna (No. 8). Pandit Bhagvanlal proposed to read गण्णो, but the first *akṣhara* is probably *bha*. See *Supra-bhāṣā*.

⁸ The subscript letter appears like *sa*, but there is no uncertainty about the name.

⁹ The subscript curve appears like that of medial *ri*, but it is clearly a mistake of the scribe.

¹⁰ Pandit Bhagvanlal read वङ्गणकादयः, but the first *akṣhara* has clearly the sign of medial *i*. *Vāṅkaṇaka* may be a follower of *Vaṅkaṇa*. The latter is, perhaps, the presiding diety of the *Vaṅka* mountain mentioned in some *Jātakas*. See, for instance, the *Vessantara Jātaka* (Eng. Tr. by Cowell and Rouse, Vol. VI, p. 266) The *Kathāsaritsāgara* mentions the *Vaṅkaṇaka* mountain.

¹¹ The *visarga* is dropped here by the *Vārtika* on Pāṇini, VIII, 3, 36.

¹² Metre: *Sragdharā*.

¹³ *D* is generally acute-angled in this record, but its rectangular form occurs in *praverddhamāna*, l. 1. The second *akṣhara* of this word has the same form as *ḍb* which occurs twice in l. 24 of the *Sunao Kālā* plates of Saṅgamasirīha (No. 11). It can also be read as *phā* (See *sphā* in l. 2 of the *Surat* plates of Vyāghrasēna, No. 9, above), but *dāphā* gives no sense.

TRANSLATION

Obeisance to the Omniscient (Buddha)! In the augmenting kingdom of the Traikūṭakas, in the year two hundred increased by forty-five, in the Great Monastery at Kṛishṇagiri, Buddharuchi, a resident of the village Kāṇaka included in the Sindhu *viśhaya* (district), the son of the glorious Buddhaśrī and Pushyavarman, skilful in serving the feet of the holy Sākya sage who was mighty by the possession of the ten powers *and* attained complete enlightenment, (*and*) of the venerable monk who heard his law, has erected this *Chaitya* with dressed stones and bricks to last as long as the moon, the sun, the oceans and the earth will endure, (*which is*) dedicated to the venerable Śāradvatīputra the chief disciple of the same great sage (*i.e.*, Buddha).

(Line 3) Therefore, may gods, *yakshas*,¹ *siddhas*,² *vidyādharas*,³ *gaṇas*, *Māṇibhadras*,⁴ Pūrṇabhadra,⁵ Pañchika,⁶ the venerable Vajrapāṇi,⁷ Vāṇkaṇaka⁸ and others bless it!

(L. 6) Moreover, as long as the milky ocean, the waters of the whirl-pools of which are whirled by the alligators tossed about by thousands of (*its*) waves, is an ocean of milk, as long as the rugged Mēru is piled with huge rocks, as long as rivers of very clear water flow with (*their*) water into the ocean — even so long may this lasting and auspicious fame resort to the excellent son of him (*who is*) named Pushya!

(L. 9). A canine tooth (?)

¹ A *Yaksha* is a semi-divine being who is described as an attendant of Kubēra in Hindu mythology.

² A *Siddha* is a person possessed of eight supernatural powers, *aṣṭimā* and others.

³ A *Vidyādhara* is a supernatural being dwelling in the Himālayas.

⁴ A *Māṇibhadra* is a follower of Maṇibhadra, the brother of Kubēra, the prince of *yakshas*. Perhaps the intended reading in the text is *Maṇibhadra*. Cf. *Purṇabhadra*.

⁵ *Purṇabhadra* is the name of a *yaksha*, the father of Harikēśa.

⁶ *Pañchika* is the chief of the generals of Kubēra or Vaiśravaṇa. For his form, see the *Gods of Northern Buddhism*, pp. 136 ff.

⁷ *Vajrapāṇi* (Thunderbolt-bearer) is in Buddhist records sometimes identified with and sometimes differentiated from Śakra, the lord of gods. *Ibid.*, pp. 30 ff.

⁸ He is perhaps a follower of Vāṇkaṇa (the deity of the Vāṇka mountain?).

A.—KANHERI PLATE OF TRAIKUTAKAS: (KALACHURI) YEAR 245

*Copper Plate Inscription from Kanheri.
(Copied from Dr. J. Bird's "Historical Researches")*

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В. С. СНАВВА.
Reg. No. 3977 E-36-778'50.

(From Photographs).

SURVEY OF INDIA, CALCUTTA.

i.

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1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31 32 33 34 35 36 37 38 39 40 41 42 43 44 45 46 47 48 49 50 51 52 53 54 55 56 57 58 59 60 61 62 63 64 65 66 67 68 69 70 71 72 73 74 75 76 77 78 79 80 81 82 83 84 85 86 87 88 89 90 91 92 93 94 95 96 97 98 99 100

ii.

14
16
18
20
22
24

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31 32 33 34 35 36 37 38 39 40 41 42 43 44 45 46 47 48 49 50 51 52 53 54 55 56 57 58 59 60 61 62 63 64 65 66 67 68 69 70 71 72 73 74 75 76 77 78 79 80 81 82 83 84 85 86 87 88 89 90 91 92 93 94 95 96 97 98 99 100

INSCRIPTION OF SANGAMASIMHA

NO. 11; PLATE V B

SUNAO KALA PLATES OF SANGAMASIMHA : (KALACHURI) YEAR 292

THESE plates were discovered in November 1898. They were first published, with a translation, but without a facsimile, by Mr. A.M.T. Jackson, I.C.S., in the *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol. XX, pp. 211 ff., and subsequently with a translation and photo-lithographs by Prof. Sten Konow in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. X, pp. 72 ff. I edit the inscription here from the lithographs accompanying Prof. Sten Konow's article.

The copper-plates are two in number. They were found buried about two feet below the surface of a cart track in the village of Sunev Kulla in the Hansot Mahāl of the Broach District. . . The first plate is entire. The second has suffered damage (1) by the wrenching of the seal, which has destroyed a few *aksharas* in the first line and (2) by the breaking off of a piece of the left-hand edge, which has destroyed one *akshara* in line 4, two in line 5, two in line 6 and one in line 7. . . The lower edge of the first plate was formerly attached to the upper edge of the second by two copper rings, one of which remains attached to each of the plates. The seal which was probably carried by the left-hand ring has been wrenched off and is lost. The letters are deeply cut and in many places show through on the back of the plates.¹ Each plate measures 12½" broad and 6½" high. The record consists of twenty-five lines, of which twelve are inscribed on the first, and the remaining thirteen on the second plate. The average size of letters is ¼".

The characters belong to the western variety of the southern alphabets and resemble those of the Traikūṭaka grants. There is a triangular wedge at the top of letters except in the case of *b*, *ṇ*, *ṣ* and sometimes of *l* and *r*. The initial *ē* which occurs in l. 12 shows a closed hook on the left. The medial *ō* and *au* are not clearly distinguished, compare e.g. *ō* in *yaśō-vāptayē* l. 11 and *au* in *Laukāṅkshi* l. 6. *L* occurs in two forms: (1) with a short vertical as in *kulaputraka* and *kuśala*, l. 3 and (2) with the vertical bent to the left as in *Gālava*, l. 5 and *phalaṇi*, l. 21. *Th* has the same form, whether it is independent or subscript, see e.g., *yathā*, l. 4 and *sthiti*, l. 9. A final consonant is indicated by a short horizontal stroke which takes the place of the wedge at the top; see *vasēt*, l. 20. The sign of the *Jihvāmūliya* occurs in l. 15 and the symbols for 200, 90, 10, 5 and 2 in l. 25.

The language is Sanskrit and except for four benedictive and imprecatory verses in ll. 19-23, the record is in prose throughout. As regards orthography, we may note that the consonant following *r* is doubled in many cases, see *sarvvān*, l. 2, *Antar-Narmadā*, l. 4, etc.; so also *dh* preceding *y*, see *pād-ānuddhyāto*, l. 1. *Samgamasimha* for *Samgamasimha* and *karishayatām* for *karshayatām* are evidently due to the influence of the Prakrits.

The plates were issued by the *Mahāsāmanta*, the illustrious *Mahārāja*, *Samgamasimha* from *Bharukachcha*. The object of the inscription is to record the grant of the village *Ṣoṇavvā* in the *Antar-Narmadā vishaya* to five Brāhmaṇas, who were residents of *Bharukachchha*, on the occasion of the *Mahākārttikī*, i.e., the full-moon day of *Kārttika*. The purpose of the grant was to provide for the performance of the five great sacrifices, viz., *bali*, *charu*, *vaiśvadēva*, *agnihōtra* and *havana*. The grant was written by

¹ J. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. XX, p. 211.

Vishnushēṇa according to the order conveyed by the *Mahāpratīhāra Gōpāḍhyaka*. The *dūtaka*, was the *Sāndhivigrahika Rēvaḍhyaka*.

The inscription is dated, in the last line, on the fifteenth tithi of the bright fortnight of Kārttika of the year 292 of an unspecified era. The tithi and the year are expressed in numerical symbols only. As the characters of the present record resemble those of Traikūṭaka grants, its date must likewise be referred to the Kalachuri era. According to the epoch of 248-49 A.C., the date would correspond, for the expired year¹ 292, to the 20th October 541 A.C. It does not admit of verification.

Saṅgamasimha calls himself *Mahāsāmanta*, which indicates his feudatory rank. Prof. Sten Konow called attention to the fact that 'the wording of our grant sometimes recalls the phraseology of the Sarsavṇī plates; compare ll. 18-19 with ll. 26-27 of the latter, and, especially, the end of the two grants, where we have, in both cases, first an instrumental (-*prāpit-ājñayā* and -*vijñāpanayā*, respectively), then a *bahuvrīhi* ending in -*dūtakam*, and followed by *likhitam* and finally the date expressed in the same way in numerical figures.² From this he conjectured that Saṅgamasimha was a feudatory of the Kalachuris, who, down to the time of Buddharāja (609 or 610 A.C.), retained the command of the country round Broach. He thought that either Kṛishṇarāja, the grandfather of Buddharāja, or his predecessor, must have been the overlord of Saṅgamasimha. A comparison of the wording of the present record with the phraseology of the Surat plates of Vyāghrasēna would, however, show that the former inscription bears a closer resemblance to the latter than to any record of the Kalachuris; for, besides the peculiarities noticed by Prof. Sten Konow, all of which are also found in the Surat plates of Vyāghrasēna, our inscription has copied lines 16-19 *verbatim* from earlier records of the Traikūṭakas (see, e.g., lines 12-15 of the Surat plates of Vyāghrasēna), the only difference being the omission (evidently inadvertent) of *apadānam* after *avadātam*. Saṅgamasimha's present inscription was, therefore, drafted by a clerk, who had before him the earlier records of the Traikūṭakas. And this is not at all surprising, for Śōṇavvā, the village granted by the present charter, is only two miles to the north of the Kīm which probably formed the northern boundary of the Traikūṭaka kingdom. It is not, therefore, unlikely that Saṅgamasimha had under his sway some territory which was previously ruled over by the Traikūṭakas. The similarity in the wording of the grants of Saṅgamasimha and Buddharāja is, therefore, due to the draftsmen of both having drawn upon earlier Traikūṭaka records.

The successors of Saṅgamasimha do not seem to have retained their hold over the Broach District for a long time; for within fifty years from the date of the present plates we find that the neighbouring country came under the rule of another feudatory, Nirihul-laka, of the Kalachuri Emperor, Saṅkaragaṇa and soon after, we find Saṅkaragaṇa's son Buddharāja himself, donating a village in the Bharukachchha *vishaya*.

As for the localities named in the present grant Bharukachchha, which was probably the capital of Saṅgamasimha, is modern Broach. The donees also were residents of this place. Śōṇavvā, the village granted, is probably Sunao Kalā, 18 m. west by south of Broach, where the plates were found. The Antar-Narmadā *vishaya*, in which it was situated, was, as its name indicates,³ a district comprising territory on both the sides of the Narmadā.

¹ If the year is taken to be current, the date would correspond to the 31st October 540 A.C.

² *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. X, p. 73.

³ The name *Antar-Narmadā* of the *vishaya* must be taken, as Dr. Fleet has shown (*Ind. Ant.*, XXXII, p. 56), to be a *Bahuvrīhi* compound, though the correct form in that case should be *Antar-Narmada*. It may be noted that the *Vāyupurāṇa* (*adhyāya* 45, *śl.* 130) speaks of *Āntara-Narmada vishayas*. Cf. *Nāsiky-ādyaś-cha yē ch-ānyē yē ch-āntara-Narmadāḥ* | *Bhārukachchhāḥ* | *Bhārukachchhāḥ* | *samābhāḥ* | *sabāḥ* | *śāvatāir-āpi* ||

TEXT¹

First Plate

- 1 सिद्धम्² [स्वस्ति] [॥*] भरुकच्छान्मातापितृपादानु[द्व्या]तो म[हासामन्तश्री]महाराज-
संगमसीहः³
- 2 सञ्चानेव स्वानाजस्थानीयोपरिकुमारामात्यविषयपत्त्यारक्षिकद्रांगिक-
- 3 कुलपुत्रकचाटभटादींस्तदादेशकारिणश्च कुशलमनुवर्ण्य समनुदर्श-
- 4 यति [॥*] अस्तु वो विदितं यथास्माभिरन्तर्गम्यंदाविषयान्तर्गतशोणव्याग्रामो भार-
- 5 कच्छकच्छन्दोगिसगोत्रछन्दोगसन्नहाचारिब्राह्मणानन्तदत्त⁴ तथा गालव-
- 6 सगोत्रछन्दोगसन्नहाचारिप्रजापतिशर्म⁵ तथा लौकाक्षि⁶सगोत्राध्वर्युसन्नहा-
- 7 चारिशिवदेव⁷ तथा लोहायनसगोत्राध्वर्युसन्नहाचारिभाणूदेव⁸ तथा पी[र्ण]⁹स-
- 8 गोत्रवह्नुचसन्नहाचारिभवरुचिभ्यो¹⁰ बलिचरुवैश्वदेवाग्निहोत्रहवन[प]ञ्च-
- 9 महायज्ञक्रियोत्सर्पणार्थमाचन्द्राकर्णवग्रहनक्षत्रक्षितिस्थितिसमकालीनः
- 10 सोद्वंगस्सोपरिकरस्सभूतवातप्रत्यायोचाटभटप्रावेश्यो भूमिच्छिद्रन्यायेन
- 11 पुत्रपौत्रान्वयभोग्यो मातापित्रोरात्मनश्च पुण्ययशोवाप्तयेद्य पुण्यतमां
- 12 महाकार्तिकीतिथिमगीकृत्य¹¹ उदकातिसर्गणे प्रतिपादितो(तः ।) यत एषां ब्राह्मणानां

Second Plate

- 13 उचितय[॥] ब्रह्म[देयाग्रहा*]रस्थित्या भुंज[तां] कृषतां करिषयतां¹² प्रदिशतां च न केनचित¹³
- 14 निषेधे वर्तितव्य[मिति । एत*]द्व[॥][म]निवासिभिरप्यमीषां विधेयैर्भूत्वा समुचित-
- 15 मेयहिरण्यादिप्रत्यायोपनयXकार्यः [॥*] भविष्यद्राजभिश्चास्मद्वंश्यैरन्यैर्वा सा-
- 16 [मा*]न्यं भूमिदानपुण्यफलमभिवाञ्छद्भिर्द्विभवानभावानुवद्वानायुर्व्वियोगा-
- 17 [नुग*]तं गुणांश्च दीर्घकालानुगुणान्विगणय्य दानं च गुणवतामवदात¹⁴मिति
- 18 [प्रमा*]णीकृत्य शशिकरशुचिरुचिरं चिराय यशश्चिचीषुभिरयमस्मदायोनुमन्तव्यः
- 19 [पा*]लयितव्यश्चेति ॥ उक्तं च भगवता व्यासेन ॥ षष्टि वर्षसहस्राणि स्वर्गो मोदति
- 20 [भू]मिदः [॥*] आच्छेत्ता चानुमन्ता च तान्येव नरके वसेत्¹⁵ ॥ [१*॥] बहुभिर्व्वसुधा भुक्ता
राजभिस्स-

¹ From the lithograph facing p. 74 in *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. X.

² Expressed by a symbol.

³ Read संगमसीहः.

⁴ Read दत्तस्तथा.

⁵ Read -शर्मा.

⁶ Prof. Sten Konow proposes to read लौकाक्षि [*Ep. Ind.*, X, p. 75], but the *Gātrapravarānibandha-kadamba* gives the *Laukāksī* gōtra under the Āṅgiraśas.

⁷ Read शिवदेवस्तथा.

⁸ Read भानुदेवस्तथा.

⁹ Mr. Jackson doubtfully read पीण्ड, and Prof. Konow पीण्ड, but the aforementioned work on *gōtras* and *pravaras* does not give any *gōtras* of these names. Perhaps पीर्ण was intended for which see *ibid.*, p. 31.

¹⁰ Read भवरुचिरित्येतेभ्यो.

¹¹ Read -मंगीकृत्योदका-. Prof. Konow suggested-मङ्गीकृत्यो-.

¹² Read कर्षयतां.

¹³ Read केनचित्.

¹⁴ Some word like अपदानं is omitted here. Compare l. 13 of the Surat Plates of Vyāghrasēna (No. 9, above).

¹⁵ Metre of this and the following three verses: *Anushtubb*.

- 21 गरादिभिः [1*] यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फलं (लम्) ॥ [२॥*] पूर्वदत्तां द्विजा-
तिभ्यो य-
22 त्नाद्रक्ष युधिष्ठिर [1*] महीं महिमतां श्रेष्ठ दानाच्छ्रेयोनुपालनं (नम्) ॥ [३*॥] विन्ध्याटवीष्वतो-
23 यासु [शु]ष्ककोटरवासिनः [1*] कृष्णाहयोभिजायन्ते पूर्वदायान्हरन्ति ये ॥ [४*]
24 महाप्रतीहारगोपादचक्रप्रापिताज्ञया सान्निविग्रहिकरेवादचक्रदूतकं
25 लि[खि]तं विष्णु(ष्णु)घेणेनेति ॥ सं २०० १० २ कार्तिक शु १० ५ [1*]

TRANSLATION

Success! Hail! From Bharukachchha—the *Mahāsāmanta*, the illustrious *Mahārāja*, *Saṅgamasimha*, who meditates on the feet of his mother and father, having stated his good health,¹ informs all (his subordinates, such as) *Rājasthānīyas*,² *Uparikas*,³ *Kumārāmātyas*,⁴ heads of *vishayas*, *Arakshikas*,⁵ *Drāṅgikas*,⁶ *Kulaputrakas*,⁷ *chāṭas*, *bhaṭas* and others, as well as those who execute their orders (as follows):—

(Line 4). “Be it known to you that for obtaining religious merit and fame for Our mother and father and for Ourselves, We, availing Ourselves of the holiest *Mahākārttikī*⁸ *tithi* today, have granted with a libation of water, the village *Śoṇavvā* situated in the *Antar-Narmadā vishaya* together with the *udraṅga*⁹ and the *uparikara*,¹⁰ as well as excise and octroi duties, (which is) not to be entered by *Chāṭas* and *bhaṭas*, (and is) to be enjoyed by a succession of sons and sons’ sons, according to the maxim of uncultivated land—to the (following) residents of Bharukachchha, (viz.,) the *Brāhmaṇa Arantadatta* of the *Chhandōgi gōtra* (who is) a student of the *Chhandōga* (i.e., *Sāmaveda*) (and) *Prajāpatiśarman* of the *Gālava gōtra*, (who is) a student of the *Chhandōga*, and *Sivadēya* of the *Laukākhī gōtra*,

¹ Prof. Sten Konow translates *kuśalam-anumarga* as ‘having greeted’. In the *Rāshtrakūṭa* and other records, the word *kuśalī* occurs in the same context, which shows that here also the king refers to his own good health.

² *Rājasthānīya*, lit., one who occupies the position of a king, probably in the administration of justice. Bühler calls attention to the definition of the term in Kshēmendra’s *Lākaprakāśa*, viz., *prajā-pālan-ārtham-udvabati rakṣayati cha sa Rājasthānīyaḥ*, ‘he who carries out the object of protecting subjects and shelters them is a *Rājasthānīya*’. In line 17 of the Mandasor stone inscription of Yaśō-varman (*C.I.I.*, Vol. III, p. 154) Abhayadatta is said to have protected some territory after the manner of a *Rājasthānīya*. So the term seems to indicate also the governor of a province. Kalhaṇa also mentions the office *rājasthāna* or *rājasthānādhipāra*. Stein, and following him, Vogel hold that the *Rājasthānīya* was an officer of justice. (See *A.C.S.* Part I, p. 122). Fleet was inclined to think that ‘Viceroy’ was too exalted a title to be a suitable equivalent, because the *Rājasthānīya* is, in some records, mentioned ‘rather low down in the list of officials’. (*C.I.I.*, Vol. III, p. 157). It is noteworthy that in the present record the *Rājasthānīya* heads the list of officials.

³ *Uparika* is mentioned in some Gupta records as the head of a *bhukti* or Commissioner. The title *Mahārāja* is sometimes added to the term. The *Uparika Mahārāja*s recommended the appointment of *Vishayapatis* (heads of districts) who were subordinate to them. (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XV, p. 133). According to the definition given by Brīhaspati, *Uparika* appears to have been a Magistrate. *Ibid.* XXIV, p. 154.

⁴ *Kumārāmātya*, lit. the councillor of a prince, was a title borne by several grades of officials such as ministers, provincial governors and heads of districts. (See, e.g., *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. X, p. 71)

⁵ *Arakshika*, lit. a protector, was probably a police-officer.

⁶ *Drāṅgika*, derived from *drāṅga* a town, is probably identical with the *Nāgarika* (the Mayor of a town) mentioned in Kauṭilya’s *Arthśāstra*, pp. 143 ff.

⁷ I. e. noblemen.

⁸ I. e. the full-moon day in Kārttika.

⁹ See above p. 21, n. 1.

¹⁰ See above, p. 21, n. 2.

(who is) a student of the *Adhvaryu (vēda i.e., Yajurveda)* and Bhānudēva of the Lōhāyana *gōtra*, (who is) a student of the *Adhvaryu (vēda)*, (and) Bhavaruchi of the Paurṇa *gōtra*, (who is) a student of the *Rigvēda*, for the performance of the five great sacrifices, (*viz.,*) *balī*, *charu*, *vaiśvadēva*, *agnihōtra* (and) offerings to fire.

(L. 12) "Wherefore, none should cause any obstruction while these Brāhmaṇas are enjoying, cultivating, getting cultivated and directing (*others to cultivate the land in the donated village*) according to the customary rules of *agrahāras* granted to Brāhmaṇas. The residents of this village also, submitting to these (Brāhmaṇas), should make over to them the customary (*share*) of measurable (*things*), gold and other taxes. And kings of the future whether born in our family or others, desiring to share in the reward of the religious merit of (*this gift of*) land and considering that wealth is liable to be lost, that life is followed by separation, and that virtues (*alone*) endure for a long time, and believing that gifts made to meritorious persons are excellent, and wishing to accumulate for a long time, fame as bright and splendid as moon-beams, should consent to and preserve this our gift."

(L. 19) Moreover, the holy Vyāsa has said—

(Here follow four benedictive and imprecatory verses).

(L. 24) (This charter), the *dūtaka* of which is the *Sāndhivigrahika Rēvāḍhyaka*, has been written by Vishṇushēṇa according to the (*royal*) order communicated by the *Mahāpratihāra Gōpāḍhyaka*.

The year 200 (and) 30 (and) 2, (the month) Kārttika, the bright (fortnight), (the lunar day) 10 (and) 5.

INSCRIPTIONS OF THE EARLY KALACHURIS

NO. 12; PLATE VI

ABHONA PLATES OF SANKARAGANA : (KALACHURI) YEAR 347

THESE plates were found in the possession of a Rajput family of Ābhōṇa, a village in Kalvan *tālukā* of the Nāsik District in the Bombay State. They were edited, with lithographs and a translation, by Prof. K. B. Pathak in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. IX, pp. 296 ff. I edit them here from the same lithographs.

The copper-plates are two in number, and are inscribed on one side only, each one measuring 9.7" broad and 7" high. Except for a mistake here and there, the writing on them has been well executed and is in a state of good preservation. Each plate has two holes, about .5" in diameter, at the top for the rings which must have originally connected it with the other plate of the set, but no ring or seal was apparently discovered. The weight of the plates is 132 *tolas*¹. The record consists of thirty-four lines, seventeen being inscribed on the inner side of each plate. The average size of letters is .25".

The characters belong to the western variety of the southern alphabets.² The letters have, in most cases, a knob at the top, and show, as usual, some admixture of northern peculiarities. The *mātrās*, for instance, for the medial *ē*, *ai* and *au* are placed above the line, see *-vipulē*, l. 1, *guṇair-*, l. 6, *Kṛishṇarājō*, l. 5. The medial *au* is indicated by three *mātrās*, only the middle one of which rises above the line; see *pauṭr-*, l. 20 and *Gautama-*, l. 21; *kh* in *likhitam-*, l. 34 has a loop larger than its hook; *n* appears with a loop, while *t* is without it; see *gagana-tala*, l. 1; *ṇ* generally appears in its southern form, its upper portion being undivided, see e.g., *guṇa-*, l. 2, but the northern form also occurs in a few places, see *kriy-ōtsarppanāya*, and *punya*, l. 22; the vertical stroke of *l* is either shortened as in *tala*, l. 1, or is sharply turned to the left as in *vimala*, l. 1. Besides these northern characteristics, the following peculiarities of other individual letters may also be noticed:—the initial *i* is indicated by a curve with a notch in the centre over two dots, see *iva*, l. 5; the sign for initial *ē* in *ēva*, l. 4, is open on the left; the stroke for medial *ā* is generally bent down, and in some cases it is brought down lower than in the Traikūṭaka inscriptions,³ thus showing a later palaeographic stage, see *vicharatā-*, l. 8, *par-ābhimiāna*, and *vinayāya*, l. 9; in a few cases (e.g., *nā* and *jñā*) it is turned upwards, see e.g., *Kaṭachchurī-ṇām-*, l. 3, *-ājñāna-*, l. 26, while in the case of *jā* it encircles the letter on the left, see *jāyantē*, l. 29; in medial *ī*, the length is denoted by a curve in the circle for short *i*, see *Ujjayani-*, l. 1; the medial *u* is marked in three ways (1) by lengthening the vertical stroke to end in a small curve as in *vipulē* l. 1; (2) in the case of letters whose vertical stroke already ends in a curve (e.g. *k*, *r*, etc.) by adding another curve to the vertical and turning it downwards, see *kumuda-*, l. 4; and (3) by turning the vertical stroke of the letter upwards to the right, see *pād-ānuddhyātah*, l. 16; the medial *ū* also appears in two ways as in *bhūri-*, l. 13, and *yūthapa*, l. 7; *ḍ* is distinguished from *d* by its tail, see *-āpīḍita* l. 12; the subscript *ṇ* consists only of a loop cf. *-ārṇava* l. 20; *th* is shown either with a notch in the base as in *yūthapēna*, l. 7, or with a ringlet as in *-apratiratha-*, l. 10; in its subscript form, it is indicated by a curve curling to the right, see *sthiti*, l. 20

¹ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XLII, p. 270.

² See *I. P.*, pp. 62 ff.

³ Nos. 8-10, above.

and *sthēyasaf-*, ll. 24-25; *b* shows a notch on the left, see *vibōdhana-*, l. 5, and *y* is tripartite, see *Ujjayanī*, l. 1. A final consonant is shown by a horizontal stroke on the top in ll. 19 and 30 and by its small size, in l. 28. Punctuation is indicated by double vertical strokes in ll. 29-31, 33 and 34. The sign of the *jihvāmūliya* occurs twice in l. 4 and that of the *upadhmāniya* thrice, in ll. 8, 11 and 26. The numerical symbols for 300, 40, 10, 7 and 5 occur in l. 34. Of these the symbol for 7 deserves special notice, its upper curve being here separated from the vertical by a knob as in the Sirpur plate of the *Mahārāja Rudrasēna*.¹

The language is Sanskrit. Except for five benedictive and imprecatory verses at the end, the record is in prose throughout. Its eulogistic portion is composed in an ornate style which recalls that of Valabhī grants.² Again, as stated below, the present plates were issued from Ujjayanī, which was for some time, a second capital of the Gupta Empire. The draftsman who composed the present record was probably well acquainted with Gupta inscriptions, from which he has evidently borrowed certain epithets which are employed here to eulogize the donor Śaṅkaragaṇa.³ It may, again, be noted that both in its eulogistic and formal parts, this record has several expressions which are either imitated or copied *verbatim* from the earlier Traikūṭaka grants.⁴ This shows that the Kaṭachchuri empire comprised some provinces which were previously under the rule of the Traikūṭakas. As regards orthography, the only peculiarities that call for notice are that the consonant following *r* is doubled in many places, see, e.g., *durllāṅghē* l. 2, and *dharm-ārṭtha-*, l. 12, and that a class-nasal is often used instead of *anusvāra*, as in *kalanika*, l. 4.

The plates were issued by the illustrious Śaṅkaragaṇa of the Kaṭachchuri (Early Kalachuri) dynasty from his camp at Ujjayanī. He was a devout worshipper of Mahēśvara and was the son of the illustrious Kṛishṇarāja 'who from his very birth was solely devoted to Paśupati'. Śaṅkaragaṇa is described as the lord of the country extending from the eastern to the western ocean and of other lands.

¹ Line 9 of No. 4 above. Pandit Bhagvanlal read this symbol doubtfully as 8, but in view of the clear mention of the date in words in l. 34 of the present record, it will have to be taken as a sign of 7.

² Compare, for instance, the *utprēkṣā* in *yas=saṁśraya-viśiṣṭa-lōbbhād=iva sakalair=ābhigāmikaḥ=itarait=cha guṇair=apṛtāḥ* in lines 5-6 with that in *rūp-lōbbhād=iv=ādrītāḥ sarasam=ābhigāmikaḥ=gṛhṇaiḥ* which occurs in connection with the description of Dharasēna I in many Valabhī grants.

³ In his translation of the Sarsavṇī plates (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VI, p. 300), Dr. Kielhorn has drawn attention to the epithets *prithivyām=apratiratbaḥ*, *chatur-udadhi-saṁlī-lāṁvādita-yaśāḥ* and *Dhanada-Varuṇ-Endr-Āntaka-sama-prabhāvaḥ* which closely resemble (the last with a slightly different reading) those in Gupta records, see *C. I. I.*, Vol. III, Text, pp. 8 and 33. Again, the expressions *prapāti-mātra-niparītāḥ-gambhīr-ōnnata-bhīdayaḥ* and *chir-ōtsannāsāṁ nṛpati-vamśānām pratibhāṣayitā* in this and other early Kalachuri grants recall *bhakti-avanati-mātra-grāhya-mṛidu-bhīdayasya* and *anēka-bhrasṭa-rājy-ōtsanna-rāja-vamśa-pratibhāṣana-* in the Allahabad stone inscription of Samudragupta (*Ibid.*, p. 8.)

⁴ Thus the epithet *saṁyak-prajā-pālana-ābhigata-bhūri-draṇiṇa-viśrāṇan-āvāpta-dharma-kriyāḥ* and *pūrvā-para-samudr-ant-ādi-dēśa-nāmī* in lines 13 and 15 respectively of the present record are obviously suggested by *sva-bhūja-paripālana-pratāp-ābhigata-prachura-draṇiṇa-viśrāṇan-āvāpta-sarva-dig-vyāpī-lukla-yaśāḥ* and *Aparant-ādi-dēśa-pati* in the earlier Traikūṭaka records like the Surat grant of Vyāghrasēna (See lines 2-3 of No. 9 above). The expression *sarva-dītya-viśṭi-paribhāṣa* in line 11 of the latter record was adopted by the official draftsman of the Early Kalachuris, who only inserted *prātibhāṣika* in it. Again, the expressions *ā-chandr-ārka-ārṇava-kṣiti-sthiti-sama-kālinām* (l. 20), *abhāv-ānugatān-asārān-vibhāṇ-dīrggha-kāla-sthēyasaf=cha guṇān=ākalayya* and *śaṁ-kara-ruchiraṁ chirāya yaśaf=chicchir(chi)stubbir-ayam=asmad-dāyū-numantavyaḥ pāluyitavyaḥ=cha* in lines 24-6 of the present grant are plainly borrowed, with some changes like the inversion of the order of words, from Traikūṭaka records (See e.g., lines 11-14 of No. 9 above). The same can be said of the manner of inserting the name of the *Dūtaka* in a *Bahuribi* compound qualifying the word *likhitam*.

The object of the present inscription is to record the grant, by Śaṅkaragaṇa, of a hundred *nivartanas* of land, measuring forty *nivartanas* on either side, in the village Vallisikā which was situated in the *viśaya* (district) of Bhōgavardhana. The donee was a Brāhmaṇa¹ of the Taittiriya *sākhā* and Gautama *gōtra* residing at Kallivana. The purpose of the grant, which was made at the request of Gōggā,² is stated to be to provide for the maintenance of *balī*, *charu*, *vaiśvadeva*, *agnihōtra* and other rites.

The grant is dated, both in words and in numerical symbols, on the fifteenth tithi of the bright fortnight of Śrāvaṇa of the year 347. Though no era is specified, the date must plainly be referred to the Kalachuri era. It does not admit of verification in the absence of the necessary details, but according to the epoch of 248-49 A. C. which suits other verifiable early dates of the era, the date of the present grant would correspond, for the expired year³ 347, to the 3rd August 597 A. C.

As for the localities mentioned in the present grant, Ujjayanī is, of course, modern Ujjain in Central India. Kallivana, where the donee was residing is modern Kalvan, the chief town of the Kalvan *tāluka* of the Nāsik District. It may be noted in this connection that the present plates were found at Ābhōṇa which lies only seven miles west of Kalvan. Bhōgavardhana, the headquarters of the district in which the donated village was situated, is probably Bhōkardhan (20° 16' N. and 75° 46' 56" E.) in the Hyderabad State, where a large Brahmanical cave temple of about 8th century A.D. has been recently excavated.⁴ Vallisikā is modern Valsā, 7 miles south of Bhōkardhan.⁵

¹ Prof. Pathak read the name of the Brāhmaṇa in line 21 as *Āhmaṇasvāmin*. The first *akṣara* of this word is certainly not *ā*, the form of which may be seen in *āchchhātā*, l. 28. I read it as *prā* which, I think, is incorrectly written for *brā*. The scribe has confused *p* and *b* in another place also, see *pratāh-ātī-jaya* for *pratāp-ātī-jaya* in line 11. Strange as it may appear, the proper name of the donee, which ought to have been inserted between *brāhmaṇa* and *vāmin*, has been inadvertently omitted here. Compare the names of the donees *Brāhmaṇa-Bāddhasvāmin* and *Brāhmaṇa-Rappasvāmin* in other Kalachuri grants Nos. 14 and 16, below). Similar names of donees with the prefix *Brāhmaṇa* occur in the records of the Traikūṭakas and Maitrakas also.

² This lady may have been the queen of Śaṅkaragaṇa. As for the absence of any title like *Mahārājñī* in connection with her name, it may be pointed out that neither Krishṇarāja, nor Śaṅkaragaṇa is called *Mahārāja* in this or any other grant of the Early Kalachuris.

³ The usual practice is to cite expired years. Current years are cited only exceptionally. If the year 347 is applied as current, the date would correspond to the 15th July 596 A. C. Prof. Pathak gives the 27th July 595 A. C. as the corresponding Christian date, evidently taking the year 347 as current and applying the epoch A. D. 247-48 which Dr. Kielhorn finally fixed on the evidence of later Kalachuri dates. But this epoch does not suit early dates of the Kalachuri era as admitted by Kielhorn himself. See *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. V, Appendix, p. 57, n. 6 and 7.

⁴ *A. B. I. A.*, (1935), pp. 31-32. Bhōgavardhana is mentioned in several inscriptions at Sānchī. See e.g. Nos. 156, 162, 163, etc. *M. S.* Vol. I, pp. 315 ff.

⁵ Mr. Gupte has suggested the identification of Vallisikā with Vārasī, about 8 miles south of Kalvan (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XLII, p. 270); but as the Vaḍnēr grant of Buddharāja (No. 14 below) shows, the country round Vaḍnēr, which is only about 16 miles south of Kalvan, was included in the *bhōga* of Vaṇanagara. So the country round Kalvan is not likely to have been included in a different *viśaya* like Bhōgavardhana. Mr. Gupte's alternative identifications of Vallisikā with Bālhēgāon near Ujjain and of Bhōgavardhana with Bōgtē near Bālhēgāon are also unlikely; for, the plates were found in the Nāsik District, and as shown above, better identifications of the localities with places not far from the eastern limit of that District can be proposed. Kallivana is also mentioned in the Mundkhēḍe plates of the Sēndraka king Jayaśakti. See *Q. B. I. S. M.*, Vol. XVII, p. 52 ff.

TEXT¹

First Plate

- 1 सिद्धम्² स्वस्ति [11*] विजयस्कन्धावारादुज्जयनीवासकाच्छरदुपगमप्रसन्नगगनतलविमलविपुले
- 2 विविधपुरुषरत्नगुणकिरणनिकरावभासिते महासत्त्वा (त्वा) पाश्र्वदुल्लङ्घे गाम्भीर्यं वति स्थित्य—
- 3 नृपालनपरे महोदधाविव कटच्चुरीणामन्वये³ सकलजनमनोहरया चन्द्रिक[ये]⁴ व कीर्त्या
- 4 भुवनमवभासयन्ना जन्मन एव पशुपतिसमाश्रयपरः⁵ कलङ्कुदोषरहितः⁶ कुलकुमुद—
- 5 वनलक्ष्मीविबोधनश्चन्द्रमा इव श्रीकृष्णराजो यस्संश्रयविशेषलोभादिव सकलैराभिगामिकं—
- 6 रितरैश्च गुणैरुपेतस्सम्पन्नप्रकृतिमण्डलो यथावदात्मन्याहितशक्तिसिद्धिर्येन च रुचिरं—
- 7 शशोभिना नियतमस्वलितदानप्रसरेण प्रथितबलगरिम्णा वनवारणयूथपेनेवावि—
- 8 शङ्खं विचरता वनराज्य इवावनमिता दिशो यस्य च शस्त्रमापन्नत्राणाय विग्रहः⁷ परा—
- 9 भिमानभङ्गाय शिक्षितं विनयाय विभवाज्जनं प्रदानाय प्रदानं धर्माय धर्मः श्रेयोवा—
- 10 प्तये [1*] तस्य पुत्रः पृथिव्यामप्रतिरथश्चतुर्दधिसलिलास्वादितयशा धनदवरुणेंद्रान्तक—
- 11 समप्रभावः स्वबाहुवलोपात्तोऽजितराजश्चो⁸ प्रतावा (पा) ति शयोपनतसमसामान्त⁹—
- 12 मण्डलः परस्परापीडितधर्मार्थकामनिषेवी प्रणतिमात्रसुपरितोषगम्भीरोन्नत—
- 13 हृदयस्सम्यक्प्रजापालनाधिगतभूरिद्रविणविश्राणनावाप्तधर्मक्रियश्चिरोत्सन्ना—
- 14 नां नृपतिवंशानां प्रतिष्ठापयितात्पुच्छितानामुन्मूलयिता दीनान्धकु (कु) पणसमभिल—
- 15 पितमनोरथाधिकनिकामफलप्रदः पूर्वापरसमुद्रान्तादिदेशस्वामी मातापितृ—
- 16 पादानुद्धातः परममाहेश्वरः श्रीशङ्करगणः सर्वाणव⁶ राजसामन्तभोगिकविषय—
- 17 पतिराष्ट्रग्राममहत्तराधिकारिकादी⁷ त्समाज्ञापयत्यस्तु वो विदितमस्माभिः⁸

Second Plate

- 18 भोगवद्वनविषयान्तर्गतवल्लिसिकाग्रामे⁹ उभयचत्वारिंशकनिवर्त्तनिना
- 19 भूमेर्निवर्त्तनशतम् (तं) सर्व्वदानसंग्राह्यं सर्व्वदित्यविष्टिप्रातिभेदिकापरिहीणं भूमि—
- 20 छिद्रन्यायेनाचाटभटप्रावेश्यमाचन्द्रावर्काणर्वक्षितस्थितिसमकालीनं पुत्रपोत्रान्वयो[प*]भोग्यं
- 21 कल्लिवनवास्तव्यगौतमसगोत्रतैत्तिरीयसन्नह्यचारिप्रा¹⁰ ह्यणस्वामिण बलिचरुवैश्वदेवा—
- 22 ग्निहोत्रादिक्रियोत्सर्पणाय मातापित्रोरात्मनश्च पुण्ययशोभिवृद्धये गोमाविज्ञापनया¹¹
- 23 उदकातिसर्गोणातिसृष्टं (ष्टम्) [1*] यतोस्मद्व्यैरन्यैर्वा नृपतिभोगपतिभिः प्रबलपवन—
- 24 प्रेरितोदधिजलतरङ्गचञ्चलं जि (जी) बलोकमभावानुगतानसारान्विभवान्दीर्घकालस्थेयस—
- 25 श्च गुणानाकलय्य भोगसामान्यभूप्रदानफलेप्सुभिः शशिकररुचिरं चिराय यशश्चिचिर्षुभि¹²—
- 26 रयमस्मदायोनुमन्तव्यः⁵ पालयितव्यश्च [1*] यो वाज्ञानतिमिरपटलावृतमतिराच्छिन्नादाच्छिद्य—

¹ From the lithographs facing pages 296-97 of *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IX.

² Expressed by a symbol.

³ Prof. Patbak read कटच्चुरीणा, but what looks like a dot after the vertical stroke of *chebu* is not joined to it and appears to be due to a fault in the copper.

⁴ The engraver seems to have first incised *chandrikay-āra* and then corrected it into *chandrikay-āra*.

⁵ Read सामन्त—.

⁶ Read सर्व्वानिव.

⁷ Read —धिकारिकादीन्समाज्ञापयति [1*] अस्तु.

⁸ Read —मस्माभिर्भोग.

⁹ Read ग्राम उभय—.

¹⁰ Read ब्राह्मण-स्वामिने. The name of the Brāhmaṇa has been omitted inadvertently.

¹¹ Read विज्ञापनयोदका—.

¹² Read चिचोषुभि—.

- 27 मानं वानुमोदेत स पञ्चभिर्महापातकैस्संयुक्तस्स्यादित्यु¹ क्तञ्च भगवता वेदव्यासेन व्यासेन[1*]
 28 षष्टि वर्षसहस्राणि स्वर्गे मोदति भूमिदः[1*] आच्छेत्ता चानुमन्ता च तान्येव नरके वसेत् ॥²
 [१॥*] विन्ध्याट—
 29 वीष्वतोयासु शुष्ककोटरवासिनः [1*] कृष्णाहयो हि जायन्ते भूमिदायं हरन्ति ये ॥ [२॥*]
 बहुभिर्वं—
 30 सुधा भुक्ता³ राजभिस्सगरादिभिः [1*] यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फलम् ॥ [३॥*]
 पूर्वदत्ता
 31 द्विजातिभ्यो यत्नाद्रक्ष युधिष्ठिर [1*] महीं महिमतां श्रेष्ठ दानाच्छ्रेयोनुपालन⁴ मपि च ॥ यानीह
 32 दत्तानि पुरा नरेन्द्रैर्दानानि धर्म्मार्थयशस्कराणि [1*] निर्भुक्तमाल्यप्रतिमानि तानि को नाम
 साधुः
 33 पुनराददीत⁵ ॥ [५॥*] संवत्सरशतत्रये सप्तचत्वारिंशदुत्तरके श्रावणशुद्धपञ्चदश्यां महा-
 पीलु⁶—
 34 पतिपाशुपतदूतकं लिखितमिदं महासन्धिविग्रहाधिकरणाधिकृतवाटचलिनेति ॥ सं ३०० ४० ७
 श्रावण शु १० ५ [1*]

TRANSLATION

Success ! Hail ! From the victorious camp pitched at Ujjayani—

In the family of the **Kaṭachchuris**, which, resembling the great ocean, is stainless and extensive like the firmament clear on the advent of autumn; which is made resplendent by the multitude of the manifold excellences of the men (*born in it*) as the ocean is by the mass of the rays of its gems; which is difficult to overcome, being the resort of men of great courage, as the ocean is difficult to cross, being the asylum of large animals; which is endowed with serenity (*and*) is intent on observing the rules of moral conduct as the ocean is deep and is determined to remain within its bounds ;—(*there was*) the illustrious **Kṛishṇarāja**, who brightened the world with his fame which, like moonlight, attracted the minds of all people ; who, from his very birth, was devoted to Paśupati (Śiva), revived the prosperity of his family, (*and therefore, though*) free from (*all*) defects, resembled the moon, (*which has spots*), which rests on Śiva and revives the beauty of clusters of night-lotuses. He⁷ was resorted to by all attractive royal qualities and other excellences as if out of a desire to find a choice resting place, ⁸was possessed of all the constituents of royalty⁸ (*and*) had properly acquired royal powers⁹ and attained successes. Shining with his illustrious lineage, with the flow of his charity always unchecked, and the greatness of his prowess well known, he conquered the regions marching about fearlessly, even as the leader of a herd of

¹ Read —स्यादिति । उक्तञ्च.

² Metre of this and the next three verses: *Anuṣṭubh*.

³ The sign for *t* is affixed to the right of the vertical of *k*, like that for medial *n*.

⁴ Read पालनम् ॥ [४॥*] अपिच.

⁵ Metre, *Indravajrā*.

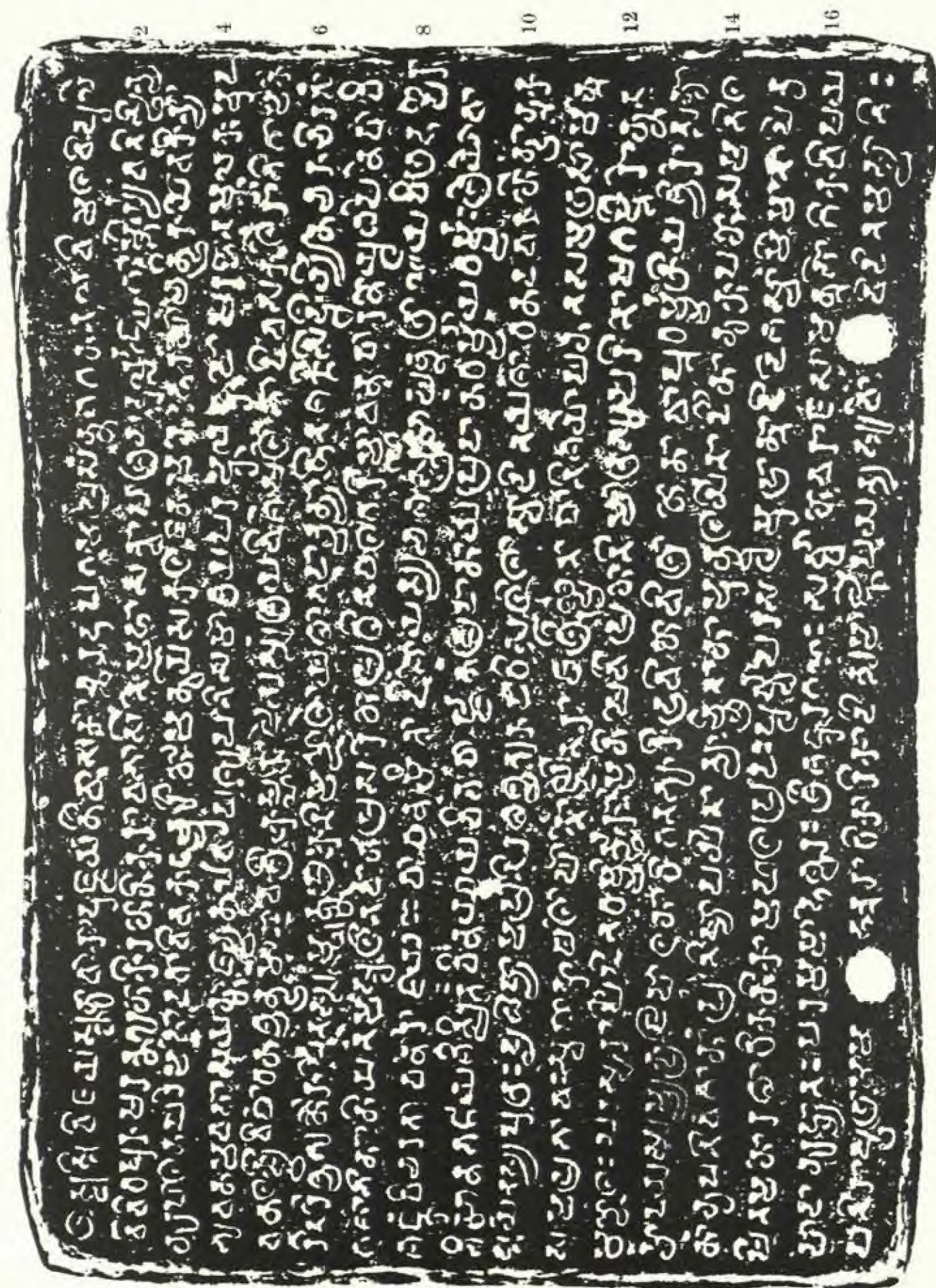
⁶ Prof. Pathak reads महापिलु—, but as pointed out by the Editor (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IX, Additions and Corrections, p. viii), the medial *i* is long.

⁷ In the original, this and the succeeding sentences are relative clauses qualifying *Śrī-Kṛishṇarājāḥ* in l. 5.

⁸ These are usually enumerated as seven, *viz.*, the king, ministers, allies, treasury, territory, fortresses and army. See *AK.*, II, 8, 18.

⁹ These are three, *viz.* *prabhuśakti* (power derived from the control of treasury and army), *utsāhasakti* (power of personal energy) and *mantraśakti* (power of good counsel).

ABHONA PLATES OF SANKARAGANA: (KALACHURI) YEAR 347



18 20 22 24 26 28 30 32 34

18 20 22 24 26 28 30 32 34

18 20 22 24 26 28 30 32 34

wild elephants, who looks splendid with his excellent back-bone, has an ever unceasing flow of rut and well-known might of strength, brings down rows of forest-trees, moving about fearlessly. He wielded his weapon (*only*) for the protection of the distressed, fought (*only*) for humbling the arrogance of his enemies, was engaged in study (*only*) for humility, acquired wealth (*only*) to spend it in charity, made gifts (*only*) for the sake of religious merit, and accumulated religious merit (*only*) to secure final liberation.

(Line 10) His son, the illustrious Śaṅkaragaṇa — who meditates on the feet of (*his*) mother and father; who is a devout worshipper of Mahēśvara; who is the lord of the countries bounded by the eastern and western oceans and of other lands; who has, on the earth, no adversary (*worthy of him*); whose fame has tasted the waters of the four oceans; whose prowess equals that of Dhanada (*i.e.*, Kubēra), Varuṇa, Indra and Antaka (*i.e.*, Yama)¹; who, by the might of his arms, has acquired the fortune of powerful kings; to whom the circle of neighbouring princes has submitted, (*being subdued*) by his great prowess; who is engaged in the acquisition of religious merit, wealth and pleasure, which (*in his case*) never come into conflict with one another; whose serene and noble heart is highly pleased by mere submission; who has performed religious rites by spending, in charity, plenty of wealth which he had obtained by properly protecting his subjects; who has reinstated royal families, which had long been dethroned; who has exterminated such as had risen too high; who bestows, on the distressed, blind and poor people, abundant gifts which exceed their desires—issues this order to kings, feudatories, *Bhōgikas*², heads of *vishayas*³, *Mahattaras*⁴ of *rāshtras*⁵ and villages, officials and others:—

(L. 17)—Be it known to you! For the increase of religious merit and fame of Our mother and father and of Ourselves, We have granted, with a libation of water, at the request of Gōggā, land measuring a hundred *nivartanas*⁶ by a land measure (*nivartanin*) of forty (*daṇḍas*) on either side, in the village Vallisikā, situated in the *vishaya* of Bhōgavardhana—together with all receipts⁷ and exempt from all gifts, forced labour and special rights,⁸ (*which is*) not to be entered by *chāṭas* and *bhaṭas*⁹ according to the maxim of waste land¹⁰

¹ These are the guardians of the North, West, East and South.

² *Bhōgika* is the head of a *bhōga* which was a sub-division of a *vishaya*.

³ *Vishaya* was a territorial division corresponding to the modern district.

⁴ *Mahattara*, (a comparative form of *mahat*, great), occurs in Sanskrit literature in the sense of a chief person, see e.g. *Uttararāmcharita*, Act IV; *Naishadhiyacharita*, canto III, verse 19. It is perhaps used here and other similar passages in the sense of the head of a province or a village.

⁵ *Rāshtra* was a territorial division corresponding to the modern Commissioner's Division. The Añjanēri plates (l. 26) of Bhōgaśakti (No. 31, below) mention the *Gōpa-rāshtra*.

⁶ It seems that there were several *nivartanas* in vogue. The *Lālāvati* (I, 6) mentions *nivartana* as a measure of land equal to 400 square rods, *i.e.*, 20 rods in length and in breadth. Kautilya (II, 20) mentions a *nivartana* measuring 30 *daṇḍas* (in length and in breadth) *i.e.*, 900 square *daṇḍas*, and Brihaspati follows him. The measure (*nivartanin*) intended here seems to be 40 (*daṇḍas*) on either (*side*) (*ubhaya-chaturviṃśaka-nivartanin*) *i.e.*, equal to 1600 square *daṇḍas*.

⁷ *Ādāna* (lit., receiving) probably has here the meaning of a tax.

⁸ Kings had prerogatives in respect of these. They are waived in the case of *agrahāra* villages and lands. Compare *varu-vishṭi-paribhāra-paribhṛtaḥ* and other expressions which occur in Vākāṭaka grants.

⁹ Compare *a-bhaṭa-paṭṭān* in the Mayidavolu plates of the Pallava king Śivaskandavarman (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VI, p. 87) and *a-bhaṭa-chabbātra-prāvṛṭyaḥ* in Vākāṭaka grants. In the Surat plates of Vyāghraśeṇa (above, No. 9, l. 10) the qualifying expression *chāra-rāj-āpatthya-kāri-varjja(m)* is added to *a-chāṭa-bhaṭa-prāvṛṭya*. The *bhaṭas* and *chāṭas* were forbidden to enter the *agrahāra* villages except when they had to apprehend thieves and persons accused of high treason. They were evidently royal servants whose duty it was to maintain peace and order in the kingdom. They correspond to modern policemen and soldiers.

¹⁰ *i.e.*, with full proprietary rights. He who brought waste land under cultivation became the absolute owner of it. Cf. *MSM.*, *adh.* IX, v. 44.

and (*is*) to be enjoyed by a succession of sons and son's sons as long as the moon, the sun, the ocean and the earth will endure—to the Brāhmaṇa —svāmin¹ of the Gautama *gōtra* (*who is*) a student of the Taittiriya (*sākhā*) and a resident of Kallivana, for the performance of *bali*, *charu*, *vaiśvadēva*, *agnihōtra* and other religious rites.

(L. 23)—Wherefore, (*future*) kings and heads of *bhōgas*, whether born in our family or others, considering that (*this*) world of living beings is unsteady like the waves of the water of the ocean tossed by a strong wind, that wealth is liable to be lost (*and, therefore,*) worthless, and that virtues (*alone*) endure for a long time, and desiring to share in the reward of this donation of land which can be equally enjoyed (*by them*) and to accumulate for a long time fame as lovely as moon-beams, should consent to this our gift and preserve it! Whoever, with his mind shrouded by the veil of the darkness of ignorance confiscates it or allows it to be confiscated, shall incur the five great sins!

(L. 27)—And it has been said by the holy Vyāsa, the redactor of the *Vēdas*:—

(*Here follow five benedictive and imprecatory verses.*)

(L. 33)—In the year three hundred increased by forty-seven, on the fifteenth (*lunar, day*) of the bright half of Śrāvaṇa, this (*charter*), the *dātaka* of which is the *Mahāpīlupatī Pāśupata*, was written by Vāṭyali, the Chief Officer in charge of the Department of Peace and War. The year 300 (*and*) 40 (*and*) 7, (*the month*), Śrāvaṇa, the bright (*fortnight*), (*the lunar day*) 10 (*and*) 5.

NO. 13; PLATE VII

SANKHEDA PLATE OF SANKARAGANA

THIS plate was apparently discovered at Saṅkhēḍā, the chief town of the Saṅkhēḍā *prānt* of the Baroḍā District in the Bombay State. It was edited, with a lithograph, but without any translation, by Mr. H.H. Dhruva in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. II, pp. 21 ff. It is edited here from the same lithograph.

The plate measures 8.3" broad and 3.9" high, and is inscribed on one side only. It is the first plate of a set which originally consisted of two plates. They were held together by two rings passing through holes about .3" in diameter at the top of each plate; but neither the rings nor the seal, if there was any, was apparently found. The weight of the plate is not recorded. The plate has lost small pieces at the top and both the sides of the bottom. This has caused the partial or total loss of about twenty-two *aksharas*, which can, however, be restored conjecturally. The extant portion of the inscription, which consists of twelve lines, is in a good state of preservation. The writing was very carelessly executed. As will be seen from the subjoined transcript, the record contains numerous mistakes due to careless writing or engraving, especially in ll. 9-12. The average size of letters is .2".

The characters belong to the western variety of the southern alphabets, with the usual admixture of northern peculiarities. They resemble in a general way, the characters of the Ābhōṇa plates of Saṅkaragaṇa. The only peculiarity that need be noticed here is the form of the medial *ū* in *vadhū* in l. 3. The language is Sanskrit and the extant portion of the record is in prose throughout. The orthography does not call for any notice except that the consonant following *r* is doubled as in *kirtti*, l. 4 and *ri* is used for the medial vowel *ri* in several places; see *Krishṇarājap* l. 2, *Balādhikṛitā* l. 3, etc.

¹ See above p. 40, n. 1.

The plate was issued from the victorious camp fixed at Nirguṇḍipadraka by Śāntilla, the *Balādhikṛita* (Military Officer) of Nirihullaka who bore the titles *Bhōgikapālaka*¹ and *Mahāpīlupati*.² Nirihullaka is described as meditating on the feet of the illustrious Śaṅkaragaṇa who had obtained victory in many battles and who was the son of the illustrious Kṛishṇarāja. The object of the inscription is to record the grant of a field, requiring one *piṭaka* of paddy as seed, which was made by Śāntilla on the occasion of a solar eclipse, for the increase of religious merit and fame of the *Paramabhāṭṭāraka*, i.e., probably Śaṅkaragaṇa. The field was situated on the western boundary of Śrī-Paṇakā which was included in (the territorial division of) Taṇḍulapadraka. The donee was *Bhāṭṭika* Anantsvāmin of the Kautsa *gōtra*, who was a student of the Vājasaneyā or White Yajurveda and a resident of Pāshāṇihrada. The gift was intended to provide for the performance of the religious rites of the five great sacrifices.

Dr. Bühler first suggested that Śaṅkaragaṇa, whose name has been wrongly written as Saṅkaragaṇa in l. 3, was identical with the Kaṭachchuri (or Kalachuri) Śaṅkaragaṇa. Śāntilla, who issued the present plate, was only a military officer. He seems to have obtained a great victory, to commemorate which he made this grant on the occasion of a solar eclipse; for he did it not for his own religious merit and fame, but for those of his great lord (*Paramabhāṭṭāraka*) who was probably Śaṅkaragaṇa. He was obviously acting in anticipation of the latter's sanction; so he communicates his order not only to the officers serving under him, but to those directly appointed by the king. He mentions here his immediate superior, the *Bhōgikapālaka* and *Mahāpīlupati* Nirihullaka, probably because he was governing the territory in which the donated village was situated.

The plate does not contain any date, but the mention of Śaṅkaragaṇa as the reigning sovereign shows that the inscription must be referred to the last quarter of the sixth century A. C.

As for the localities mentioned in the present inscription, Mr. Dhruva identified Pāshāṇihrada with Saṇiādari, about 14 miles north by east of Saṅkhēḍā, for 'hrada would be masculine *dharō* and feminine *dharī* in Gujerātī and *Pāshāṇi* would drop its *Pā*, as Bagumrā has done with its *Bā* in having Gumrā, and give Saṇiā and thus we get Saṇiādari.³ His further suggestion that Taṇḍulapadraka is Tāndaljā is also acceptable, as the latter is only two miles west of Saṇiādari. But his identifications of Nirguṇḍipadraka with Nāgarvāḍā, 6 *kos* from Dabhoi and Śrī-Paṇakā with Paniu, now desolate, 5 *kos* from Dabhoi, are doubtful, as the places are not in the vicinity of Saṇiādari and Tāndaljā. I am, however, unable to suggest any other identifications.

TEXT⁴

- 1 सिद्धम्⁵ स्व[स्ति][*] नि[र्गु]ण्डिप[द्र]कावस्थितविजयकटकात् [स][कल*][क्षि][तिपत्य*]
- 2 चित्तचरणकमलः श्रीक्रि(कु)ष्णराजः तसू(त्सू)नुरतेकस[म]रविजय[प्राप्तकी*]—
- 3 तिरहितवधूवदनपङ्कजमलानिकरः श्रीशंकरःस्तत्पादानुदया⁶स्सकल—

¹ The present grant shows that the *Bhōgikapālaka* was not an altogether petty officer, for Nirihullaka who bore that title had a military officer under him. The *Bhōgikapālaka* seems to have been the chief of the *Bhōgikas* who were probably identical with *Bhōgupatis* or heads of subdivisions to whom royal orders are often addressed.

² *Mahāpīlupati*, the great commander of the elephant force, is a technical official title.

³ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. II., p. 23.

⁴ From the lithograph facing p. 22 of *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. II.

⁵ Expressed by a symbol.

⁶ Read श्रीशंकरगणस्तत्पादानुदयात्—

- 4 महीमण्डलतलप्रथी(धि)तकिर्त्तिभोगिक¹पालकमहा[प]लुपति²निरिहुल्ल-
 5 कस्तह्व(द्व)लाधिकि(कु)तशान्तिल्ल[*] सव्वनिव परमपादीयात्स्वांश्चा³वेदयति [1*]
 6 [य]था पाषाणिह्वद⁴वास्तव्यकौत्ससगोत्रवाजिसनेय⁵सब्रह्मचारिणे
 7 भट्टिक⁶नन्तस्वामिने पञ्चमहायज्ञधर्म⁷क्रियोत्प(त्स)पणाय परमभट्टा-
 8 रकपादानां पुण्ययशोभिन्नि(वृ)द्धये तण्डुलपद्रकान्त[गं]केत⁸श्रीपण्णका-
 9 [यां] पश्चिमसीमनि अचाटभटप्रावेश्य⁹ पत्रपौक्रान्वयाभोज्य¹⁰ आदि-
 10 [त्यो*]परागकाल¹¹मुदकातिसर्गण श्रीहिपिटकवापक्षेत्रं आञ्चमिय¹²
 11वषिति[ि]तिसमकालीन¹³ प्रतिपादिय¹³ ह असस्या¹⁴
 12ररानुव्याधा¹⁴ भन्ननिपतिभिः¹⁵

TRANSLATION

Success! Hail! From the victorious camp fixed at Nirguṇḍīpadraka—

(*There was*) the illustrious Kṛṣṇarāja whose lotus-like feet were worshipped by all kings. His son (*is*) the illustrious Śaṅkara[ga]ṇa who has obtained glory by his victories in many battles, who has made the lotuses, namely, the faces of the enemies' wives, fade. Meditating on his feet (*there is*) the Bhṛṅgikapāluka and Mahāpīlupati Nirihullaka, whose fame is well known on the globe of the whole earth. His Balādhikṛita (Military Officer) Śāntilla informs (*the officers*) of the Great Lord (Śaṅkaragaṇa) and his own as follows:—

(Line 6) To Bhaṭṭika Anantasvāmin of the Kautsa gōtra, (*who is*) a student of the Vājasaneyi (śākhā) and a resident of Pāshāṇihrada, there has been granted, with (*a libation of*) water, on the occasion of a solar eclipse, for the performance of the religious rites, (*viz.*) the five great sacrifices, for augmenting the religious merit and glory of the Great Lord, a field requiring one *piṭaka*¹⁶ of paddy as seed, situated on the western boundary of Śrī-Paṇakā which is included in (*the sub-division of*) Taṇḍulapadraka, (*which is*) not to be entered by *chāṣas* and *bhaṣas*, (*and which is*) to be enjoyed by a succession of sons and sons' sons, as long as [the moon, the sun, the ocean and the earth will endure.]

¹ Read कीर्त्तिभोगिक—.

² Read महापीलुपति—.

³ Read परमपादीयान् स्वांश्चा—.

⁴ Dhruva read ह्वद, but the lower curve is not curled.

⁵ Read वाजिसनेय—.

⁶ Dhruva read भट्टिक, but the *akshara* resembles ट्टा in भट्टा at the end of this line, and about the reading of the latter there can be no doubt. Read भट्टिकान्तस्वामिने. For भट्टि which, like ब्राह्मण, was prefixed to the names of Brāhmaṇas, see the names of भट्टिसूर्यदिन्न and other donees of the Navalākhi plates of Śitāditya I—Dharmāditya, G. E. 286 [*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XI, p. 179].

⁷ The sign of *rēpha* on this ligature is indistinct.

⁸ Read तण्डुलपद्रकान्तगैत—.

⁹ Read सीमन्वचाटभटप्रावेश्यं.

¹⁰ Read पुत्रपौत्रान्वयभोज्यं.

¹¹ It would be better to read काल उदका—.

¹² Read क्षेत्रमाचन्द्रार्कवर्जितस्वितिसमकालीनं. The text is very incorrectly written here and in the following two lines.

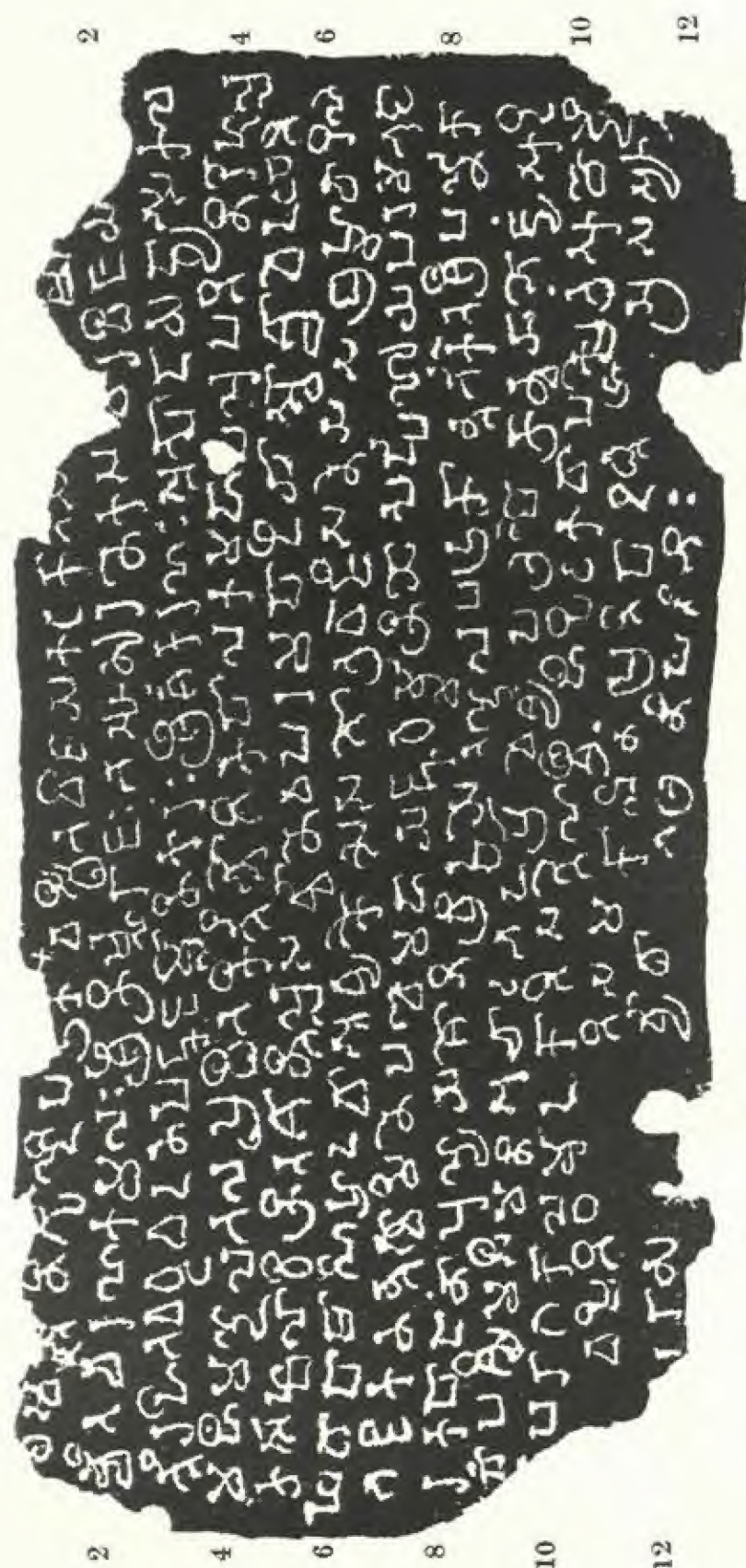
¹³ Read प्रतिपादितम्. The following *akshara* is redundant.

¹⁴ Read अतोस्मद्वंश्यैरन्यैर्वा.

¹⁵ भद्रनुपतिभिः. The second plate, which is lost, must have contained the concluding words of this sentence such as अयमस्मदायोनुमन्तव्यः पालयितव्यश्च । (See Ābhōṇa plates, No. 12, above)

¹⁶ *Piṭaka* (lit., a basket) is a measure of capacity.

SANKHEDA PLATE OF SANKARAGANA



(L. 11) Therefore [this gift should be consented to and preserved] by good kings [whether born in our family¹ or others]—

(The second plate of this grant is not forthcoming.)

NO. 14; PLATE VIII

VADNER PLATES OF BUDDHARAJA: (KALACHURI) YEAR 360

THESE copper-plates, two in number, were found in the possession of one Nānā valad Ahilāji Tidkē of Vaḍnēr in the Chāndvaḍ Tālukā of the Nāsik District in the Bombay State. They were brought to notice by Mr. Y.R. Gupte, who has edited them, with lithographs and a translation, in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XII, pp. 30 ff. I edit them here from the same lithographs.

Mr. Gupte has given the following description of the plates²—“The plates are substantial. The first of them measures from 10½” to 10¾” long by 8” broad including the rims.....The second measures about 10¾” long by from 8½” to 8¾” broad including the rims....The plates have two holes from ¾” to ½” in diameter for the insertion of the two original rings, which have been lost. Whether there was any seal or not, I cannot confidently say. There are, however, no traces of one, just as is the case with Sarsavṇī plates. When the grant came under my notice, the Vaḍnēr plates were held together by two thin rings recently made. The edges of the plates have been raised into rims so as to protect the inscription. Either of them bears writing on the inner side only. The second plate is a little broken at the right rim where line 28 ends. The weight of the plates is 129 tolas, without the rings. The letters are very deeply and well cut. They do not show through on the reverse side at all. Some are, however, damaged and some have been completely destroyed by verdigris.’ As the text of the inscription is for the most part identical with that of the Ābhōṇa and Sarsavṇī plates, the damaged letters can be easily supplied. There are thirty-four lines in all, seventeen being inscribed on either plate. The average size of letters is .2”.

The characters resemble those of the Ābhōṇa plates. The only points that call for notice are as follows:—There appear more wedges than knobs at the top of letters; the former are, again, in some cases, especially when the sign for medial *ā* is added, replaced by short horizontal strokes. The superscript curve in the sign for initial *ī* appears like that for *ṛ* in *iva* and *idam* in ll. 17 and 34 respectively. See also the sign for the superscript *ñ* in *chāñchalani*, l. 24. The sign for initial *ē* in *ēsha*, l. 19, slightly differs from that used in the Ābhōṇa plates. The medial *ē* is generally shown by a slanting vertical stroke, curved at the top, see *vasēt*, l. 28; but see *sarvān=ēva*, l. 17, where it appears as a curve encircling the letter *n* on the left. *N* everywhere appears in its northern form. *L* has in all places a short vertical stroke. The sign for the *jihvāmūliya* occurs twice in l. 4 and that for the *upadhmāniya* in ll. 8, 9, 10, 13, 14, 17, 23, 25 and 31. Punctuation is indicated by a dot in ll. 19, 30 and 31 and by two vertical strokes in ll. 27-30. The numerical symbols for 300, 60, 10 and 3 occur in l. 34.

The language is Sanskrit and except for five benedictive and imprecatory verses at the end, the inscription is in prose throughout. As regards orthography, we may

¹ As the grant was made by a military officer, this statement is inappropriate here. It seems to have been blindly copied from royal charters.

² *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XII, p. 31.

note that the consonant following *r* is generally reduplicated as in *durllāṅghē*, 1.2, *vibhav-ārjjanāṁ*, 1.8 etc.; so also *dh* preceding *y* in *-ānuddhyāta*, 1.14, *-Māddhyandina-*, 1.21. The *anusvāra* is wrongly changed to *n* in *pradhvansa-*, 1.16. In *sētu sthitinām*, 1.16, the *visarga* is dropped in accordance with the *vārttika* on Pāṇini VIII, 3, 36. The rules of *sandhi* have not been observed in some cases, especially at the end of lines, see e.g., *cha anumantā*, ll. 27-28 where *ch=ānumantā* is required by the metre. A case of wrong *sandhi* occurs in *yān-iha*, 1.30.

The plates were issued by the illustrious **Buddharāja** of the **Kaṭachchuri** (Early **Kalachuri**) dynasty, who was a devout worshipper of **Mahēśvara**, from his victorious camp at **Vidiśā**. He is described as the son of the illustrious **Śaṅkaragaṇa** who also was a devout worshipper of **Mahēśvara**. The latter was himself the son of the illustrious **Kṛishṇarāja** who from his very birth was solely devoted to **Paśupati**. The epithets of **Kṛishṇarāja** and **Śaṅkaragaṇa** are here copied *verbatim* from earlier charters of the dynasty (e.g., the **Ābhōṇa** plates of **Śaṅkaragaṇa**). The description of all the three princes is quite conventional and yields no historical information.

The object of the inscription is to record the grant, by **Buddharāja**, of the village **Koṇiyānām** (*vāṭaka*?) adjacent to **Bhaṭṭaurikā** in the *bhōga* (subdivision) of **Vaṭanagara** for augmenting the religious merit of himself and his parents. The donee was the **Brāhmaṇa** **Bōdhasvāmin** of the **Kāśyapa gōtra**, who was a student of the **Vājasanēya**, **Māddhyandina** (*śākhā*) and a resident of **Vaṭanagara**. The gift was intended, as usual, to provide for the performance of the religious rites such as *bali*, *charu*, *agnihōtra* and *vaiśvadeva*. The record was written by **Ānāphita**, the Great Officer in charge of the Department of Peace and War at the request of the queen **Anantamahāyī** of the **Pāśupata** faith. The *dātaka* was the *Mahābalādhipikṛita Prasahyavigraha*.

The inscription is dated in words in 1.32 and in numerical symbols in 1.34, on the **thirteenth tithi of the bright fortnight of Bhādrapada in the year 360**. This date, like that of the **Ābhōṇa** plates, must be referred to the **Kalachuri** era. According to the epoch of 248-249 A.C. it would correspond, for the expired year 360, to the 8th August 610 A.C.¹ It does not admit of verification for want of the necessary details.

Of the localities mentioned in the present grant, **Vidiśā** is modern **Besnagar** near **Bhilsā** in Central India. That the **Kalachuri** empire once comprised the province of Eastern **Malwa** is also shown by the discovery of some coins of **Kṛishṇarāja**, the grandfather of **Buddharāja**, during excavations at **Besnagar**.² **Vaṭanagara**, the headquarters of the *bhōga* (sub-division) in which the donated village was situated, and the place of the donee's residence, is obviously identical with **Vaṇnēr** where the plates were discovered. It may be noted in this connection that the **Vaṇi-Diṇḍōri** plates of the **Rāshtrakūṭa** king **Gōvinda III**³ mention the **Vaṭanagara vishaya** (district) as situated in the **Nāsika dēśa**. **Vaṭanagara** was thus the chief town of both the *bhōga* and the

¹ If the year 360 is applied as current, the date would correspond to Tuesday, the 19th August 609 A. C. **Diwan Bahadur S. K. Pillay** gives two other equivalents, viz. Friday, the 11th August 607 A. C. and Thursday, the 29th August 608 A. C. Of these the first is impossible as the **Kalachuri** year did not begin in **Bhādrapada**. Though **Kielhorn** held that view at first (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVII, p. 215), he gave it up later on. (See his article entitled 'Die Epoch des Cedi Aera' in the *Festgruss an Roth*, pp. 53ff.) The second date also is improbable because the epoch 247-248 A. C. on which it is based, does not suit other early dates of the era which admit of verification.

² *A. R. A. S. I.* (1913-14), p. 214.

³ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XI, pp. 156 ff.

viskaya named after it. I identify *Bhaṭṭaurikā* with *Bhātōrā* about 11 miles north-west of *Vaṇṇēr* and about 2 miles north of *Vaṇī*.¹ *Kōṇiyānām*² (*vāṭaka* ?) may be *Kanhuvāḍī*, about 5 miles north by east of *Bhātōrā*.

TEXT³

First Plate

- 1 सिद्धम्⁴ [स्व]स्ति [॥*] विजयस्कन्धावाराद्वैदिशवासकाच्छरदुपगमप्रसन्नगगनतलविमलविपुल-
विविधपुरु-
- 2 [प]र[त्त]गुणकिरण[निक]रावभासिते महासत्त्वा(त्त्वा)पाश्र्वदुल्लङ्घे गाम्भीर्यवति स्थित्यनुपाल-
नपरे महोदधा-]
- 3 [वि]व [कट]च्चुरीणा[मन्वये सकलजन]मनोहरया चन्द्रिकयेव कीर्त्या [भु]वनमवभासयन्नाजन्मन
[एव पशु-]
- 4 [पतिसमा]श्रयपरः⁵कलङ्क[दोष]रहितः⁶कुलकुमुदवनल[क्ष्मी]विबोधनश्चन्द्रमा इव[श्री]कृष्णराजो[यः]
5 [संश्रय]विशेषलोभादिव सकलैराभिगामिकैरितरैश्च गुणैरुपेतस्संपन्नप्रकि(कृ)तिमण्डलो यथा[वत्]
6 आत्मन्याहितशक्तिसिद्धिय्येन च रुचिरवंशशोभिना नियतमस्त्वलितदानप्रसरेण प्रथितबलगरिम्णा
7 वनवारणयूथपेनेवाविशङ्कं विचरता वनराजय इवावनमिता दिशो यस्य च शस्त्रमापन्न-
8 त्रा[णा]य विग्रहः⁷पराभिमानभंगाय शिक्षितं विनयाय विभवाज्जनं प्रदानाय प्रदानं धर्मा[य]
9 [धर्म]स्थेयो[वा]प्तये [॥*] तस्य पुत्रः⁸पृथिव्यामप्रतिरथश्चतुर्दधिसलिलास्वादितयशा घनदवरु-
णेन्द्रान्त[क-]
- 10 [सम]प्रभावस्त्वबाहुबलोपात्तोर्जितराजश्रीः⁹प्रतापातिशयोपनतसमग्रसामन्तमण्डलः
11 परस्तरापीडितधर्मात्थकामनिषेधी प्रणतिमात्रसुपरितोषगम्भीरोन्नतहृदयस्सम्यक्प्रजापालना[धि-]
12 गतभूरिद्रविणविश्राणनावाप्तधर्मक्रियश्चिरोत्सन्नानां नृपतिवंशानां प्रतिष्ठापयिता अत्युच्छ्रितानां
13 उ[न्मू]ल्यिता दीनान्ध[क्रि]पण¹⁰समभिलषितमनोरथाधिकनिकामफलप्रदः¹¹पूर्वापरसमुद्रान्तादि-
देशस्वामी
- 14 [मातापि]तृपादानुद्धृष्टात्¹²परममाहेश्वरः श्रीशङ्करगण¹³स्तस्य पुत्रस्तत्पादानुद्धृष्टात्सक[ल]
महीमण्डलैक-
- 15 तिलकस्सातिशयप्रथि[त]नयविनयदयादानदाक्ष्यदाक्षिण्यैर्वैर्यशौर्य[स्थै]र्य्या[द्य]शेषगु[णसमन्वि]तः
16 प्रबलरिपुबलोद्भूतदर्पविभवप्रध्वंस¹⁴हेतुस्सेतु स्थितीनामा[यतनं सि]द्धेरप्रतिह¹⁵[तचक्रः]
17 चक्रधर इवा[त्ति]प्रशमनकरः¹⁶प्रजानां परममाहेश्वरः श्रीबुद्ध[राज]स्सर्वानेव राज-

¹ Mr. Gupte identifies *Bhaṭṭaurikā* with *Bhātgaon* about nine miles from *Vaṇṇēr*; but its name does not exactly correspond to *Bhaṭṭaurikā*, and we have, therefore, to suppose that *urikā*, the second part of the name has been omitted. *Bhātōrā*, on the other hand, is clearly derived from *Bhaṭṭaurikā*.

² Mr. Gupte says that *Kōṇiyānām* means a village of the *Kōṇiyas* who correspond to the modern *Kōṇis*. He does not, however, state which village of the *Kōṇiyas* is meant here. Perhaps a word like *vāṭaka* has been omitted here. *Kōṇiyānām vāṭaka* may be identical with *Kanhuvāḍī*.

³ From the photo-lithographs facing pp. 34 and 35 of *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XII.

⁴ Expressed by a symbol.

⁵ Read कृष्ण.

⁶ Read श्रीशंकरगणः । तस्य.

⁷ Read प्रध्वंस.

⁸ The lithograph shows a clear *rēpha* on *ha*. Read -रप्रतिहृतचक्रश्चक्रधर.

Second Plate

- 18 सामन्तभोगिकविषयपतिराष्ट्रग्राममहत्तराधिकारिकादी[न्*] समाज्ञापयत्यस्तु¹ वो विदितमस्माभिः
 19 वटनगरभोगे भट्टउरिकाप्रत्यासन्नकोणियाणां ।² एष ग्रामस्सोद्वङ्गस्सो[प]रिकरस्सर्वादान-
 20 संग्राह्यस्सर्वदित्यविष्टिप्रातिभेदिकापरिहीणो भूमिच्छिद्रन्यायेनोचाटभटप्रवेश्य³ आचन्द्रा[वर्का]-
 ण्णव-
 21 [क्षि]तिस्थितिसमकालीनपुत्र⁴पौत्रान्वयभोग्यो वटनगरवास्तव्यकाश्यपसगोत्रवाजसनेयमाद्वचन्दिन-
 22 [स]ब्रह्मचारिब्राह्मणबोधस्वामिने बलिचक्षुर्वैश्वदेवाग्निहोत्रादिक्रियोत्सर्पणार्थं मातापित्रोरात्म-
 नश्च
 23 [पुण्याभिवृ]द्धये उदकातिसर्गेणातिसृष्टो यतोस्मद्वंश्यैरन्यैर्वागामिनृपतिभोगपतिभिः प्रबलपवन-
 प्रेरितो[दधि]-
 24 जल[तर]ङ्गचञ्चलं⁵ जीवलोकमभावानुगतानसारान्विभवान्दीर्घकालस्थेयसश्च गुणानाकलव्य
 सामान्य-
 25 भोगभूप्रदानफलेप्सुभिदशशिकरश्चिरं चिराय यशश्चिचीपुभिरयमस्मदायोनुमन्तव्यपालयित-
 व्यश्च [।*]
 26 [यो] वाज्ञानतिमिरपटलावृतमतिराच्छिन्धादाच्छिद्यमाने वानुमोदेत स पञ्चभिर्महापातकैस्संयु-
 क्तस्स्यात्
 27 इत्यु[क्त]ञ्च⁶ [भ]गवता वेदव्यासेन व्यासेन ॥ षष्टि वर्षसहस्राणि स्वर्गे मोदति भूमिदः [।*]
 आच्छेत्ता च
 28 अनुम[न्ता]⁷ च तान्येव नरके वसेत्⁸ ॥ [१॥*] विन्ध्याटवीध्वतोयासु शुष्ककोटरवासिनः [।*] कृष्णा-
 ह्यो हि जाय[न्ते]
 29 भूमिदायं हरन्ति ये ॥ [२॥*] बहुभिर्व्वसुधा भुक्ता राजभिस्सगरादिभिः [।*] यस्य यस्य यदा
 भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा
 30 फ[ल](लम्) ॥ [३॥*] पूर्व्वदत्तां द्विजातिभ्यो यात्नाद्रक्ष⁹ युधिष्ठिर । मर्हि महींमतां श्रेष्ठ
 दानाच्छेयोनुपालनम् [॥४॥*] यानिह¹⁰
 31 द[त्ता]नि पुरा नरेन्द्रैर्दानानि धर्म्मार्त्थयशस्कराणि । निर्भुक्तमाल्यप्रतिमानि तानि को नाम
 साधुःपुनराद-
 32 दीत¹¹ [॥५॥*] इति ॥ संवत्सरशतत्रये षष्ट्यधिके भाद्रपदशुद्धत्रयोदश्यां पाशुपतराज्ञीराज्ञी¹²-
 33 अनन्तमहायीविज्ञापनया महाबलाधिकृतश्रीप्रसह्यविग्रहदूतकं [लिखितं]
 34 इदं महासन्धिविग्रहाधिकरणाधिकृतानाफितेनेति॥ सं ३०० ६० [भा]द्रपद शु १० ३ [॥*]

¹ Read समाज्ञापयति । अस्तु.

² The sign of punctuation is superfluous here. Read कोणियाणां.

³ The usual reading of this word is प्रावेश्यः.

⁴ Read कालीनः पुत्र-.

⁵ Mr. Gupte reads चञ्चलं, but that the superscript letter is *ñ*, not *n*, is shown by the curve added to the subscript *ch*.

⁶ Read स्यादिति । उक्तञ्च.

⁷ Read चानुमन्ता.

⁸ Metre of this and the three following verses : *Anushtubh*.

⁹ Read यत्नाद्रक्ष.

¹⁰ Read यानिह.

¹¹ Metre: *Indravajrā*.

¹² This word is superfluous.

VADNER PLATES OF BUDDHARAJA: (KALACHURI) YEAR 360

2
 4
 6
 8
 10
 12
 14
 16

2
 4
 6
 8
 10
 12
 14
 16

18 20 22 24 26 28 30 32 34

18 20 22 24 26 28 30 32 34

TRANSLATION

Success ! Hail ! From the victorious camp pitched at Vidiśā—

(For a translation of lines 1—13, see above, pp. 42 f.)

(Line 14) His son, the illustrious **Buddharāja**—who meditates on his feet; who is a devout worshipper of Mahēśvara; who is the sole ornament of the whole circle of the earth; who is the endowed with all the well-known excellences such as political wisdom, modesty, compassion, liberality, dexterity, courtesy, courage, bravery, firmness and others; who causes the destruction of the supreme arrogance, due to power, of mighty foes; who is a dam to safeguard all established customs, (and) a resting place of success; who, with his unimpeded army, allays the sufferings of the people even as Viṣṇu does with his irresistible discus,—issues this order to all kings, feudatories, heads of *bhōgas*¹ and *vishayas*, the *Mahattaras* of *rāṣṭras* and villages, officials and others :—

(L. 18) 'Be it known to you ! For the increase of religious merit of (Our) mother and father and Ourselves, We have granted with a libation of water the village (called the hamlet) of **Kōṇiyas** adjacent to **Bhaṭṭaurikā** (situated) in the **Vaṭanagara bhōga**, together with *udraṅga* and *uparikara*, inclusive of all receipts and exempt from all gifts, forced labour and special rights, which is not to be entered by *chāṭas* and *bhaṭas*, according to the maxim of waste land, (which is) to be enjoyed by a succession of sons and sons' sons as long as the moon, the sun, the ocean and the earth will endure—to the Brāhmaṇa Bōdhasvāmin of the Kāśyapa gōtra, who is a student of the Vājasaneyā Mādhyandina (*śākhā*) and a resident of **Vaṭanagara** for the maintenance of *balī*, *charu*, *vaiśvadēva* and other (religious) rites.

(For a translation of lines 23-27, see above, p. 44.)

(L. 27) And it has been said by the holy Vyāsa, the redactor of the *Vēdas*—
(Here follow five benedictive and imprecatory verses.)

(L. 32) In the year three hundred increased by sixty on the thirteenth (lunar day) of the bright fortnight of **Bhādrapada**, this (order), the *dūtaka* of which is the *Mahā-balādhikṛita*, the illustrious **Prasahyavigraha**, has been written by **Ānāphita**, the Chief Officer in charge of the Department of Peace and War, at the request of the queen **Anantamahāyī**, a devotee of Paśupati.

The year 300 (and) 60, (the month) **Bhādrapada**, the bright (fortnight), (the lunar day) 10 (and) 3.

No. 15; PLATE IX

SARSAVNI PLATES OF BUDDHARAJA : (KALACHURI) YEAR 361

THESE plates were found in the possession of Patel Karsan Dāji of Sarsavni (Sarasavani), a village four and a half miles south of Padrā in the Padrā subdivision of the Baroda District in the Bombay State. They were edited, with photolithographs and a translation, by Prof. Kielhorn in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. VI, pp. 294 ff. I edit them here from the same lithographs.

These are two copper-plates, either of which measures 10 $\frac{3}{8}$ " broad by 7 $\frac{3}{8}$ " high and is inscribed on one side only. Their margins are raised into rims. Through two holes at the bottom of the first and the top of the second plate are passed two unsoldered plain rings, measuring 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ " and 2 $\frac{1}{4}$ " in diameter. There is no seal and no indication of one having been attached to the plates. The writing is well-done and throughout in an excellent state of preservation. The size of letters is about $\frac{3}{16}$ ".¹ The

¹ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VI, p. 294.

record consists of thirty-five lines, of which seventeen are inscribed on the first and eighteen on the second plate.

The characters are of the western variety of the southern alphabets and resemble those of the Ābhōṇa plates.¹ We may notice here the following peculiarities:—Most of the letters have wedges at the top as in the Vaṇṇēr plates;² the medial *ā* is indicated in many cases by a curve rising above the line and coming down lower than in the Vaṇṇēr plates, see e.g. *pratāp-āṭṭay-*, l. 10 and *dayā-dāna-*, l. 15; *th* appears in two forms, the ordinary one as in *yathāvad-*, l. 5 and the cursive one as in *prathita-*, l. 6, *sthiti-*, l. 16 etc; *y* has a loop in its left member in *yūtha* l. 6; *kh* shows two slightly different forms in *askhalita-*, l. 6 and *likhitam=*, l. 34; the forms of the initial *ā* in *Kumārivaḍaō*, l. 20 and of *ph* in *phala* ll. 13, 26 and 31 are also noteworthy. The *jihvāmūliya* occurs twice in l. 4 and the *upa-dhmāniya* four times in ll. 7, 24, 27 and 32. The numerical symbols for 300, 60, 10, 5 and 1 occur in line 35. The language is Sanskrit, and except for five benedictive and imprecatory verses at the end, the record is in prose throughout. As regards orthography, we may note that *ri* is used for the vowel *ṛi* in *prithivīyam-*, l. 9; the consonant following *r* is correctly reduplicated in such cases as *durllāghē*, l. 2, *siddhir=yyēna*, l. 6, etc., but incorrectly in *varshsha-*, l. 28; similarly *dh* is doubled before *y*, see *ānuddhyāta* twice in l. 14; the guttural nasal is wrongly used for *anusvāra* in *vaṇṇa*, l. 6, *vaṇṇānām*, l. 12, etc., and the dental one in *pradhvaṇsa*, l. 16. There are a few mistakes of *sandhi* and some wrong forms as pointed out in the notes to the text.

The plates were issued by the king Buddharāja of the Kaṭachchuri (Early Kalachuri) dynasty, from the victorious camp at Ānandapura. He was the son of Śaṅkaragaṇa who was himself the son of Kṛishṇarāja. The description of these kings is given here exactly as in the Vaṇṇēr plates. In fact, the text of the whole inscription, except for certain particulars such as the donee, the village granted, and the date, is exactly identical with that of the Vaṇṇēr plates. The object of the inscription is to record the grant, by Buddharāja, of the village Kumārivaḍaō situated near Bṛihannārikā in the Gōrajā bhōga which was included in the Bharukachchha *vishaya*. The donee was the Brāhmaṇa Bappasvāmin, the son of Bhaṭṭu, who belonged to the Pārāśara *gōtra*. He was a student of the Vājasaneyā Kaṇva *śākhā* and a resident of Dēbhaka. The purpose of the grant was as usual to provide for the maintenance of religious rites such as *hali*, *charu*, *vaiśvadeva* and *agnihōtra*. The grant was made at the request of Gōkulasvāmin who may have been the king's family-priest. The *dūtaka* was the Mahābalādhiḥkṛita Prasahya-vigraha who is mentioned in the same capacity in the earlier Vaṇṇēr plates.³ The royal order was written by Śivarāja, the Chief Officer in charge of the Department of Peace and War.⁴

The inscription is dated, in words (l. 33) and numerical symbols (l. 35), on the fifteenth tithi of the dark fortnight of Kārttika in the year 361. This date must, obviously, be referred to the Kalachuri era. According to the epoch of 248-49 A.C. which suits early verifiable dates of the era, the date of the present plates would fall in 609 A.C. if the year 361 was current, and in 610 A.C. if it was expired.⁵

¹ Above, No. 12.

² Above, No. 14.

³ See line 33 of No. 14, above.

⁴ The office was held by a different person at the time of the Vaṇṇēr plates, which, as shown below, was made only about two and a half months before.

⁵ Prof. Kielhorn has stated (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VI, p. 295, n. 6) that according to the epoch of 247-48 A. C. which suits later Kalachuri dates, the date (for the *pūrṇimānta* Kārttika) would correspond to

The present date is one of the few early Kalachuri dates falling in a dark fortnight, but in the absence of the mention of a week-day or a *nakshatra*, it is not possible to say if the month Kārttika to which it belonged was *pūrṇimānta* or *amānta*. If considered in connection with the date of the Vaḍnēr plates, it affords some basis for conjecture. The Vaḍnēr plates were granted at Vidiśā (modern Besnagar near Bhilsā) on Bhādrapada śu. di. 13 towards the end¹ of the Kalachuri year 360, while the present grant was made at Ānandapura (which, as shown below, is either Ānand in the Kairā District or Vaḍnagar in the Mēhsānā District on Kārttika va. di. 13 in the beginning of the next Kalachuri year 361. Supposing that the years of the Vaḍnēr and Sarsavṇī plates were both current, or both expired, there would be an interval of about one month and sixteen days between the dates of the two grants, if the months were *pūrṇimānta*. The distance between Vidiśā and Ānanda is about 320 miles as the crow flies and that between the former place and Vaḍnagar is about 340 miles. This distance would be considerably increased, if the inevitable windings of the road are taken into account. Whichever identification of Ānandapura we accept, we shall have to suppose (if the dates are recorded in *pūrṇimānta* months) that Buddharāja had to reach Ānandapura from Vidiśā by forced marches.² There is, however, nothing in either of the grants to support such a view. On the other hand, if we take the dates of both the inscriptions as recorded in *amānta* months³ there would be the reasonable interval of about two months and sixteen days between the two campaigns.

As for the localities mentioned in the present grant, Kielhorn identified Ānandapura with the modern Ānand, the chief town of a subdivision of the same name in the Kaira District. Dr. Altekar has, however, adduced very cogent reasons to prove that the ancient Ānandapura is identical with the modern Vaḍnagar in the Mēhsānā District.⁴ The former view is supported by the fact that the village granted by the present charter is situated much nearer to Ānand than to Vaḍnagar, but this cannot be regarded as a decisive argument. Dēbhaka is probably Dabkā, 8 miles west of Padrā, as suggested by Kielhorn. Gōrajjā is Gōraj, 11 miles south of Halol in the Panch Mahals, and Kumārivaḍaḍ (which is probably a Prakrit form of Kumārīvātaka) Kavarwārā, about 11 miles towards the west-south-west from Gōraj.⁵ I identify Brihannārikā (the larger Nārikā) with Nāriā, 7 miles south of Kavarwārā.

the 3rd October 609 A. C. In this he evidently took the year as expired. According to the epoch which suits early verifiable dates of the era, he found by calculation that (for the expired year 361) it would correspond to either the 12nd September or the 22nd October 610 A.C., as Kārttika was then intercalary.

¹ As I have shown in the Introduction, the Kalachuri year began on Kārttika śu. di. 1.

² Taking the distance to be approximately 400 miles on account of the windings of the road we find that the army of Buddharāja must have marched on an average 9 miles per day. According to Yuan Chwang a *yōjana* (which was 30 or 40 *li*, i.e., from 6 to 8 miles) was a day's journey for a royal army. (See Watters, *On Yuan Chwang*, Vol. I, p. 141, and compare Kauṭilya's *Arthśāstra*, second ed. by Shama Sastri, p. 365). So it was not impossible for Buddharāja's army to cover the distance in one month and sixteen days, but this leaves no time for actual fighting if there was any.

³ For another early Kalachuri date in an *amānta* month, see No. 22, below.

⁴ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. LIV, Suppl., pp. 14-15.

⁵ These identifications of Gōrajjā and Kumārivaḍaḍ were first suggested by Dr. Fleet, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VI, p. 297. He identified Brihannārikā with Banaiyā, 4½ miles south of Kavarwārā, but this does not seem to be correct. The place-name, which means 'the larger Nārikā', would assume the form Moṭā Nāriā, or simply Nāriā, in modern Gujarātī and is, therefore, probably identical with Nāriā as suggested above.

TEXT¹

First Plate

- 1 सिद्धम्² स्वस्ति [॥*] विजयस्कन्धावारादानन्दपुरवासकाच्छरदुपगमप्रसन्नगगनतलविमलविपुले
विविधपुरुषरत्नगुण—
- 2 किरणनिकरावभासिते महासत्त्वा³पाश्र्वदुल्लङ्घे⁴ गाम्भीर्यवति स्थित्यनुपालनपरे महोदधाविव
कट[च्चु-]
- 3 रीणामन्वये सकलजनमनोहरया चन्द्रिकयेव कीर्त्या भुवनमवभासयन्ना जन्मन एव पशुपतिसमाश्र-
4 यपरः⁵कलङ्कदोषरहितः⁶कुलकुमुदवनलक्ष्मीविबोधनश्चन्द्रमा इव श्रीकृष्णराजो यस्संश्रयविशे-
5 षलोभादिव सकलैराभिगामिकैरितरैश्च गुणैरुपेतः संपन्नप्रकृतिमण्डलो यथावदात्मन्याहितशक्ति-
6 सिद्धिर्य्येन च रुचिरवङ्श⁷भिना नियतमस्त्रलितदानप्रसरेण प्रथितबलगरिम्णा वनवारणयूथ-
7 पेनेवाविशङ्कं विचरता वनराजय इवावनमिता दिशो यस्य च शस्त्रमापन्नत्राणाय विग्रहः⁸प[रा]-
8 भिमानभङ्गाय शिक्षितं विनयाय विभवाज्जैनं प्रदानाय प्रदानं धर्म्मिय धर्म्मश्श्रेयोवाप्तये [॥*] तस्य
पुत्रः
- 9 प्रथिव्या⁹मप्रतिरथश्चतुर्दधिसलिलास्वादितयशा धनदवरुणेन्द्रान्तकसमप्रभावः स्वबाहुबलोपा-
10 त्तोज्जितराजश्रीः प्रतापातिशयोपनतसमग्रसामन्तमण्डलः परस्परप्रीडितधर्म्मार्थकामनिषेवी
11 प्रणतिमात्रसुपरितोषगम्भीरोन्नतहृदयः सम्यक्प्रजापालनाधिगतभूरिद्रविणविश्राणना-
12 वाप्तधर्म्मक्रियश्चिरोत्सन्नानां नृपतिवङ्शानां¹⁰ प्रतिष्ठापयितात्युच्छ्रितानामुन्मूलयिता दीनान्ध-
कृपण[स]-
- 13 मभिलषितमनोरथाधिकनिकामफलप्रदः पूर्वापरसमुद्रान्तादिदेशस्वामी मातापितृपादा-
14 नुद्धचातः परममा[हे]श्वरः श्रीशङ्करगणः[॥*] तस्य पुत्रस्तत्पादानुद्धचातः सकलमहीमण्डलैक-
तिलकः
- 15 सातिशयप्रथितनयविनयदयादानदाक्ष्यदाक्षिण्यधैर्य्यशौर्य्यस्वैर्य्यद्विशेषगुणसमन्वितः प्र[व]-
16 लरिपुबलोद्धतदर्पविभवप्रध्वन्स¹¹हेतुः सेतुः स्थितीनामायतनं सिद्धेरप्रतिहतचक्रश्चक्रध-
17 र इवार्त्तिप्रशमनकरः प्रजानाम् परममाहेश्वरः श्रीबुद्धराजः

Second Plate

- 18 सर्व्वानेव राजसामन्तभोगिकविषयपतिराष्ट्रग्राममहत्तराधिकारिकादि¹² समाज्ञा-
- 19 पयत्यस्तु⁹ वो विदितमस्माभिः भरुकच्छविषयान्तर्गतगोरज्जा¹⁰भोगे बृहन्नारिकाप्रत्यासन्न-
- 20 कुमारिवडओ¹¹ एष ग्रामः सोद्रङ्गः सोपरिकरः सर्व्वदानसंग्राह्यः सर्व्वदित्यविष्टिप्राति[भे]दिका-
- 21 परिहीणो भूमिच्छिद्रन्यायेन¹² अचाटभटप्रावेश्य आचन्द्राकर्काण्णवक्षितस्थितिसमकालीनः पुत्रपौ-

¹ From the lithographs between pp. 298 and 299 in *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VI.

² Expressed by a symbol.

³ Read महासत्त्वा-.

⁴ Read वंश-.

⁵ Read पृथिव्या-.

⁶ Read वशानां.

⁷ Read प्रध्वन्स-.

⁸ Read कारिकादीन्.

⁹ Read समाज्ञापयति । अस्तु वो विदितम्.

¹⁰ The name may have been originally inscribed as गोरज्जा, but the sign for medial *n* is now very indistinct.

¹¹ This mark of punctuation is superfluous.

¹² Read -न्यायेनाचाट-.

SARSAVNI PLATES OF BUDDHARAJA: (KALACHURI) YEAR 361

2 4 6 8 10 12 14 16

2 4 6 8 10 12 14 16

18

02

52

For

46

0

1997

19

81

20

26

46

23

84

DE

24

十

[illegible]

- 22 त्रान्वयभोग्य¹ डेभकवास्तव्यपाराशरसगोत्रवाजसनेयकष्वसन्नह्यचारित्राह्यणभट्टपुत्र—
 23 वप्पस्वामिने बलिचरुवैश्वदेवाग्निहोत्रादिक्रियोत्सर्पणार्थं मातापित्रोरात्मनश्च पुण्याभिवृद्धये²
 24 उदकातिसर्गणातिसृष्टो³ यतोस्मद्वद्श्यै⁴ रन्यैर्व्यागामिनृपतिभोगपतिभिः प्रबलपवनप्रेरितो—
 25 दधिजलतरङ्गचञ्चलं जीवलोकमभावानुगतानसारान्विभवान्दीर्घकालस्थेयसश्च गुणा—
 26 नाकलय्य सामान्यभोगभूप्रदानफलेप्सुभिश्शशिकररुचिरं चिराय यशश्चचीषुभि⁵ रयमस्महायोनु—
 27 मन्तव्यं पालयितव्यश्च [1*] यो वाज्ञानतिमिरपटलावृतमतिराच्छिन्द्यादाच्छिद्यमानं वानुमोदेत
 स पञ्चभि—
 28 म्महापातकैस्संपुक्त स्यादित्युक्तञ्च⁶ भगवता वेदव्यासेन व्यासेन ॥ षष्टि वर्ष्य⁷ सहस्राणि स्वर्गं
 मोदति भूमिदः [1*]
 29 आच्छेत्ता चानुमन्ता च तान्येव नरके वसेत्⁸ ॥ [१॥*] विन्ध्याटवीष्वतोयासु शुष्ककोटरवासिनः
 [1*] कृष्णाहयो हि जाय—
 30 न्ते भूमिदायं हरन्ति ये ॥ [२॥*] बहुभिर्वसुधा भुक्ता राजभिस्सगरादिभिः [1*] यस्य यस्य यदा
 भूमिस्तस्य तस्य
 31 तदा फलं (लम्) ॥ [३॥*] पूर्वदत्तां द्विजातिभ्यो यत्नाद्रक्ष युधिष्ठिर [1*] मही⁹ महीम[तां]
 श्रेष्ठ दानाच्छ्रेयोनुपालनं (नम्) ॥ [४॥*] यानीह द—
 32 त्तानि पुरा नरेन्द्रैर्[र्ही]नानि धर्मार्थयशस्कराणि [1*] निर्भुक्तमाल्यप्रतिमानि तानि [को]
 नाम साधुपुनराददीति(त)¹⁰ ॥ [५॥*]
 33 संवत्सरशतत्रये¹¹ एकषष्ट्यधिके कार्तिकबहुलपञ्चदश्यां गोकुलस्वामिविज्ञापनया महाबला—
 34 धिक्कृतश्रीप्रसह्यविग्रहदूतकं लिखितमिदं महासन्धिविग्रहाधिकरणाधिक्कृतशिवराजेनेति ॥
 35 सं ३०० ६० १ कार्तिक व १० ५ ॥

TRANSLATION

Success ! Hail ! From the victorious camp pitched at Ānandapura—

(For a translation of lines 1—18, see above, pp. 42-3 and 51.)

(Line 19) 'Be it known to you! For the increase of religious merit of (Our) mother and father and of Ourselves, We have granted with a libation of water this village (*viz.*) Kumāri-vaḍaō (*situated*) near Brihnnārīkā (the larger Nārīkā) in the Gōrajā bhōga included in the Bharukachchha vishaya—together with udraṅga and uparikara, inclusive of all receipts and exempt from all gifts, forced labour and special rights, which is not to be entered by chāḍas and bhaḍas, according to the maxim of waste land, (*which is*) to be enjoyed by a succession of sons and sons' sons as long as the moon, the sun, the ocean and the earth will endure—to the Brāhmaṇa Bappasvāmin, the son of Bhaṭṭu of the Pārāśara gōtra, who

¹ Read भोग्यो.

² Read वृद्धय.

³ Read सृष्टः.

⁴ Read -द्वैश्यै-.

⁵ Read यशश्चचीषुभि-.

⁶ Read संयुक्तः स्यादिति । उक्तञ्च.

⁷ Read वर्ष-.

⁸ Metre of this and the following three verses: Anushtubh.

⁹ Read मही.

¹⁰ Metre : Indravajrā.

¹¹ Read शतत्रय.

is a student of the Vājasaneya Kaṇva (*śākhā*) and a resident of **Ḍēbhaka**, for the maintenance of *bali*, *charu*, *vaiśvadēva*, and other (*religious*) rites.

(For a translation of lines 24-28, see above, p. 44.)

(L. 28)—And it has been said by the holy Vyāsa, the redactor of the *Vēdas*—

(Here follow five benedictive and imprecatory verses)

(L. 33)—In the year three hundred increased by sixty-one, on the fifteenth (*lunar day*) of the dark fortnight of Kārttika, this (*charter*), the *dūtaka* of which is the *Mahābalādhikṛita* the illustrious Prasahyavigraha, has been written by Śivarāja, the Chief Officer in charge of the Department of Peace and War, at the request of Gōkulasvāmin. The year 300 (*and*) 60 (*and*) 1, (*the month*) Kārttika, the dark (*fortnight*), (*the lunar day*) 10 (*and*) 5.

INSCRIPTIONS OF THE EARLY GURJARAS

No. 16; PLATE X

KAIRA PLATES OF DADDA II (PRASANTARAGA): (KALACHURI) YEAR 380.

THIS set of two copper-plates was found about 1827 together with three others¹ in the town of Khēḍā or Kairā, the headquarters of a district of the same name in Gujarat, Bombay State. "The river 'Watrua' runs close to the walls of Khēḍā on the north-west side, and was the cause of the discovery, by washing down the walls and earth,"² The plates were brought to notice ten years later by Dr. A. Burn who sent transcripts and facsimiles of them to Mr. James Prinsep, then Secretary of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. As three of them contained dates both in words and in figures, Mr. Prinsep first published facsimiles and explanations of date-portions of the grants, in *J.A.S.B.*, Vol. VII, p. 348, and later on a mixed transcript of two of them, which were cognate grants of Dadda II, on pp. 908 ff. of the same volume. When Dr. Burn returned home, he presented the Royal Asiatic Society with three of the sets, viz., two containing this and the following grant of Dadda-Prasāntarāga and the third a grant of Vijayarāja.³ The grants were subsequently published together with facsimile plates and a translation, by Prof. J. Dowson in the *J. R. A. S.* (New Series) (1865), Vol. I, pp. 247 ff. The original plates of the two grants of Dadda II have since been lost. When Dr. Fleet edited them finally in the *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XIII, pp. 81 ff., he had to depend on the facsimiles accompanying Prof. Dowson's article. I edit them here from the same facsimiles.

The facsimiles show two plates, each measuring about 11½" broad and 9¾" high. It is not possible to say whether their edges were smooth or were raised into rims for the protection of the writing. The lower proper left corner of the first plate is broken off, resulting in the loss of from one to six *aksharas* in ll. 21-29. Besides, a small portion of the upper proper right corner of the second plate is lost, causing a partial destruction of the first six *aksharas* of l. 31. The missing *aksharas* can, however, be supplied from the corresponding portion of the following grant. The plates seem, otherwise, to be in a state of good preservation. Prof. Dowson's facsimiles are fairly good, though it is not unlikely that some letters which were legible on the original plates, have not come out in them.⁴ In making the subjoined transcript I have, however, taken Prof. Dowson's lithographs to be accurate copies of the original plates.

The plates have each two roundish holes about 1½" in diameter for the rings which must have originally held them together. The lithograph shows, however, only one ring with a round seal about 1½" in diameter. The surface of the seal is divided into two fairly equal parts by a horizontal line. The upper part contains in relief 'some symbol of sun-worship', while the lower has the legend *Sāmanta-Dadda* in the same characters as those of the record on the plates.

The characters of the inscription, except the sign-manual, belong to the western variety of the southern alphabets. There are small knobs on the tops of letters. The

¹ Two of these were another grant of Dadda II of the year 383 (No. 17, below) and a grant of Vijayarāja of the Chālukya dynasty (No. 34, below). No information about the third set is available.

² *J. A. S. B.*, Vol. VII, p. 908.

³ No. 34 below.

⁴ For instance, the superscript *ch* in *āchēbbidyāmānakam*, l. 46, which must have been incised on the original plate, does not appear in the lithograph.

forms of the initial *ī* in *Īvara*, 1.40 and *ē* in *ēsha*, 1.33 are noteworthy; the medial *u* is formed by a loop in *rūp-ānu*, 1.5; its long form in the case of *rū* is indicated by turning the curve of the letter to the right or by adding two curves to the vertical, see *rūpani* ll.6 and 24; *k* shows a loop on the left in *prakīrṇa*, 1.5 and *kamala*, 1.27; *j* and *ni* show a notch on the top, see *panka-janma-tayā*, 1.11; the rare *jh* occurs in *nirjjhara*, 1.9; *ḍ* shows a loop in some places and a tail in others¹ see e.g., *nibīḍa*, 1.16, and *Kaundinya*, 1.38; *ṇ* appears throughout in its southern form; *h* is flat at the bottom, its upper part which consists of a curve generally showing a notch as in *prabala*, 1.20, but contrast *bōdhita*, 1.25; the subscript *th* in *sthita*, 1.5 has neither a notch, nor a ringlet; *v* is triangular in form. A final consonant is indicated by a horizontal line at the top, while punctuation is shown by a dot in some places and by vertical strokes in others. The sign-manual of the donor is in northern current hand characters. In it *y* has an archaic form, *n* in some cases appears without a loop, while the forms of *s* and *h* are in advance of these used in other contemporary records.

The language is Sanskrit and except for the customary benedictive and imprecatory verses, the whole record is in prose. The eulogistic part of it is written in a style of high flourish which is well-known from the works of the contemporary Sanskrit author Bāṇa. Kielhorn has drawn attention to the close similarities in the wording of both the eulogistic and formal parts of the present plates and the earlier Sarsavṇī plates of the Kaṭachchuri prince Buddharāja². From this he inferred that the family of the Gurjara princes rose to independence only after the time of the Kaṭachchuri Buddharāja. The orthography calls for few remarks. Instead of the *anusvāra*, the guttural nasal is used before *ś* in *vaṇśa*, 1.2 and *nistriṇśa*, 1.27; the consonant following *r* is doubled as in *sthairyya*, 1.2, *nirjjhara*, 1.9, etc. and the vowel *ri* is used for *ri*, in *trivargga*, 1.24, and *yam=atritāḥ*, 1.21.

The plates were issued from Nāndīpurī by the illustrious Dadda II of the Early Gurjara Dynasty who had won the *pañchamahāśabda* and who calls himself Praśāntarāja in his sign-manual. On the seal he has the title *Sāmanta* (feudatory prince). The object of the inscription is to record the grant, by Dadda II, of the village Śirīshapadraka situated in the *vishaya* of Akrūrēśvara to forty Brāhmaṇas, of whom thirty-five belonging to the Ṛigvēda, (White) Yajurveda and Sāmaveda had emigrated from Jambūśaras and were then residing at Śirīshapadraka itself, while the remaining five, all of whom belonged to the Atharvaveda, had emigrated from Bharukachchha and were then residing at Bhērajjikā. The purpose of the grant was, as usual, to provide for the maintenance of religious rites such as the five great sacrifices, viz., *bali*, *charu*, *vaiśvadeva*, *agnihōtra*,

¹ In *nandāmaṇinā*, 1.21, the letter *d* also shows a tail like that of *ḍ*, perhaps by mistake.

² Cf. In his opening sentence he (i.e., the author of the present Kairā grant) compares the family of Gurjara kings with the great ocean (*mahādadbī*) and in describing that ocean, he employs the words *vividha*, *vimala*, *guṇaratna*, *udbhāṣita*, *avilāṅghitāvadhbī*, *gāmbhīrya* and the phrase *mahāsattvatay-ātiduravagāhē* which to the reader of the present (i.e., Sarsavṇī) grant will surely betray their origin. Then, as in the present inscription Kṛishṇarāja is described as from his very birth (*ā janmana ēva*) devoted to the service of Śiva, so the eulogist of Dadda makes that chief from his very birth (*utpattita ēva*) worship the sun. He, moreover, just as in the case of the present grant, continues the description of his chief in a series of relative sentences (*yēna...yānī cha...yasya cha*, etc.) and in the clause commencing with *yasya cha* in line 7 and ending with *Vindhyānag-ōpatyakāḥ* in line 10 he imitates and labours to improve on the relative sentence beginning with *yēna cha* in line 6 and ending with *dīśē* in line 7 of the present grant. Kielhorn then proceeds to point out the similarities in the wording of the formal parts of the grants. 'We find in them exactly the same list of officials to whom the order is addressed..., the same technical and other terms applied to the village granted...; with the exception of a single word, the same form of appeal to future rulers to preserve the grant, and with the omission of one verse the same benedictive and imprecatory verses, given in the same order.' *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VI, pp. 296-97.

etc. The grant was made on the full-moon day of Kārttika. The scribe was Rēva, the Officer in charge of the Department of Peace and War.

The inscription is dated, both in words and in numerical symbols in ll. 50-51, on the fifteenth tithi of the bright fortnight of Kārttika of the year 380. Though the era is not specified, the date, on the evidence of palaeography, must be referred to the Kalachuri era. According to the epoch 248-49, A.C. it would correspond, for the expired year¹ 380, to the 6th November 629 A.C. It does not admit of verification.

The present inscription mentions two ancestors of Dadda II, viz., his grandfather Dadda I and his father Jayabhāṭa I who had the *biruda* Vītarāga. About the former we are told that he was a *Sāmanta* or a feudatory prince, though his suzerain is nowhere named, and that from his very birth he was a devotee of the sun. The epithet *ākṛiṣṭa-satru-nāga-keśa-saṁtati* (ll. 3-4) applied to him was interpreted to mean that he exterminated his enemies of the Nāga race²; but as Kielhorn has shown, the description contains no such historical allusion, the sense being simply that 'Dadda uprooted his enemies as the bird Garuḍa destroys the snakes.' The description in line 10, that the lands at the foot of the Vindhya mountain delighted him, seems to suggest that he extended his kingdom to or raided the country up to the Vindhya mountain.

About Jayabhāṭa I the present inscription gives no information except that he obtained victories over the forces of his powerful foes, and that he had the *biruda* Vītarāga. The description of his son Dadda II, the donor of the present grant, is also conventional, the only historical information that we can glean from it being that he had obtained the *pañchamahāśabda*, and had the *biruda* Prāsāntarāga.

As for the localities mentioned in the present grant, Nāndīpurī was identified by Dr. Bühler³ with an old fort of that name just outside the Jhaḍēśwar gate to the east of Broach. Pandit Bhagvanlal Indraji, however, suggested that Nāndīpurī was identical with Nāndōd in the Broach District.⁴ The statement in the Anjanēri plates of Jayabhāṭa III⁵ that Nāndīpurī *vishaya* included the village Tōraṇaka (modern Tōraṇ 2 miles to the north of Nāndōd) proves the correctness of Pandit Bhagvanlal's suggestion. The absence of any word like *vāsakāt* after Nāndīpurī indicates that it was probably the capital of the Gurjaras. Akrūrēśvara is clearly identical with Aṅklēśvar, the chief town of a *tāluka* of the same name, in the Broach District. Śīrīshapadraka is Sisōdra about 11 miles west by south of Aṅklēśvar. Jambūśaras still bears its ancient name and lies about 27 miles north of Broach. Bharukachchha is of course Broach, while Bhērajikā is probably Bōrjai in the Broach District, about 12 miles east of Aṅklēśvar.

TEXT⁶

First Plate

- 1 सिद्धम्⁷ स्वस्ति [१*] नान्दीपुरीतो(तः) [१*] विविधविमलगुणरत्नसंपा(प)दुद्भास(सि)-
[तसकलदिङ्मु]खे परित्राताश(शे)वसपक्ष[महा*]महीभूति

¹ If the year is applied as current, the date would correspond to the 18th October 628 A. C.

² *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIII, p. 82.

³ *Ibid.*, Vol. VII, p. 62.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Vol. XIII, p. 73.

⁵ *Below*, No. 22, lines, 17-18.

⁶ From the facsimiles prefixed to Prof. Dowson's article in *J. R. A. S. (New Series)*, Vol. I, pp. 247 ff.

⁷ Expressed by a symbol.

- 2 सततमविलङ्घितावधौ स्थैर्य्यगाभिर्य्य¹लावण्यवति महासत्त्वतया²[ति]दुरवगाहे गुर्जरनृपतिवङ्श³—
मह(हो)दधा(धौ) श्रीसहजन्मा कृ—
- 3 एणहृदयाहितास्पदः कौस्तुभमणिरिव विमलयशोदीधितिनिकरविनिहतकलितिमिरनिचयः सत्पक्षो
वैनतेय इवाकृष्टशत्रु—
- 4 नागकुलसंततिरुत्पत्तित एव दिनकरचरणकमलप्रणामापनीताशेषदुरितनिवहः सामन्तदहः [1*]
प्रतिदिनमपेतशङ्कं येन
- 5 स्थितमचलगुणनिकरकेसरि(र)विरा[जि]तवपुषा विनिहतारिगजकुम्भविगलितमुक्ताफलो(ल)—
च्छलप्र[की]णविमलयशोवितानेन रूपा[नु]—
- 6 रूपं सत्त्व⁴मुद्रहता केसरिकिशोरकेणोपपरि क्षितिभृतां[ताम्] [1*] यं चातिमलिनकलियुगतिमिर—
चन्द्रमसमनुदिवसमन्यस्पदंयवा⁵—
- 7 ययुः कलासमूहादयो गुणा विक्रमानीतमदविलासालसगतयोरातिगजघटाः प्रमदाश्च [1*] यस्य
चाविरतदान—
- 8 प्रवाहप्रीणितात्विमधुकरकुलस्य रुचिरकीर्तिवशासहायस्य सतत⁶मस्खलितपदं प्रसरतः सङ्घ⁷—
हितशोभागौरवस्य
- 9 भद्रमतंगजस्येव करघातविनिहतक्षितिभृदुन्नततनूरुहस्य रेवानिर्ज्वरसलिलप्रपातमधुरनिनदस्य भगो—
[३३—]
- 10 वाः समुन्नतपयोधराहितश्रियो दयिता इव मुदे विन्ध्यनगोपत्यका⁸ यश्चोपमीयते शशिनि सौम्यत्व—
वैमल्यशोभाकला—
- 11 भिन्नं कलङ्केन श्रीनिकेतशोभासमुदायाधःकृतकुलकण्टकतया कमलाकरे न पङ्कजन्मतया सत्त्वो⁹—
त्साहविक्रमेर्मुंगाधिरा—
- 12 जे न कृ(कू)राशयतया लावण्यस्वैर्य्यगंभीर्य्य¹⁰स्थित्यनुपालनतया महोदधो(धौ) न व्यालाश्रयतया
सत्कटकसमुन्नतविद्याधरावा—
- 13 सतया हिम(मा)चले न खप(श)परिवारतया [1*] यस्य च स[द्भो]गः शेषोरगस्येव विमल—
किरणमणिशतावि[ष्ट]तगौरवः सकलजगत्साधार—
- 14 णो¹¹ यस्य प्रकाश्यते सत्कुलं शीलेन प्रभुत्वमाजया शस्त्रमरातिप्रणिपातेन कोपो निग्रहेण प्रसादः
प्रदानैधेम्भो देवद्विजातिगु—
- 15 रुजनसपर्य्ययेति [11*] तस्य सूणुः (नुः) प्रतप्तरुचिरकनकावदातः कल्पतरुरिव(वा)विरतमभि—
क(ह)चित्फलप्रदः सततमृतगुणस्येव
- 16 वसन्तसमयो वसन्तसमयस्य(स्ये)व प्रविकसितनिविडचूततक्ष्वनाभोगः सरस इव कमलनिवहः
कमलनिवहस्येव
- 17 प्रबोवो महाविषधरस्येव मणिम्मणेरिव स्वच्छतारभावो महोदधेरिवामृतकलशोमृतकलशस्येवा—
मरणदायित्व—

¹ Read गाम्भीर्य—.

² Read महासत्त्वतया.

³ Read वंश—.

⁴ Read सत्त्व—.

⁵ Read —मन्योन्यस्पदंयवा—.

⁶ The *anurātra* is misplaced here. Read संतत—.

⁷ Read सङ्घ—.

⁸ Read नगोपत्यकाः ।

⁹ Read सत्त्वो—.

¹⁰ Read स्थैर्य्यगाम्भीर्य—.

¹¹ Read साधारणः ।

KAIRA PLATES OF DADDA II (PRASANTARAGA): (KALACHURI) YEAR 380

First Plate

Nº 2. A

2 4 6 8 10 12 14 16 18 20 22 24 26 28 30
 2 4 6 8 10 12 14 16 18 20 22 24 26 28 30
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ १ ॥
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ २ ॥
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ३ ॥
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ४ ॥
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ५ ॥
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ६ ॥
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ७ ॥
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ८ ॥
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ९ ॥
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ १० ॥
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ११ ॥
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ १२ ॥
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ १३ ॥
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ १४ ॥
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ १५ ॥
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ १६ ॥
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ १७ ॥
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ १८ ॥
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ १९ ॥
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ २० ॥
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ २१ ॥
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ २२ ॥
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ २३ ॥
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ २४ ॥
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ २५ ॥
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ २६ ॥
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ २७ ॥
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ २८ ॥
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ २९ ॥
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ३० ॥

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- 18 प्रभावः करिण इव मदः प्रमदाजनस्येव विलासो विभवस्येव सत्पात्रविनियोगो धर्मस्येव क[तुः]
क[तो]रिव स्वद—
- 19 क्षिणाकालः प्रेम्ण इव सद्भावः शशिन इवामलकलासमूहो नियतमलंकारभूतः सकलनिशाकरचि-
रुप¹—
- 20 वदनः शकलो वदान्यः प्रबलरिपुबलानीकसमरसमवाप्तविजयश्रीः श्रीदीतरागापरनामा श्रीजय-
भटः [1*] कलि—
- 21 प्रतिपक्षभयाच्छरणार्थिन² इव यमश्रुताः³ सविनया गुणाः [1*] स्फुरितविमलकीर्तिसौ[दा]-
मणिना येन सकलजीवलो[का-]*⁴
- 22 नन्दकारिणा कालबलाहकेनेवावन्ध्यफलं⁵ गर्जता प्रणयिनामपनीतास्तृष्णासंतापदोषाः [1*] यश्च
शूरो[पि] [संतत*]—
- 23 मयशोभिरुपगततृष्णोपि⁶ गुणाज्जनाविच्छिन्नतर्पः सर्वप्रदानशीलोपि परयुवतिहृदयदानपर(रा)-
ङ्मुखः [पटुरपि पर*]—
- 24 परिवादाभिधानजडधीः [1*] यस्य च न विरोधि रूपं शीलस्य यौवनं सदृत्तस्य विभवः प्रदानस्य
तृ(त्रि)वर्गसेवा प[रस्परपीडन*]—
- 25 स्य प्रभुत्व क्ष(क्षा)न्तेः कलिकालो गुणानामिति [11*] तस्य सूनुः सजलघनपटलनिर्गतं रजनिकर-
करावबोधितक(कु) [मुदघवल-]*
- 26 यशःप्रदानास्थगितनभोमण्डलोनेकसमरसंकटप्रमुखागतनिहतशत्रुसामन्तकुलव[धूप्र] [भातसम*]—
- 27 यद्वदितच्छलोद्गम्यमानविमलनिस्त्रिंश⁷प्रतापो देवद्विजातिगुरुचरणकमलप्रणामो[द्घृष्टवज्र*]—
- 28 मणिकोटिरुचिरदीर्घितिविराजितमुकुटोद्भासितशिरा दीनानाथातुराभ्यागतात्थिजना[किल]⁸प-
(ष्ट) [परिपूरि*]—
- 29 तविभवमनोरथोपचीयमानत्रिविष्टपैकसहायधर्मस(सं)चयः प्रणयपरिर(कु) [पित*]—
- 30 मानिनीजनप्रणामपूर्वमधुरवचनोपपादितप्रसादप्रकाशीकृतविदग्धनागरक—

Second Plate

- 31 [स्वभावो विमल⁹]गुणकिरणपंजराक्षिप्तवहलकलितिमिरनिचयः समधिगतपञ्चमहाशब्दः
[श्री] ददः
- 32 कुशली सर्वानेव राजसामन्तभोगिकविषयपतिराष्ट्रग्राममहत्तराधिकारिकादीन्समनुबोध—
- 33 यत्य¹⁰स्तु वो विदितमस्माभिरक्कु(क्कु)रेश्वरविषयान्तर्गतशिरीषपत्रकं एष ग्रामः सोद्रङ्गः
सोपरिकरः
- 34 सर्वदानसंग्राह्यः सर्वदित्यविष्टिप्रातिभेदिकापरिहीणो भूमिच्छिद्रन्वायेनाचाटभटप्रावेश्य आच-
न्द्राकर्णव—

¹ Read निशाकरामिरुप—.

² Read प्रतिपक्षभयाच्छरणा—.

³ Read यमाश्रिताः.

⁴ The *aksbaras* in rectangular brackets at the end of ll. 21-29 have been lost owing to the breaking off of the lower proper left corner of the plate. They are supplied from the following record (No. 17) of the same king.

⁵ Read कालबलाहकेनेवावन्ध्यफलं.

⁶ Read —मयशोभिरुपगततृष्णोपि.

⁷ Read निस्त्रिंश—.

⁸ The horizontal bar of *k* does not appear here.

⁹ The corner of the plate being broken off here, only the lower portions of the first six *aksbaras* appear in the lithograph.

¹⁰ Read समनुबोधयति । अस्तु वो.

- 35 क्षितिस्थितिसमकालीनः पुत्रपौत्रान्वयभोग्यो जंबूसरोविनिर्गताक्कु(क्कु)रेश्वरविषयान्तर्गत-
[शि]रीषपद्रकवासिबहुचव-
- 36 त्ससगोत्राश्वलायनसब्रह्मचारिब्राह्मणभट्टघाध्यापक¹ । तथा गोपादित्य । तथा भट्टिगण । विशाख ।
अग्निशर्म । द्रोण । काश्यपस-
- 37 गोत्रभट्टिदाम । तथा वत्र । अध्वर्यु²वाजसनेयडौण्डीकीयसगोत्र ।³ कण्वसब्रह्मचारिब्राह्मणता-
पिशम्म(म्म) । द्वितापिशम्म ।
- 38 दत्तस्वामि । भागिस्वामि । पितृशर्म । भट्टि । द्रोण । धूम्रायणसगोत्रकक्काध्यापक । आवुक ।
कौण्डिन्यसगोत्रवाटशर्म । शैल ।
- 39 घोष । महादेव । वाव । माठरसगोत्रधर । विशाख । नन्दि । रामिल । हारितसगोत्रवर्मधर ।
छान्दोग्यभरद्वाजसगोत्रकौधुम-
- 40 सब्रह्मचारिब्राह्मणइन्द्रशर्म । आदित्यरवि । तापिशूर । इन्द्रशूर । ईश्वर । धर । दामधर ।
द्वि ईश्वर । भरुकच्छविनिर्गंतभेरज्जिका-
- 41 निवासि अ(आ)धर्वण⁴चौलितगोत्रपिप्पलादसब्रह्मचारिब्राह्मणभद्र । वायुशर्म । द्रोणस्वामि ।
रुद्रादित्य । पूर्णस्वामि । एभ्यश्चतु-
- 42 श्चरणब्राह्मणेभ्यश्चातुर्विद्यपरिकल्पनापूर्वं बलिचरुवैश्वदेवाग्निहोत्रपंचमहायज्ञादित्रियोत्सर्प-
णात्वं मातापित्रोरात्मनश्च पु-
- 43 ण्ययशोभिवृद्धये कार्तिक्य(क्या)भृदकातिसर्गणातिसृष्टो⁵ यतोस्मद्वृश्यै⁶रन्वैर्वागामिभोगपतिभिः
प्रबलपवनप्रेरितोदधिजलतरं-
- 44 गचंचलं जीवलोकमभावानुगतानसारान्विभवान्दीर्घकालस्येयसश्च गुणानाकलय्य सामान्यभोग-
भूप्रदानफलेप्सु-
- 45 भिः शशिकरश्चिरं यशश्चिराय चिचीषुभिरयमस्मदायोनुमन्तव्यः पालयितव्यश्च [1*] यो
वाज्ञानतिमिरपटलावृत्तमति-
- 46 राच्छिन्धाद(दा)[च्छि]द्या(द्य)मानकं वानुमोदेत स पंचभिर्महापातकैः सोपपातकैः संयुक्तः
स्यदुक्तं च⁷ भगवता वेदव्यासेन
- 47 व्यासेन ॥ षष्टिर्वर्षसहस्राणि स्वर्गे तिष्ठति भूमिदः [1*] अच्छेत्ता चानुमन्ता च तान्येव नरक
वसेत्⁸ ॥ [१॥*] विन्ध्याटवोष्वतोयासु-
- 48 शुष्ककोटरवासिनः [1*] कृष्णाहयो हि जायन्ते भूमिदायं हरन्ति ये ॥ [२॥*] बहुभिर्बंसुधा
भुक्ता राजभिः सगरादिभिः [1*] यस्य य-
- 49 स्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फलं(लम्) ॥ [३॥*] यानीह दत्तानि पुरा नरेन्द्रैर्दानानि
धर्मात्ययशस्कराणि । निर्भुक्तमाल्यप्रतिमा-
- 50 नि तानि को नाम साधुः पुनराददीतेति⁹ । संवत्सरशतत्रयेशीत्यधिके कार्तिकशुद्धपञ्चदश्यां
लिखितं सन्धिविग्रहा¹⁰धिक-

¹ Read भट्टघाध्यापक-

² Read अध्वर्यु-

³ This mark of punctuation is a mistake.

⁴ Read निवास्याधर्वण-

⁵ Read -तिसृष्टः ।

⁶ Read -स्मद्वृश्यै-

⁷ Read स्यात् । उक्तञ्च.

⁸ Metre of this and the following two verses: *Anushtubh*.

⁹ Read -ददीत । [१४॥*] इति.

¹⁰ The *aksharas* न and हा are engraved over others which were beaten in, but traces of which can still be seen in the lithograph.

- ११ रणाधिकृतरेवेण स्वमुखाजयेति ॥ सं ३०० ८० कार्तिक शु १० ५ [१*]
 १२ दिनकरचरणाच्चनरतस्य श्रीवीतरागसूनोः स्वहस्तोयं प्रशान्तरागस्य ॥

Seal

सामन्तदद[१*]

TRANSLATION

Success! Hail! From Nāndīpurī—

In the family of the Gurjara kings which resembles the ocean; which has brightened the faces of all regions with the abundance of its manifold and spotless excellences as the ocean does with its varied and stainless jewels; which has protected all great kings who are its allies, as the ocean has saved all the great mountains possessed of wings (*that sought refuge in it*); which always refrains from transgressing the limits (*of proper conduct*), as the ocean abstains from overflowing its shores; which is possessed of firmness, serenity and beauty, as the ocean has stability, depth and saltiness; which, on account of its great courage, is difficult to be attacked, as the ocean, on account of its having large animals, is difficult to be plunged into;—there (*was*) the *Sāmanta Dadda* [I], who, possessing the goddess of (*royal*) fortune since his birth and occupying a (*royal*) position hostile to the evil-minded (*krishṇa-hridaya*¹), destroyed (*the influence of*) the Kali age by the mass of his spotless fame, as the Kaustubha jewel which was produced together with Lakshmi,² and has found a resting place on Kṛishṇa's breast, dispels a mass of darkness with the multitude of its rays; who, having good allies, has uprooted the descendants of the families of his adversaries even as Vainatēya (*Garuda*), possessing excellent wings, destroyed the progeny of the hostile families of serpents; who, even from his birth, had all his calamities³ removed by bowing to the lotus-like feet of the sun. He,⁴ who had a body adorned with a multitude of steady excellences and a canopy of white and spotless fame in the guise of pearls falling from the frontal globes of the elephants of (*his*) enemies that were slain (*in battles*), and who was possessed of courage suitable to his (*majestic*) form, stood always fearlessly at the head of kings, even as a young lion, with his body adorned with a mane, and a canopy of his bright and spotless fame spread over him in the guise of pearls from the frontal globes of hostile elephants slain by him, stands fearlessly on the top of mountains. Accomplishments such as (*proficiency in*) a number of fine arts, (*and*) troops of the elephants of his enemies, walking slowly on account of rut, that were captured by his valour, and young and beautiful women walking languidly owing to the gracefulness (*of their gait*) caused by intoxication, who were attracted by his prowess, day after day, as if in mutual rivalry, resorted to him who was the moon (*dispelling*) the darkness of the extremely sinful Kali age. Like young women obtained by good fortune⁵ and rendered beautiful by their plump breasts, the regions at the feet of the Vindhya mountain created by Bhaga⁶ and adorned by high clouds, delighted him, who pleased

¹ According to Prof. Kielhorn this word *krishṇa* in addition to denoting the god Kṛishṇa, may perhaps denote the Kuṭachchuri Kṛishṇarāja. The expression may, therefore, signify that Dadda I was a favourite (or, feudatory) of Kṛishṇarāja. He concedes, however, that it may also be taken to mean he whose actions (*āpada, kṛitya*) were hostile to the evil-minded.

² I. e., churned out of the milk-ocean along with Lakshmi.

³ For the use of *durita* in the sense of calamity, misfortune, cf. *Apatyē yat tādṛig duritam abhavat*, etc. *Uttarāmaśharita*, Act. IV, v. 3.

⁴ This and the following sentences descriptive of Dadda I figure as relative clauses in the original. The construction has been changed for the sake of convenience in translating.

⁵ Dr. Fleet translates: 'as if they were wives productive of married happiness.' The original does not, however, contain any such *utprākṣā*.

⁶ *Bhaga* is a name of Rudra.

a multitude of supplicants by the incessant flow of his charity, as an excellent elephant pleases swarms of bees by the unceasing flow of his rut; who was attended by splendid glory as the elephant is attended by his charming mate;¹ who always walked with an unfaltering step and whose great excellence was due to his noble descent, as the elephant's splendid form is due to his excellent back-bone; who had his body horripilated when he struck down (*hostile*) kings by the blow of his arm (*and*) whose voice was sweet like (*the sound of*) the falling of the water of the stream of the Rēvā (Narmadā). He was compared with the moon in respect of gentleness, purity, beauty and (*proficiency in*) arts,² but not in that of any stain,—with an assemblage of lotuses in respect of having overcome the troublesome members of (*his*) family (*as lotuses get over thorns*) by the mass of (*his*) splendour on account of his being the abode of royal fortune (*Srī*) (*as the lotuses are the abode of Lakshmi*), but not in respect of being produced from sin,³—with the lord of beasts (*i.e., the lion*) in point of courage, energy and valour, but not in that of having a cruel heart,—with the great ocean in respect of beauty, stability, serenity and maintenance of the bounds of morality,⁴ but not in that of giving shelter to wicked persons,⁵—with the mountain Himālaya, in respect of being the resort of noble men of learning in his excellent capital⁶, but not in that of being surrounded by degraded warriors.⁷ His excellent wealth, which, like the excellent hood of the serpent Śeṣha, had its magnificence manifested by hundreds of jewels of spotless rays, was shared by the whole world.⁸ His noble birth was revealed by (*his*) character,—his power, by (*the implicit obedience of his*) commands,—his (*skill in the use of*) weapons, by the submission of (*his*) foes,—his wrath, by the punishment (*inflicted on his enemies*),—his favour, by (*his*) gifts,—(*and*) his piety, by the worship of gods, Brāhmaṇas and elderly persons.

(Line 15) His son (*was*) the illustrious Jayabhāṭa [II], who had the other name of the illustrious Vitarāga, who was resplendent like heated glittering gold; who, like the wish-fulfilling tree, incessantly granted the desired objects (*of supplicants*), who was always and invariably an ornament (*to his family*) as the vernal season is to the cycle of seasons, as a grove of blossoming and densely growing mango trees is to the vernal season, as an assemblage of lotuses is to a lake, as blooming is to an assemblage of lotuses, as a jewel is to a great serpent, as spotless radiance is to a jewel, as the pot of nectar was to the ocean, as the power of conferring immortality is to the pot of nectar, as rutting is to an elephant, as dalliance is to a young lovely woman, as conferment on a worthy person is to wealth, as a sacrifice is to religion, as the time of distributing the sacrificial fee is to a sacrifice, as good nature is to love, (*and*) as a collection of spotless digits is to the moon; whose face was lovely like the full moon; who was affable (*and*) liberal and who had won the goddess of victory in fighting with the armies of his powerful foes. To him all virtues together with humility resorted as if seeking his protection from fear of their foe, the Kali (*age*). He, who had shining and spotless fame as a dark cloud has a bright flash of lightning, and who delighted the whole living world, removed the evils of avidity and worry of supplicants as a dark cloud roaring, not in vain, removes the thirst and heat

¹ Dr. Fleet's translation 'who reduced (*even*) those who were not (*his*) adherents to submission by (*his*) brilliant fame' has little connection with the original.

² In the case of the moon, (*kalā*) means 'a digit.'

³ The lotuses, however, are produced from *pañka* (mud).

⁴ The ocean also keeps within bounds.

⁵ The ocean, however, gives shelter to serpents in its water.

⁶ The Himālaya has the prosperous *Vidyādhara* (demi-gods) residing on its excellent slopes (*kaṭaka*).

⁷ See *Manusmṛiti*, ch. X, v. 22. The Himālaya, however, is girt by the Khasa tribe.

⁸ The serpent Śeṣha's hood supports the whole world.

of those who long (*for rain*). Though brave, he was always apprehensive of (*incurring*) infamy; though free from avarice, he had an unceasing thirst for the acquisition of virtues; though he was in the habit of giving everything, he was averse to giving his heart to others' wives¹; though eloquent, he was dull-witted in abusing others; His handsome form was not opposed to good character; (*nor*) his youth, to good conduct; (*nor*) his wealth, to charity; (*nor*) his pursuit of the three (*aims of life*), to the absence of mutual conflict (*among them*)²; (*nor*) his power to forgiveness; (*nor his living in*) the Kali age, to (*his possession of*) virtues.

(L. 25) His son, the illustrious Dadda [II] who has attained the *pañchamahā-jabda*,³—who has covered the expanse of the sky all round with the shoots of his fame as white as the night-lotuses which are made to bloom by the rays of the moon as she emerges from a mass of water-laden clouds; the prowess of whose spotless sword is (*always*) being loudly celebrated in songs in the guise of the morning lamentations of the virtuous wives of the hostile neighbouring princes, who were slain (*by him*) when they opposed him in many dangerous battles; whose head is radiant with a crown shining with the bright rays of the tips⁴ of diamonds (*set in it*) which are scratched in making obeisance to the lotus-like feet of gods, Brāhmaṇas and elderly persons; the store of whose religious merit—the sole companion in heaven—is being increased by the unwearied⁵ fulfilment of the desire for wealth of the poor, the helpless and the sick, guests and supplicants; who shows himself as a cultured man of the town by winning (*again*) by means of sweet words preceded by obeisance, the favour of proud ladies who are made angry by (*their*) love (*for him*); who has cast the mass of the dense darkness of the Kali age into the cage of the rays of his spotless virtues—(*he*), being in good health, thus informs all the kings, feudatories, *Bhōgikas* and heads of *vishayas*, the *Mahattaras* of *rāshṭras* (provinces) and villages, officials and others—

(L. 33) 'Be it known to you! For the increase of the religious merit and fame of Our mother and father and of Ourselves, We have granted with a libation of water, fixing first (*the immunities*) in the case of the community of the Chāturvēdins,⁶ on the full-moon day of Kārttika, this village (*viz.*) Śīrīshapadraka situated in the *vishaya* of Akṛūrēśvara—together with *udraṅga* and *uparikara*, inclusive of all dues, and exempt from all gifts, forced labour and special rights,—which is not to be entered by *chāṭas* and *bhaṭas*, according to the maxim of waste land, (*and*) which is to be enjoyed by a succession of sons and sons' sons (*of the donees*) as long as the moon, the sun, the ocean and the earth will en-

¹ Dr. Fleet translates: 'He was averse to destroying the hearts of the wives of other men' and remarks 'The play is on the two meanings of *dāna* 'giving' and 'cutting or destroying.' The idea of cutting the hearts of others' wives is not met with elsewhere in Sanskrit literature. The contrast intended here is between his readiness to give everything to supplicants and his aversion to give his love to others' wives.

² As Dr. Fleet has pointed out, the words joined here are *paraspara* and *apīḍana*. The sense intended to be conveyed is that the king practised *dharma*, *artha* and *kāma*, avoiding all conflict among them.

³ *I. e.*, the right to use five musical instruments. *J. B. B. R. A. S., N. S., Vol. I., pp. 23 f.*

⁴ Fleet translates *vajra-maṇi-kōṭi* by 'a crore of diamonds.' But the idea that tips of diamonds are brightened by rubbing in the act of salutation is common in Sanskrit literature.

⁵ Fleet translates *kliṣṭa* by 'people in distress', but the word is *akliṣṭa* and its position after *jana* shows that it is used here as an adverb modifying *paripūrta*.

⁶ *Parikalpanā* is derived from *pari-kṣip*, to fix or to settle. *Chāturvēdyā-parikalpanā-purvam* corresponds to *Chāturvēdyā-āgrabāra-maryādā* which generally occurs in Vākāṭaka records and probably refers to the fixing of immunities in the case of *āgrabāra* villages granted to Chāturvēdins. Fleet, however, translates it as 'preceded (as a primary object) by providing for the community of Chāturvēdis.'

dure,—to the Brāhmaṇas of the four *charaṇas*¹, *viz.*, the Brāhmaṇa Bhaṭṭi, the teacher (*adhyāpaka*) who has emigrated from Jambūśaras, and is (now) a resident of Śīrīshapadraka situated in the district of Akrūrēśvara, who is of the Vatsa *gōtra* and a student of the Āśvalāyana (*charaṇa*) of the Rīgvēda, and also Gōpāditya, and also Bhaṭṭigaṇa, (*and*) Viśākha, (*and*) Agniśarman, (*and*) Drōṇa,—Bhaṭṭidāman of the Kāśyapa *gōtra*, and also Vatra,—the Brāhmaṇa Tāpiśarman of the Daundakiya *gōtra*, a student of the Kaṇva (*charaṇa*) of the Vājasaneyā (*vēda*) of the Adhvaryus, (*and*) the second Tāpiśarman, (*and*) Dattasvāmin, (*and*) Bhāgivsāmin, (*and*) Pitṛīśarman, (*and*) Bhaṭṭi, (*and*) Drōṇa,—Karka the *adhyāpaka*, of the Dhūmrāyana *gōtra*, (*and*) Ābuka,—Vāṭaśarman of the Kauṇḍinya *gōtra*, (*and*) Saila, (*and*) Ghōsha, (*and*) Mahādēva, (*and*) Bāva;—Dhara of the Māthara *gōtra*, (*and*) Viśākha, (*and*) Nandi, (*and*) Rāmila,—Dharmadhara of the Hārīta *gōtra*,—the Brāhmaṇa Indraśarman of the Bharadvāja *gōtra*, a student of the Kauthuma (*charaṇa*) of the Chhāndōgya (*i.e.*, Sāmavēda) (*and*) Ādityaravi, (*and*) Tāpiśūra, (*and*) Indraśūra, (*and*) Īśvara, (*and*) Dhara, (*and*) Dāmadhara, (*and*) the second Īśvara,²—the Brāhmaṇa Bhadra of the Chauli *gōtra*, a student of the Pippalāda (*charaṇa*) of the Atharvavēda, who emigrated from Bharukachchha and is now a resident of Bhērajjikā, (*and*) Vāyuśarman, (*and*) Drōṇasvāmin, (*and*) Rudrāditya, (*and*) Pūrṇasvāmin,—for the maintenance of the five great sacrifices (*such as*) *balī*, *charu*, *vaiśvadeva*, *agnihōtra* and other (*religious*) rites.

(L. 43) Wherefore, future rulers whether of Our family or others, considering that (*this*) world of living beings is unsteady like the waves of the water of the ocean tossed by a strong wind, that wealth is liable to be lost and worthless, and that virtues (*alone*) endure for a long time and desiring to share in the reward of (*this*) donation of land, which can be equally enjoyed (*by them*) and to accumulate for a long time fame as lovely a moon-beams, should consent to this Our gift and preserve it! Whoever, with his mind shrouded by the veil of the darkness of ignorance, confiscates it or allows it to be confiscated, shall incur the five great sins!

(L. 46) And it has been said by the holy Vyāsa, the redactor of the Vēdas—

(*Here follow four benedictive and imprecatory verses.*)

(L. 50) In the year three hundred increased by eighty, on the fifteenth (*lunar day*) of the bright (*fortnight*) of Kārttika, (*this charter*) has been written at the command of (Our) own mouth, by Rēva, (*the officer*) in charge of the Department of Peace and War.

The year 300 (*and*) 80, (*the month*) Kārttika, the bright (*fortnight*), (*the lunar day*) 10 (*and*) 5.

This is the sign-manual of Praśāntarāga, the son of Vitarāga, who is devoted to the worship of the feet of the sun.

Seal

The *Sāmanta* Dadda.

¹ The names of the Brāhmaṇa donors are arranged according to the *charaṇas* and according to *gōtras* under the same *charaṇa*. Where no *gōtra* is mentioned, the one mentioned last preceding is to be understood. The four *charaṇas* mentioned here are those of Āśvalāyana (l. 36), Kaṇva (l. 37), Kauthuma (l. 39) and Pippalāda (l. 41).

² Dhara, Dāmadhara and the second Īśvara appear to be mentioned here as of the Bharadvāja *gōtra*. In the next inscription their *gōtra* is mentioned as Lākshmaṇya.

No. 17; PLATE XI

KAIRA PLATES OF DADDA II (PRASANTARAGA) : (KALACHURI) YEAR 385.

THIS set of two copper-plates was discovered together with the preceding one in the town of Kairā, the headquarters of the Kairā District in Gujarat, Bombay State, under circumstances already described.¹ A mixed transcript of the two records was first published by Mr. J. Prinsep in the *J. A. S. B.*, Vol. VII, pp. 908 ff. The plates were subsequently edited with facsimiles by Prof. Dowson in the *J. R. A. S.*, Vol. I (New Series), pp. 247 ff., and finally by Dr. Fleet in the *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIII, pp. 88 ff. As the original plates had been lost, Dr. Fleet's transcript was made from the facsimiles accompanying Prof. Dowson's article. I edit the inscription here from the same facsimiles.

From the facsimiles they appear to be two plates each being inscribed on one side and measuring 10½" by 7½". It is not possible to say if their ends were raised into rims for the protection of the writing. They appear to be in a state of good preservation. Prof. Dowson's lithographs are fairly good, though it is likely that some letters, which appear in them to be imperfectly formed, may not have been so on the original plates. In making the subjoined transcript I have taken the lithographs to be accurate copies of the original plates.

The plates seem to have each two roundish holes .4" in diameter for the rings which held them together. One of the rings has a circular seal, about 1½" in diameter, closely resembling that of the preceding grant. It has in relief, on a countersunk surface, the same symbol of solar worship and the same legend, *Sāmanta-Dadda*. Again this inscription was, like the preceding, written by Rēva, the head of the Department for Peace and War. The characters, therefore, closely resemble those of the preceding grant. It will suffice to call attention to the different forms of medial *ū* seen in *rūp-ānurūpam*, ll. 5-6, *-abhirūpa-*, l. 20, and *krūr-āśayatayā-*, l. 12, the *prishtha-mātrā* denoting medial *ē* in *mṛig-ā-dhirājē*, ll. 11-12, the curled curve of *t* in *Jayabhataḥ*, ll. 20-21, the cursive *s* in *satata*, l. 16 and the tailed *h* in *-āhita*, l. 10 and *saṅgrāhya*, l. 34. The language is Sanskrit. Except for some changes in the names of donees and the date, and the omission of the expressions *chatuṣ-charaṇa-* and *chāturvīdyā-parikalpanā-pūrvam*, the present grant is an exact copy of the preceding. As regards orthography, we may state, in addition to what has been noticed above, that the *jihvāmūliya* occurs in ll. 11 and 32, *y* is doubled after an *anuvāra* in *saṁyukta*, l. 45 and *k* before *r* in *yajñādi-kkriyā-*, l. 41.

The plates were issued from Nāndīpurī by the illustrious Dadda II of the Early Gurjara Dynasty. He and his ancestors are described here exactly as in the preceding grant. The inscription is dated, both in words and in numerical symbols, on the fifteenth day of the bright fortnight of Kārttika in the year 385. The date must be referred to the Kalachuri era. According to the epoch of 248-49 A.C., it would correspond, for the expired year 385, to the 12th October 634 A.C.² It does not admit of verification. The object of the inscription is to record the grant, by Dadda II, of the same village Śīrīshapadraka situated in the Akrūrēśvara *vishaya*, which he had donated only five years before by the preceding charter. Most of the Brāhmaṇa donees were also the same; for out of the forty Brāhmaṇas who received the former grant, as many as thirty-two³

¹ See above, p. 57.

² If the year is applied as current, the date would correspond to the 22nd October 633 A. C.

³ Cf. "The first grant was made to forty Brāhmaṇas; the names of thirty-two of them are repeated in the present grant, the persons omitted being Vāṭasarmā and Mahādēva of the Kauṇḍinya *gāṭra* (No.

figure in the present charter. The reason for making this new grant—which in effect cancelled the previous one, though it is not said so explicitly—is not known; but it may be noted that of the forty Brāhmaṇas to whom the first grant was made, thirty-five were residents of the donated village Śirīshapadraka, while the remaining five were dwelling at Bhērajjikā. In the present grant all the five names of the Brāhmaṇas of Bhērajjikā have been omitted. It may, therefore, be conjectured that there was some dispute between the Brāhmaṇa donees of the two villages Śirīshapadraka and Bhērajjikā, which eventually led to the cancellation of the first grant.¹ It may again be noted that all the five Brāhmaṇas, whose names are omitted here, were students of the Atharvaveda which, as is well known, was looked with disfavour in ancient times. The reason for omitting three out of the other thirty-five names may be the death of the donees, without leaving any issue.

The geographical names occurring in the present grant have already been identified.

TEXT²

First Plate

- 1 सिद्धम्³ स्वस्ति [१*]नान्दीपुरि(री)तो(तः) ॥ व(वि)विधविमलगुण[र]त्न[स]म्पदुद्भा-
सितसकलदिङ्मुखे परि[त्राताशेष]स[पक्ष]महामहि(ही)भृति [स]ततमव(वि)लङ्घि-
- 2 [तावधौ स्वैर्य्यं]गाम्भि(म्भी)र्य्य(र्य्यं)लावण्यवति महासत्व(त्त्व)तयातिदुरवगाहे गुर्जरनृपति-
वङ्श⁴महोदधौ श्रीसहजन्मा कुण्डहृदयाहिता-
- 3 [स्प]दः [कौस्तु]भमणिरिव विमलयशोदीधितिनिकरदि(वि)निहतकलितिमिरनिचयः सत्पक्षो
वै[न]तेय इ[वा]कुण्डशत्रु(त्रु)ना[ग]कुलसन्तत(ति)-
- 4 [र]त्नत्तित ए[व] दिनकरचरणकमलप्रणामापनि(नी)ताशेषदुरितनिवहस्सामन्तदहः [१*] प्रति-
दिनमप(पे)तशङ्कं येन⁵ स्थितमचल-
- 5 गुणनिकरकेस[रि(र)विरा]जितवपुषा विनिहतारिगजकुम्भविगलितमुक्ताफल[च्छ]लप्रकीर्ण-
विमलयशोवितावे(ने)न रूपानुर-
- 6 [पं] सत्व(त्त्व)मुद्रहत(ता) केसरिकिशोरकेणेवोपरि क्षितिभृतां(ताम्) [१*] यञ्चातिमलिन-
कलियुगतिमिरचन्द्रमसमनुदिवसमन्या(न्यो)न्य[स्प]द्वये-
- 7 [वा]ययुः कलासमूहादयो गुणाः विक्त्रमानीतमदति(वि)लासालसगतयोरातिगजघटाः प्रमदाश्च
[१*] यस्य चाविरत-

CXXXIX l. 38-9), Indraśarmā of the Bharadvāja *gōtra* (id. l. 40) and Bhadra, Vāyuśarmā, Drōṇasvāmī, Rudrāditya and Pūrṇasvāmī of the Chauḷi *gōtra* (id. l. 41); and two new names are introduced, viz., (l. 37) Vāḍa of the Vatsa *gōtra*, and (l. 40) Indraśūra of the Dhūmrāyaṇa or Dhaumrāyaṇa *gōtra*—thus making up the number of thirty-four grantees, as stated in l. 40. The names are arranged,—not according to *charaṇas*, as in No. CXXXIX—but according to *gōtras*; and three persons—Dhara, Dāmadhara and the second Īśvara—who, according to No. CXXXIX l. 40, seemed to belong to the Bharadvāja *gōtra*, are here said (l. 38-9) to belong to the Lākshmaṇya *gōtra* (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIII, p. 88.) No. CXXXIX referred to in this passage is the Kairā inscription of Dadda II., dated K. 380 (No. 16, above).

¹ The thirty-two Brahmanas of Śirīshapadraka, whose names are repeated in the present grant, were no longer living at Śirīshapadraka. They had removed to Jambūśaras their original home.

² From the facsimiles accompanying Prof. Dowson's article.

³ Expressed by a symbol.

⁴ Read वंश-.

⁵ Between ये and न, a letter like य was incised by mistake and then cancelled.

KAIRA PLATES OF DADDA II (PRASANTARAGA): (KALACHURI) YEAR 385

First Plate

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28 29 30 32 34 36 38 40 42 44 46 48 50



- 8 दाना[दि?]¹प्रवाहप्रीणितार्त्विमधुकु(र)कुलस्य हचिरकीर्त्तिवशासहायस्य स[त]तमस्खलितपदं प्रसरतः सदृशहृत्²शोभा-
- 9 गा(गौ)रवस्य भद्रमतङ्गजस्येव करवातविनिहतक्षितिभृदुन्नततनूरु[हस्य] रे[वा]निर्ज्वरसलिल-
प्रपातमधुरनिनाद[स्य]³
- 10 भगाद्भवा⁴स्समुन्नतपयोधराहितश्रियो दयिता इव मुदे विन्ध्यनगोपत्यरा(का): [1*]य[श्चो]प-
मीयते शशिनि सौम्य[त्व*]वैमल्यशोभाक-
- 11 लाभिन्नं कलङ्केन श्रीनिकेतशोभासमुदयाधःकृतकुलकण्टकतया कमलाकरे न पङ्कजन्मतया ।
सत्वो(त्वो)त्साहविक्रमे(मै)मू -
- 12 गाधिराजे न क्रूराशयतया । लावण्यस्वैर्यगाम्भीर्यस्थित्यनुपालनतया महोदधौ न व्यालाश्रयतया ।
सत्कटकप(स)-
- 13 मुन्नतविद्याधरावास्तया हिमाद(च)ले न खष(श)य(प)रिवारतया । यस्य च सद्भोगः शेषोर-
गस्येव विमलकिरणमणिशताविष्कृत-
- 14 गौरवस्सकलजगत्सारारणो⁵ । यस्य प्रकाश्यते सत्कुलं शि(शी)लेन । प्रभुत्वमाज्ञया । शस्त्र-
मरातिप्रणिपातेन । कोपा(पो) निग्रहेण ।
- 15 प्रसादः प्रदानैर्द्वर्म्मो देवद्विजातिगु(रु)जनसपर्ययेति । तस्य सूनुः प्रतप्तरचिरकनकावदातः
कल्पतरुरिवाविरतम-
- 16 भिरुचितफलप्रदः सततमृतुगणस्येव वस[न्त]समयो वसन्तसमयस्येव प्रविकसित⁶निविडचूततरु-
वनाभोगः सरस इव
- 17 कमलनिवहः कमलनिवहस्येव प्रबोधो महाविपधरस्येव मणिर्मणेरिव स्वच्छतारभावो महोदधे-
रिवामृतकलशोभृतक-
- 18 लक्षस्येवामरणदायित्वप्रसा(भा)वः करिण इव मदः प्रमचा(दा)जनस्येव विलासो विभ[व]स्येव
सत्पात्रविनियोगो धर्म-
- 19 स्येव क्रतुः क्रतोरिव स्वदक्षिणाकालः प्रेम्ण इव सद्भावः शशिन इवामलकलासमूहो नियत-
मलङ्कारभूतः सकल-
- 20 निशाकराभिरुपवदनः शकलो वदान्यः प्रबलरिपुबलानीकसमरसमवाप्तविजयश्रीः श्रीवीतरागापर-
नामा श्रीजर(य)भ-
- 21 [टः] कलिप्रतिपक्षभयाच्छरणात्थिन इव यमाश्रिताः सविनया गुणाः स्फुरितदि(वि)मलकीर्त्ति-
सौदामणिना येन सकल[जी]-
- 22 बलोकानन्दकारिणा कालव(व)लाहकेनेवावन्ध्यफलं गज्जता प्रणयिनामपही(हृ)तास्तृष्णासन्ताप-
दोषाः [1*] यश्च गू(शू)रोपि सतत-
- 23 मयशोभीरुपगततृ[ष्णो]पि गुणार्ज्जनाविच्छिन्नतर्षः सर्वप्रदानशीलोपि परयुवतिहृदयदानपरा-
ङ्मुखः पटुरपि प-
- 24 रपरिवादानि(भि)धानजडधीः[1*] यस्य च न विरोधि रूप(पं) शीलस्य यौवनं सद्बृत्तस्य
दि(वि)भवः प्रदानस्य तृ(त्रि)वर्गसे[वा] परस्परा-
- 25 पीडनस्य प्रभुत्वं क्षान्तेः कलिकालो गुणानामिति । (॥) तस्य सूनुः सज्जलघनपटलनिर्गततरजनिकर-
करावबोधि-

¹ Read दानप्रवाह-.

² Read सदृशहृत्-.

³ The preceding inscription reads -मिनदस्य here.

⁴ Read भगोद्भवा-.

⁵ Read -जगत्सारारणः.

⁶ Fleet's proposed reading प्रविकसित is unnecessary.

- 26 तकुमुदधवल्यशःप्रतानास्थगितनभोमण्डलोनेकसमरसंकटप्रमुखागतनिहतशत्रुसो (सा) मन्त-
27 कुलवधूप्रभातसमयहृदि तच्छलोद्गीयमानविमलनिस्त्रिङ्शप्रतापो देवद्विजातिगुरु-

Second Plate

- 28 चरणकमलप्रणामोद्घुष्टवज्रमणि [कोटिरुचिरदीधिति*]² विराजितमुकुटोद्भासित [शि] रा
29 दि (दी) नानाधातुराभ्यागतात्थिजनाकिलष्टप [रिपूरितविभव*] मनोरथोपचि (ची) यमा [न] त्रिविष्ट-
पकस-
30 हायधम्मसञ्चयः प्रणयपरिकुपितमानिनि (नी) [जनप्रणा*] मपूर्वमधुरवचनोपपादितप्रसादप्रकाशी-
31 कृतविदग्धनागरकस्वभावो विमलगुणकिरणप [ञ्जराक्षि] प्तवहलकलितिमिरनिचयस्समधिगत-
पञ्च-
32 महाशब्द [*] श्रीददृक्कुशली सर्वानिव राजसामन्तभोगिकविस (य) यपतिरा [ष्ट] ग्राममहत्तराधि-
कारिकादीन्स-
33 मनुबोधयत्यस्तु वो विदितमस्माभिरक (कू) रेस्वरविषयान्तर्गत ।³ शिरीषपद्रक ।⁴ एष ग्राम-
स्सोद्वज्जः
34 सोपरिकरः सर्वादानसङ्ग्राह्य [*] सर्वदित्यविष्टिप्रातिभेदिकापरिहि (ही) णो भूमिच्छिद्रन्यायेना-
चाटभटप्रा-
35 वेश्य आचन्द्राकर्काण्ड (व) क्षितिस्थितिसमका [लीन] पुत्रपौत्रान्वयभोग्यो जम्बूसरोवास्तव्यभर-
द्वाजस-
36 गोत्रकण्वसन्नह्यचारिब्राह्मणादित्यरवि । तथा तापिशूर⁵ । इन्द्रशूर । ईश्वर । तथा वत्ससगोत्र-
भट्टिच (ट्ट्य)
37 ध्यापक [1] गोपादित्य । वाड । विशाख । अग्निशर्म । भट्टिगण । द्रोण । माढ (ठ) र⁶ सगोत्र-
विशाख । धर । नन्दि ।
38 राम । दीण्डगी (की) [य*] सगोत्रतापिशर्म । द्वितापिशर्म⁷ । द्रोण । भट्टि । पितृशर्म । भागि-
स्वामि । दत्तस्वामि । लाक्ष्म-
39 ण्यसगोत्रधर । दामधर । ईश्वर । कौण्डिन्यसगोत्रवाव । घोष । [शै] ल । काश्यपसगोत्रभट्टि-
दामि (म) । वात्र⁸ [1*]
40 हारीतसगोत्रधर्मधर [1] धौम्रयन⁹ सगोत्रकर्काध्यापक । आवुक । इन्द्रशूरादिब्राह्मणेभ्यश्चतु-
स्त्रिङ्श [द्व घो]¹⁰
41 बलिचरुवैश्वदेवाग्निहोत्रपञ्चमहायज्ञादिक्रियोत्सर्पणार्थं माशा (ता) पित्रोरात्मनश्च पुण्ययशो-
शि (भि) वृद्धये कार्त्ति -
42 क्यामुदकातिसर्गेणातिसृष्टो¹¹ यतोस्मद्वृक्ष्यै¹² रन्यैर्वर्गा¹³ मिभोगपतिभिः प्रबलपवनप्रेरितोदधिज-
लतरंग-

¹ Read निस्त्रिंश-.

² The *aksbaras* in the rectangular brackets in this and the following three lines are not distinct in the facsimile and were probably damaged by rust on the original plate.

³ This mark of punctuation is superfluous.

⁴ Read शिरीषपद्रकम्. The following mark of punctuation is unnecessary.

⁵ Read तापिशूर as in the preceding grant.

⁶ Fleet read माढ (ठ) रसगोत्र-.

⁷ Read -शर्म.

⁸ In the preceding inscription, this name is written as वज्र.

⁹ Read धौम्रयण.

¹⁰ Read चतुस्त्रिंशद्व घो.

¹¹ Read -तिसृष्टः ।

¹² Read -स्मद्वृक्ष्यै-.

¹³ The *aksbaras* are quite clear here in the facsimile.

- 43 चञ्चलं जि(जी)वलोकमभावानुगतानसारान्विभवा¹न्दीर्घकालस्थेयसदच गुणानाकलय्य सामान्य-
भोगभू-
44 प्रदानफलेप्सुभिः शशिकररुचिरं यशश्चिराय चिचीपुभिरयमस्मद्दासो(यो)नुमन्तव्यः पालयित-
व्यश्च। यो वाज्ञा-
45 नतिमिरपटलावृतमतिराच्छिन्नादाच्छिद्यमानकं वानुमोदेत स पञ्चभिर्महापातकैस्संयु(यु)-
क्तस्स्यादित्युक्तं² च भग-
46 वता वेदव्यासेन व्यासेन ॥ षष्टि वर्षसहस्राणि स्वर्गे तिष्ठति भु(भू)मिदः [1] आच्छेत्ता चानु-
मन्ता च तान्येव नरके वसेत् [11१॥]³
47 विन्ध्याटवीष्वतोयासु शुष्ककोटरवासिनः [1*] कृष्णाहयो हि जायन्त(न्ते) भु(भू)[मिदा]यं
हरन्ति ये ॥ [२॥*] बहुभिर्वसुधा भुक्ता राजभिस्स-
48 गरादिभिः [1*] यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फलं(लम्) ॥[३॥*] यानि(नी)ह
द[त्ता]नि पुरा नरेन्द्रैर्दानानि धर्मैर्त्य⁴यशस्कराणि [1*] निर्भुक्त-
49 मात्यप्रतिमानि तानि को नाम सा[धुः] पुनराददि(दी)त ॥ [४॥*] इति [11*] संवत्सर-
शतत्रये पञ्चाशि(शी)त्य[धिके] कार्तिकपौर्णमास्यां
50 लिखितं सन्धी(न्धि)विग्रहाधिकरणाधिकि(कृ)तरे[वे]ण स्वमुखाजयेति । सं [३००] ८० ५
कार्तिक भु(शु) [१० ५] [दि]नकरचरणा-
51 च्चनरतस्य श्रीवीतराग[सूनो]ः [स्वहस्तोयं] प्रशान्त[रागस्य]⁵ ॥

Seal

सामन्तदह [1*]

TRANSLATION

Success ! Hail ! From Nāndipurī—

(For a translation of lines 1—33 see above, pp. 63-65.)

(Line 33)—‘Be it known to you ! For the increase of the religious merit and fame of (Our) mother and father and of Ourselves, We have granted, with a libation of water on the full-moon day of Kārttika, this village, (*vis.*) Śīrīshapadraka situated in the *vishaya* of Akṛūrēśvara—together with *ndranga* and *uparikara*, inclusive of all dues and exempt from all gifts, forced labour and special rights, which is not to be entered by *chāṭas* and *bhaṭas*, according to the maxim of waste land, (*and*) which is to be enjoyed by a succession of sons and sons’ sons (*of the donees*) as long as the moon, the sun, the ocean and the earth will endure,—to the thirty-four Brāhmaṇas, (*namely*), the Brāhmaṇa Ādityaravi, who is a resident of Jambūśaras, who is of the Bharadvāja *gōtra* and a student of the Kaṇva (*charaṇa*), and also Tāpīśūra, (*and*) Indrasūra, (*and*) Īśvara; and also Bhaṭṭi, the teacher, who is of the Vaisa *gōtra*, (*and*) Gōpāditya, (*and*) Vāḍa, (*and*) Viśākha, (*and*) Agniśarman, (*and*) Bhaṭṭigana, (*and*) Drōṇa; Viśākha of the Māthara *gōtra*, (*and*) Dhara, (*and*) Nandi, (*and*) Rāma; Tāpīśarman of the Daundakiya *gōtra*, (*and*) the second Tāpīśarman, (*and*) Drōṇa, (*and*) Bhaṭṭi, (*and*) Pitriśarman, (*and*) Bhāgisvāmin, (*and*) Dattasvāmin; Dhara of the Lākshmaṇya *gōtra*, (*and*) Dāmadhara, (*and*) Īśvara; Bāva of the Kaundinya *gōtra*,

¹ Fleet reads विन(भ)वा-, but the second letter is clearly भ.

² Read -स्यादिति । उक्तं.

³ Metre of this and the following two verses: *Anushtubh*.

⁴ Read धर्मैर्त्य-.

⁵ This sign—manual is in current-hand characters.

(and) Ghōsha, (and) Saila; Bhaṭṭi Dāma of the Kāśyapa *gōtra*, (and) Vātra; Dharmadhara of the Hārīta *gōtra*; Karka, the teacher, of the Dhaumrāyaṇa *gōtra*, (and) Āvuka, (and) Indraśūra —for the maintenance of the five great sacrifices (such as) *balī*, *charu*, *vaiśvadēva*, *agnihōtra* and such other (religious) rites.

[For a translation of ll. 42-45, see above, p. 66.]

(L. 45) And it has been said by the holy Vyāsa, the redactor of the Vēdas;—

(Here follow four benedictive and imprecatory verses).

(L. 49) In the year three hundred increased by eighty-five, on the fifteenth (lunar day) of Kārttika, (this charter) has been written at the command of (Our) own mouth by Rēva, (the officer) in charge of the Department of Peace and War.

The year 300 (and) 80 (and) 5, (the month) Kārttika, (the lunar day) 10 (and) 5.

This is the sign-manual of Prasāntarāga, the son of Vītarāga, who is devoted to worship of the feet of the sun.

Seal

The Sāmanta Dadda.

NO. 18; PLATE XII

SANKHEDA PLATE OF RANAGRAHA : (KALACHURI) YEAR 391.

THIS copper-plate measuring 9.5" by 4.5" was apparently found at Saṅkhēḍā in the Baroda District Bombay State. It has been edited before, with a lithograph, but without a translation, by Mr. H. H. Dhruva in the *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. II, pp. 20-21. It is edited here from the same lithograph.

It is the last plate of its set, and contains ten lines of well-executed writing. The average size of letters is .15" The plate has at the top two round holes .3" in diameter for the rings which must have connected it with other plates of the set. No ring or seal has however been found.

The characters of the inscription including the sign-manual of the donor Raṇagraha belong to the western variety of the South Indian alphabets. The sanction¹ of the gift by the reigning king Dadda is, however, like his sign-manual in the other Saṅkhēḍā and Kairā grants, in the northern characters. The only palæographical peculiarities that call for notice are that (1) the curve for medial *i* is turned to the right in *āchchhīndya-mānam*, l. 2; (2) the notch of *b* is at the top; (3) the right-hand hook of *ñ* is added to the subscript *ch* in *uktañ=cha*, l. 3. The language is Sanskrit, and except for four customary benedictive and imprecatory verses, the extant portion of the record is in prose. The text is very incorrectly written; see, for instance, *Adityaśarmamāya* for *Ādityaśarmmaṇē*, and *uchchhrishṭam* for *utsrīṣṭam*, both in l. 1; *asmādāyō* for *asmad-dāyō*, l. 2, etc. The *visarga* is wrongly omitted in many places, as e.g. in *-bhōgapatibhi*, l. 1, *-numantarya*, l. 2, *mahā-pātakai*, l. 3, and the final consonant in *syā*, l. 3 and *vasē*, l. 4. As regards orthography, we may note that the consonant following *r* is doubled in *sarggēna* and *anyair-vvā*, l. 1, *pañchabhir=mmahāpāmitakai*, l. 3, etc; *ri* is used for the vowel *ṛi* in *krishṇ-āhayō*, l. 5, *-dhikrita* and *Mātribhaṭēna*, l. 10, etc; and *n* occurs in place of *ṇ* in *sarggēna*, l. 1 and *yaśaskarāni*, l. 6.

¹ The expression *Śrī-Dadda-pādānta(ṇa) jñā [tām]* conveying the sanction is in characters resembling those of the sign-manual of Dadda II, in the Kairā and Saṅkhēḍā grants (Nos. 16-17, 19-20), but the addition of the word *pāda* to the royal name and the use of the personal name *Dadda* instead of the *biruda* *Prasāntarāga* shows that it is not in the handwriting of Dadda II.

The plate contains the last part of a grant of Raṇagraha, the son of Vitarāga, who describes himself in his sign-manual as devoted to the worship of the sun. The grant was sanctioned by the illustrious Dadda. In the absence of the previous plates of the set, all details about the object, occasion and purpose of the gift are lost. Only the name of the Brāhmaṇa donee Ādityaśarman has been preserved on the present plate. It is possible, however, to conjecture that the object of the gift was a field¹ as in the case of the other complete Saṅkhēḍā grants of Dadda II. The *dūtaka* was the *Bhōgikapālaka* Dujjāna and the writer Māṭribhaṭa, the Officer in charge of the Department of Peace and War.

The inscription is dated, both in words and in numerical symbols, on the **fifteenth tithi of the dark fortnight of Vaiśākha in the year 391** of an unspecified era. The palaeography of the grant makes it certain that the date must be referred to the Kalachuri era. According to the epoch of 248-49 A.C., the fifteenth *tithi* of the dark fortnight of the *amānta* Vaiśākha in the expired² year 391 would correspond to the 15th May 641 A.C. It does not admit of verification.

We know from two complete sets of Saṅkhēḍā plates³ that Dadda II-Praśāntarāga continued to reign till the Kalachuri year 392. The date of the present grant, therefore, falls in his reign. As Dadda II also was a son of Vitarāga, Raṇagraha, the donor of the present grant, must have been his brother. It seems that he was placed in charge of some part of his kingdom and had the status of a feudatory chief, but as he was not completely independent, his grant had to be sanctioned by his liege-lord, Dadda II. Dr. D.R. Bhandarkar has, however, suggested that Raṇagraha was another name of Dadda II himself⁴, but the duct of the latter's sign-manual is different in the Kairā and Saṅkhēḍā plates.⁵ Secondly, the early Gurjara kings are known to have assumed only one *biruda* in addition to their personal name and the *biruda* of Dadda II, known from his Kairā and Saṅkhēḍā plates, was *Praśāntarāga*, not *Raṇagraha*. Thirdly, his minister for peace and war was Rēva during the period from K. 380 to K. 392.⁶ The latter would, therefore, in all probability, have been mentioned in that capacity in the present grant of K. 391. But the officer mentioned here as *Sandhivigrahādhikṛita* is Māṭribhaṭa, not Rēva. For these reasons, I prefer to follow Mr. Dhruva⁷ and Dr. Bühler⁸ in taking Raṇagraha to be a brother of Dadda II.

TEXT⁹

1 ब्राह्मणादित्यशर्माया¹⁰ उदकातिसर्गेनोच्छ्रष्ट¹¹ [1*] यतोस्याप्मद्वज्ज¹² रन्यैर्व्यागामिभोगपति-
मि[1*] अय-

¹ The expression *udak-ātisarggān(y)=ūcchhṛi(tsi)shṭan* in l. 1 evidently qualifies some word like *kṣhṭram* (a field).

² If the year is applied as current, the date would correspond to the 26th April 640 A. C. For the *pūrṇimānta* Vaiśākha the dates would correspond to the 16th April, 641 A. C. and the 28th March 640 A. C. respectively.

³ Below, Nos. 19 and 20.

⁴ *I. N. I.*, p. 161, n. 3.

⁵ Its wording here is also slightly different; for it contains *dinakara-kīraṇ-ābhyarcchana-ratasya* in place of *dinakara-charaṇ-ārcchana-ratasya* which occurs in the sign-manual of Dadda II in all his grants.

⁶ See No. 16, l. 51; No. 17, l. 50, No. 19, l. 28 and No. 20, l. 27.

⁷ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. II, p. 21.

⁸ *Ibid.*, Vol. V, p. 38.

⁹ From the facsimile accompanying Mr. H. H. Dhruva's article, facing p. 21, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. II.

¹⁰ Read -शर्मण.

¹¹ Read -सर्गेणोच्छ्रष्टम्.

¹² Read यतोस्मद्वज्ज-

- 2 मस्मादायो¹नुमन्तव्य[ः*] पालयितव्यश्च [1*] यो वाज्ञानतिमिरपटलाग्नित²राच्छिन्धादाच्छिन्ध-
मानं³ वा—
- 3 नुमोदेत⁴ स पञ्चभिर्महापां⁵तकै[ः*] संयुक्तः स्या इत्युक्तञ्च⁶ भगवता वेदव्यासेन व्यासेन
[1*] षष्टिवरिष⁷—
- 4 सहस्राणि स्वर्गो मोदति भूमिदा(दः) [1*] आच्छेत्ता चानुमन्ता च तान्येव नरके वसे[त्⁸ ॥१॥*]
विन्ध्याटवीष्वतोयासु शुष्क—
- 5 कोटरवासिनः[1*] क्रिष्णाह्यो⁹ हि जायन्ते भूमिदानापहारका[ः॥२॥] यानीह दत्तानि
पुरा नरेन्द्रैर्दानानि
- 6 धर्म्मार्त्त्यायशस्करानि¹⁰ [1*] निर्भुक्तमाल्यप्रतिमानि तानि को नाम¹¹ साधु[ः*] पुनरादधीति¹²
[॥३॥*] स्वदत्ता¹³ परदत्तां वा
- 7 यत्नाद्रक्ष युधिष्ठिर [1*] मही¹⁴ महिमतां श्रेष्ठ दाता तु च्छेयो¹⁵नुपालनमिति¹⁶[॥४॥*]
- 8 संवत्सरशतत्रये एकनवत्ये¹⁷ वैशाखशुक्लपञ्चदश्यां सं ३०० ९० १ वैशाख व १० ५ [1*]
- 9 दूतकोत्र भोगिकपालकदुज्जान¹⁸[ः1*] दिनकरकिरणाभ्यर्चनरतस्य स्वहस्तोयं श्रीवीतरागसूनो
- 10 रणग्रहस्य [1*] श्रीदह्पादान्तज्ञा[तं]¹⁹ लिखितमिदं सन्धिविग्रहाधिक्रि(कृ)त²⁰मात्रिभटेन²¹ [॥५॥]

TRANSLATION

(The field.....) has been granted (by us) with a libation of water to the Brāhmaṇa Ādityaśarma. Wherefore, future rulers, whether born in our family or others, should consent to and preserve this our gift. Whoever, with his mind shrouded by the veil of the darkness of ignorance, confiscates it or allows it to be confiscated, shall incur the five great sins!

(Line 3) And it has been declared by the holy Vyāsa who arranged the Vēdas—

¹ Read —मस्मादायो.

² Read —पटलावृतमति—.

³ Read —दाच्छिन्धमानं.

⁴ Read वानुमोदेत.

⁵ The *anusvara* is superfluous.

⁶ Read स्यादिति । उक्तञ्च.

⁷ Read षष्टिं वर्य—.

⁸ Metre of this and the next verse: *Anushtubb*.

⁹ Read कुष्णाह्यो.

¹⁰ Read धर्म्मार्त्त्ययशस्कराणि.

¹¹ Read नाम.

¹² Read पुनरादधीत. Metre: *Indravajrā*.

¹³ Read स्वदत्तां.

¹⁴ Read महीं. .

¹⁵ Read दानाच्छेयो—.

¹⁶ Read —नुपालनम् ॥ इति. Metre: *Anushtubb*.

¹⁷ Read एकनवत्यधिके.

¹⁸ Mr. Dhruva read भोगिकपालकदुज्जान [ः*], but the correct reading given above was first pointed out by Dr. Bühler in *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. V, p. 39.

¹⁹ These eight aksharas are in current-hand characters. Mr. Dhruva read them as श्रीदह्पादान्तज्ञाति and proposed the emendation—पादान्तज्ञाति. Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar proposed to read. —पादान्तज्ञाति[ना*] and to construe it as an epithet of Mātṛibhāṭa. (See his *Inscriptions of Northern India*, p. 161, n. 3). I would suggest श्रीदह्पादानुज्ञातम्. Compare श्रीपृथिवीवल्लभमहारानुज्ञातेन in the Goā plates of Satyāśraya Dhruvarāja Indravarman in *J. B. B. R. A. S.*, Vol. X (Old Series), p. 363.

²⁰ The usual expression is सन्धिविग्रहाधिकरणाधिकृत—.

²¹ Read मातृभटेन.

SANKHEDA PLATE OF RANAGRAHA: (KALACHURI) YEAR 391

2
 4
 6
 8
 10

2
 4
 6
 8
 10

[Here follow four benedictive and imprecatory verses.]

(L. 8) In the year three hundred (*increased by*) ninety-one, on the fifteenth (*tithi*) of the dark (*fortnight*) of Vaiśākha, (*in figures*) the year 300 (*and*) 90, (*the month*) Vaiśākha, the dark (*fortnight*), (*the lunar day*) 10 (*and*) 5.

The *dātaka* of this (*grant*) is the *Bhōgikapālaka* Dujjāna.

This is the sign-manual of Raṇagraha, the son of the illustrious Vitarāga, who is devoted to the worship of the sun.

(*As*) sanctioned by the feet of the illustrious Dadda (II), this (*order*) has been written by Maṭṭibhaṭṭa who is in charge of (*the Department of*) Peace and War.

NO. 19; PLATE XIII A

SANKHEDA PLATES (FIRST SET) OF DADDA II (PRASANTARAGA): (KALACHURI) YEAR 392.

THESE copper-plates were discovered in 1895 by Mr. Vithal Nagar of Baroda at Saṅkhēḍā in the Baroda District Bombay State. Dr. G. Bühler first published an article in German on them in the *Sitzungsberichte der philos.-histor. Classe der Wiener Akademie*, Vol. CXXXV, No. VIII, and subsequently edited them with photo-lithographs, but without a translation, in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. V, pp., 37 ff. I edit them here from the same lithographs.

They are two plates inscribed on one side only, each measuring 10" by 5½", and contain at the top two holes ¼" in diameter for the rings which must have originally held them together. No ring or seal has, however, been found. The inscription is in a state of excellent preservation. The record consists of twenty-nine lines, of which fourteen are incised on the first and the remaining fifteen on the second plate. The average size of letters is .15".

The characters belong to the western variety of the southern alphabets as in the two cognate sets of Kairā plates. The letters except those of the sign-manual contain small knobs at the top. The letters of the sign-manual, on the other hand, which are in the northern current-hand characters have short horizontal (often curved) strokes at the top. As the present inscription was written by the same officer Rēva who wrote the earlier Kairā grants,¹ its characters, as might be expected, closely resemble those of the latter. Some peculiarities may, however, be noticed here. The medial *ī* is generally cursive as in *didhiti*, l. 4 and *mānini*, l. 6, but its other form consisting of two circles one inside the other occurs in *śimā*-, l. 11. The form of medial *ū* in *vadhū*, l. 2, *paripūrīta*, l. 5, *pūrvva*, l. 6, the like of which rarely occurs in the earlier Kairā grants, that of *h* in *mahattar*-, l. 9 and of the triangular *b* in *bahala*, l. 7, *brahmadēya*, l. 12, etc. are also noteworthy. A final consonant is indicated by a horizontal stroke at the top, see *vasēt*, l. 24. Punctuation is denoted by single or double dots and in some cases by single or double vertical strokes. The symbols for 300, 90, 10, 5 and 2 occur in l. 29.

The language is Sanskrit. The text of the inscription, so far as it goes, is almost² an exact copy of that of the earlier Kairā grants except, of course, in such details as the name and description of the donee, the object of the grant, its date, etc. As regards orthography, we may note in addition to what has already been noticed in

¹ Above, Nos. 16 and 17.

² There are some minor differences e.g., *samanavaganya* in l. 9 of the present record occurs in neither of the Kairā grants.

connection with the Kairā grants, the doubling of *th* after an *anusvāra* in *panitthāḥ*, 1.12 and of *k* before *r* in *yajñādikkriy-*, 11.17-18.

The plates were issued from Nāndipura by Dadda who had obtained the *pañchamahāśabda*. As in the Kairā plates, he calls himself Praśāntarāga, the son of Vitarāga, in his sign-manual. He is, therefore, identical with Dadda II of the Early Gurjara dynasty. Unlike the Kairā plates, the present inscription does not contain any eulogy of his two predecessors—his grandfather Dadda I and his father Jayabhata I-Vitarāga.

The plates record the grant of a field in the village Suvarṇārapalli which was situated in the *viśhaya* of Saṅgamakhēṭaka, requiring for its seed grains one *piṭaka* of paddy by the measure prevalent in that *viśhaya*, together with the usual rights and exemptions. The donee was the Brāhmaṇa Sūrya of the Bharadvāja *gōtra* and the Vājasaneyā Mādhyandina *śākhā*, who had previously emigrated from Daśapura and was then residing at the village Kshīrasara. The grant was made for the purpose of providing for the five great sacrifices and other rites. The donated field was bounded on the east by the junction with the boundary of the village Kshīrasara, on the north by the junction with the boundary of the village Kukkuṭavallikā, on the west by an *agrahāra* field, a banyan tree and a *talāikā* (tank?) and on the south by the way leading to the village Suvarṇārapalli and the junction with (the boundary of) Aṭavīpāṭaka. The plates were written by Rēva, the head of the Department of Peace and War.

The grant is dated both in words and in numerical symbols on the fifteenth tithi of the bright fortnight of Vaiśākha in the year 392. This date must, of course, be referred to the Kalāchuri era. According to the epoch of 248-249 A.C., it would correspond, for the expired year 392, to the 20th April 642 A.C.¹ It does not admit of verification.

As for the localities mentioned in the present inscription, Nāndīpura which is clearly identical with Nāndipurī of the Kairā grants, has already been identified with Nāndōd in the Broach District. Daśapura is Mandasōr in Western Malwā. Saṅgamakhēṭaka, the headquarters of the *viśhaya* named after it, is clearly modern Saṅkhēḍā where the plates were discovered. As Dr. Bühler says, 'Saṅgamakhēṭaka means etymologically 'the village at the confluence (of two rivers), and the Unchh and the Or² join near Saṅkhēḍā. The *viśhaya* or province of Saṅgamakhēṭaka probably included the Saṅkhēḍā Prānt of the Gaikwād's possessions, as well as the neighbouring portion of Rēvākānṭhā Agency, still called Saṅkhēḍā Mēvās'. Of the villages mentioned in the present grant, only two can be identified. Kukkuṭavallikā³ is apparently identical with Kukaḍ, about 8 miles west-south-west of Saṅkhēḍā. Kshīrasara may be Khariākuā, about a mile to the east of Kukaḍ.

TEXT⁴

First Plate

- 1 सिद्धम्⁵ स्वस्ति [1*] नान्दीपुरात्सजलघनपटलनिर्गतंरजनिकरकरावबोधितकुमुदवलयशः—
- 2 प्रतानास्थगितनभोमण्डलोनेकसमरसंकटप्रमुखागतनिहतशत्रुसामन्तकुलवधूप्रभा—

¹ If the year is applied as current, the date would correspond to the 30th April 641 A. C.

² This is called Orsāing in the Survey maps.

³ Dr. Bühler identified this village with Kukreli which, according to him, lies to the east of Saṅkhēḍā; but I have not been able to trace it on the Degree Map, No. 46 F.

⁴ From the photo-lithographs accompanying Bühler's article in *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. V, pp. 37 ff.

⁵ Expressed by a symbol.

- 3 तसमयरुदितच्छलोद्गीयमानविमलनिस्त्रिंशः¹प्रतापो देवद्विजातिगुरुचरणकमलप्रणा—
 4 मोद्घृष्टवज्रमणिकोटिरुचिरदीधितिविराजितमकुटोद्भासितशिराः² दीनानाथातुराभ्या—
 5 गतात्थिजनाकिलष्टपरिपूरितविभवमनोरथोपचीयमानत्रिविष्टपैकसहायधर्मसं—
 6 चयः प्रणयपरिकुपितमानिनीजनप्रणामपूर्वमधुरवचनोपपादितप्रसादप्रकाशी—
 7 कृतविदग्धनागरकस्वभावो विमलगुणकिरणपञ्जराक्षिप्तबहलकलितिमिरनिचयः
 8 समधिगतपञ्चमहाशब्दश्रीदह³कुशली सर्वानेव राजसामन्तभोगिकविषयपतिराष्ट्र—
 9 ग्राममहत्तराधिकारिकादीन्समनुवर्ण्य बोधयत्यस्तु यो विदितमस्माभिः सङ्गमखेटकविप—
 10 यान्तर्गतसुवर्णरिपल्लिग्रामे पूर्वसीमिन् ।⁴ तद्विषयमानेन व्रीहिपिटकवापं क्षेत्रं
 11 यस्याघाटनानि पूर्वतः क्षीरसरग्रामसीमासन्धिः⁵ उत्तरतः कुक्कुटवल्लिकाग्रामसीमासन्धिः
 12 अपरतः ब्रह्मदेयक्षेत्रं वटवृक्षो⁶ । तलाइका च । दक्षिणतः सुवर्णरिपल्लिग्रामगामी पन्थाः⁷
 13 जटवीपाटकग्रामसन्धिश्च ॥ एवमेतच्चतुराघाटनविशुद्धं क्षेत्रं सोद्रङ्गं
 14 सोपरिकरं सर्वदानसंग्राह्यं सर्वदित्यविष्टिप्रातिभेदिकापरिहीणं

Second Plate

- 15 भूमिच्छिद्रन्यायेनाचाटभटप्रावेश्यमाचन्द्रावर्कण्णवक्षितस्थितिसमकालीनं
 16 पुत्रपौत्रान्वयभोग्यं दा(द)शपुरविनिर्गतक्षीरसरग्रामवास्तव्यभरद्वाजसगोत्रवाजि(ज)स—
 17 नेयमाध्यन्दिनसब्रह्मचारिब्राह्मणसूर्याय बलिचरुवैश्वदेवाग्निहोत्रपञ्चमहायज्ञादिक्रि—
 18 योत्सर्पणात्यं मातापित्रोरात्मनश्च पुण्ययशोभिवृद्धयेद्य वैशाखशुद्धपञ्चदश्यामुदकातिसर्गोणा—
 19 तिसृष्टं(ष्टम्) [1*] यतोस्यास्मद्वंश्यैरन्यैर्वा ।⁸ गामिभोगपतिभिः प्रबलपवनप्रेरितोदधिजल—
 20 तरङ्गचञ्चलं
 21 जीवलोकमभावानुगतानसारान्विभवान्दीर्घकालस्थेयसश्च गुणानाकलय्य सामान्यभोगभूष—
 22 दानफलेप्सुभिः शशिकररुचिरं यशश्चिराय चिचीषुभिरयमस्मदायोनुमन्तव्यः पालयितव्यश्च⁹ ।
 23 यो वाज्ञानतिमिरपटलावृतमतिराच्छिन्नादाच्छिद्यमानकं वानुमोदेत स पञ्चभिर्महापातकैः संयुक्तः
 24 स्यादित्युक्तञ्च¹⁰ भगवता वेदव्यासेन व्यासेन । षष्टि वर्षसहस्राणि स्वर्गं तिष्ठति भूमिदः [1*]
 25 आच्छेत्ता चानुम—
 26 न्ता च तान्येव नरके वसेत्¹¹ ॥ [१॥*] वन्व्याटवी¹²ध्वतोयासु शुष्ककोटरवासिनः [1] कृष्णाहयो
 27 हि जायन्ते भूमिदायं हर—
 28 न्ति ये ॥ [२॥*] बहुभिर्वसुधा भुक्ता राजभिः सगरादिभिः [1*] यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य
 29 तदा फलं(लम्) ॥ [३॥*] यानीह तादा¹³
 30 नि पुरा नरेन्द्रैर्दानानि धर्म्मार्थयशस्कराणि [1*] निर्भुक्तमाल्यप्रतिमानि तानि को नाम साधुः
 31 पुनराददीत¹⁴ ॥ [४॥*] स्वद—

¹ Read निस्त्रिंशः—

² This *visarga* should have been dropped.

³ Read बोधयति । अस्तु.

⁴ This mark of punctuation is superfluous.

⁵ Read सन्धिरुत्तरतः. *Sandhis* have not been made in several other places also.

⁶ Read वटवृक्षस्तलाइका च. The marks of punctuation in this and the next line are superfluous.

⁷ Read पन्थाः. The superscript letter of the second *akshara* is clearly *t*.

⁸ The mark of punctuation is superfluous here. Read. —अन्यैर्वागामि—

⁹ Read पालयितव्यश्च.

¹⁰ Read स्यादिति । उक्तञ्च.

¹¹ Metre of this and the next two verses: *Anuṣṭubh*.

¹² Read विन्व्याटवी—

¹³ Read दत्तानि.

¹⁴ Metre: *Indravajrā*.

- 27 तां परदत्तां वा यत्नाद्रक्ष युधिष्ठिर । महीं महिमतां श्रेष्ठ दानाच्छ्रेयोनुपालनमिति¹ [11*]
संवत्सरशतत्रये
28 द्विनवत्यधिके वैशाखशुद्धपञ्चदश्यां स्वमुखान्नया लिखितमिदं सन्धिविग्रहकरणाधिकृतरेवेण
29 सं ३०० ९० २ वैशाख शु. १० ५ [1*] दिनकरचरणार्चनरतस्य श्रीवीतरागसूनोः स्वहस्तोयं
श्रीप्रशान्तरागस्य [11*]

TRANSLATION

(For a translation of lines 1-8, see above, p. 65.)

(Line 9) "Be it known to you ! For the increase of the religious merit and fame of (Our) mother and father and of Ourselves, We have granted with a libation of water to-day, on the *fifteenth (tithi)* of the *bright fortnight* of *Vaiśākha*, the field on the eastern boundary of the village *Suvarṇārapalli* situated in the *vishaya* of *Śaṅgamakhēṭaka*, requiring a *pīṭaka* of paddy for its seed grains, whose boundaries are—on the east the junction with the boundary of the village *Kshīrasara*, on the north the junction with the boundary of the village *Kukkuṭavallikā*, on the west a field donated to a *Brāhmaṇa*, a banyan tree and a *talāikā* (tank ?), (and) on the south the way leading to the village *Suvarṇārapalli*—the field marked clearly with these four boundaries, together with *udraṅga* and *uparikara* inclusive of all dues and exempt from all gifts, forced labour (and) special rights,—which is not to be entered by *chāṭas* and *bhaṭas*, according to the maxim of waste land, (and) which is to be enjoyed by a succession of sons and sons' sons as long as the moon, the sun, the ocean, (and) the earth will endure,—to the *Brāhmaṇa* *Sūrya* of the *Bharadvāja gōtra*, a student of the *Vājasaneyā Mādhyandina (śākhā)*, who, having emigrated from *Dāśapura*, (now) resides in the village *Kshīrasara*—for the maintenance of the five great sacrifices (such as) *balī*, *charu*, *vaiśvadeva* (and) *agnihōtra*, and other (religious) rites.

(For a translation of ll. 19-23, see above, p. 66.)

(L. 23) And it has been said by the holy *Vyāsa*, the redactor of the *Vēdas*—

(Here follow five benedictive and imprecatory verses).

(L. 27) In the year three hundred increased by ninety-two, on the *fifteenth (tithi)* of the *bright (fortnight)* of *Vaiśākha*, this (*charter*) has been written, at the command of our mouth, by *Rēva* who is in charge of the Department of Peace and War. The year 300 (and) 90 (and) 2, (the month) *Vaiśākha*, the *bright (fortnight)*, (the *lunar day*) 10 (and) 5. This is the sign-manual of the illustrious *Praśāntarāga*, the son of the illustrious *Vītarāga*, who is devoted to the feet of the sun.

No. 20 ; PLATE XIII B

SANKHEDA PLATES (SECOND SET) OF DADDA II (PRASANTARAGA) :
(KALACHURI) YEAR 392

THESE plates were, like the preceding, discovered in 1895 by Mr. Vithal Nagar of Baroda at *Saṅkhēḍā* in the Barodā District of the Bombay State. Dr. Bühler first published an article in German on them in the *Sitzungsberichte der philos.-histor. Classe der Wiener Akademie*, Vol. CXXXV, No. VIII, and subsequently edited them with photo-lithographs, but without a translation, in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. V, pp. 37 ff. I edit them here from the same lithographs.

¹ Read -नुपालनम् ॥१॥ इति. Metre: *Anuṣṭubh*.

A.—SANKHEDA PLATES (FIRST SET) OF DADDA II (PRASANTARAGA): (KALACHURI) YEAR 392

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They are two copper-plates, each being inscribed on one side only and measuring 10" by 6". They contain at the top two round holes, about $\frac{1}{4}$ " in diameter, for the rings which must have held them together. But no ring or seal, if there was any, was discovered. The inscription is in a state of excellent preservation. The record consists of twenty-nine lines, of which fourteen are inscribed on the first and the remaining fifteen on the second plate. The average size of letters is .15".

The characters are of the western variety of the southern alphabets, and resemble those of the last grant which, as we shall see, was written by the same writer and on the same day. Still, curious as it might appear, there are some minor differences in their characters. For instance the medial (long) *r̄* is generally cursive in the preceding record, while its prevailing form in this grant consists of two circles one inside the other; see *prakāśikṛita*, 1.6, *Kshīrasara*, 1.9, etc.; in the former record *th* was marked by a notch in the base in all cases, while in this it generally appears with a ringlet in its loop, though the notched form also occurs sporadically; as instances of the former type, see *dīn-ānāth*-, 1.4, *manōrath*-, 1.5, etc., and of the latter, see *dharm-ūrttha*-, 1.24; *b* was generally triangular in the preceding grant, but is rectangular almost everywhere in this; see e.g., *kar-āvabōdhita*, 1.1, *bahala*, 1.7, etc. The sign-manual is in the northern current-hand characters as in other inscriptions of Dadda II. The language is Sanskrit and the text is almost¹ an exact copy of the preceding record, differing chiefly in respect of the object of the grant. The orthography shows the same peculiarities as in the preceding grant, for both the records were written by the same scribe. One additional peculiarity may, however, be noticed here, *viz.* the doubling of the sibilant *ś* after *r* in *samanudarśśayaty*-, against Pāṇini, VIII, 4, 49.

The plates were issued from Nāndīpura by Dadda who had acquired the *pañchama-hāśabda* and who calls himself *Prasāntarāga*, the son of *Vitarāga* in his sign-manual. He is, therefore, identical with Dadda II of the Early Gurjara dynasty. The inscription records the grant of a field requiring as seed grains ten *prasthas* of paddy by the larger measure. The field was situated on the south-western boundary of the village *Kshīrasara* in the *vishaya* of *Śaṅgamakhēṭaka*. The donee was the same as in the preceding grant, *viz.* the Brāhmaṇa *Sūrya* of the *Bharadvāja gōtra* and the *Vājasaneyā-Mādhyandina śākhā*, who had emigrated from the town of *Daśapura* and was then residing at *Kshīrasara*. The present grant was made for the same purpose and on the same day as the preceding and as stated already, the scribe was also the same, *viz.*, the *Sāndhivigrahika Rēva*. One additional detail which does not occur in any other grant of Dadda II is the mention of the *dūtaka* *Karka* who, like the *dūtaka* of *Raṇagraha*'s grant, bore the title *Bhōgika-pālaka*.

The date of the record, *viz.*, the fifteenth tithi of the bright fortnight of *Vaiśākha* in the year 392 is given both in words and in numerical symbols. It would correspond, for the expired Kalachuri year 392, to the 20th April 642 A.C. as stated before.² It does not admit of verification.

The geographical names *Nāndīpura*, *Daśapura*, *Śaṅgamakhēṭaka* and *Kshīrasara* have already been identified.³

¹ As minor differences may be noted *samanudarśśayaty=astu* of the present record in place of *samanavarjya bōdhayaty=astu* etc. in line 9 of the last grant, and *sa-śībaram* in line 12, nothing corresponding to which occurs in the last grant. The present inscription again mentions a *dūtaka* who does not figure in any other grant of Dadda II.

² See above, p. 76 and n. 1.

³ See above, p. 76.

TEXT¹

First Plate

- 1 सिद्धम्² स्वस्ति [1*] नान्दीपुरात्सजलघनपटलनिर्गतं रजनिकरकरावबोधितकुमुदधवलयशःप्रता-
नास्थगि-
- 2 तनभोमण्डलोनेकसमरसङ्घटप्रमुखागतनिहतशत्रुसामन्तकुलवधूप्रभातसमयरुदितच्छलो-
- 3 द्गीयमानविमलनिस्त्रिंश³प्रतापो देवद्विजातिगुरुचरणकमलप्रणामोद्धृष्टवज्रमणिका(को)-
- 4 टिरुचिरदीर्घति⁴विराजितमुकुटोद्भासितशिराः दीनानाथातुराभ्यागतात्थिजनाकिलष्टपरिपूरित-
- 5 विभवमनोरथोपचीयमानत्रिविष्टपैकसहायधर्मसंचयः प्रणयपरिकुपितमानिनी-
- 6 जनप्रणामपूर्वमधुरवचनोपपादितप्रसादप्रकाशीकृतविदग्धनागरकस्वभावो विमल-
- 7 गुणकिरणपञ्जराक्षिप्तबहलकलितमिरनिचयः समधिगतपञ्चमहाशब्दश्रीदह⁵कुशली
- 8 सर्वानिव राजसामन्तभोगिकविषयपतिराष्ट्रग्राममहत्तराधिकाधिकादी⁶न्समनुदर्शयत्यस्तु
- 9 वो विदितमस्माभिः सङ्गमखेटकविषयान्तर्गतक्षीरसरग्रामा⁷परदक्षिणसीम्न⁸ बृह-
- 10 न्मानेन ब्रीहिदशप्रस्थवापं क्षेत्रं यस्य पूर्वतस्सन्धौ अङ्गोल्लवृक्षः उत्तरतः शाकवृक्षः
- 11 वटवृक्षश्च ॥ अपरतः खदिरवदरिवृक्षौ⁹ । दक्षिणतः श[त्म्¹⁰]ली । भूतवटश्चैवमेतच्चतु-
- 12 राघाटनविशुद्धं सशीवरं¹¹ सोद्रङ्गसोपरिकरं सर्वदानसंग्राह्यं सर्वदित्यविष्टिप्रा-
- 13 तिभेदिकापरिहीणं भूमिच्छिद्रन्यायेनाचाटभटप्रावेदयमाचन्द्रावर्काण्यवक्षितिस्थितिस-
- 14 मकालीनं पुत्रपौत्रान्वयभोग्यं दशपुरविनिर्गतक्षीरसरनिवासिभरद्वाज-

Second Plate

- 15 सगोत्रवाजसनेयमाध्यन्दिनसब्रह्मचारिब्राह्मणसूर्याय बलिचरुवैश्वदे-
- 16 वाग्निहोत्रहवन¹²पञ्चमहायज्ञादिविजयोत्सर्पणात्वं (त्वं) मातापित्रोरात्मनश्च पुण्ययशोभिवृद्धये
- 17 वैशाखपौर्णमास्यामुदकातिसर्गोणातिसृष्टं (ष्टम्) [1*] यतोस्यास्मद्वयैरन्यैर्विगामिभोगपति-
- 18 भिः प्रबलपवनप्रेरितोदधिजलतरंगचञ्चलं जीवलोकमभावानुगतानसारान्वीभवा¹³-
- 19 न्दीर्घकालस्थेयसश्च गुणानाकलय्य सामान्यभोगभूप्रदानं¹⁴ फलेप्सुभिः शशिकररुचिरं
- 20 यशश्चिराय चिचीषुभिरयमस्मद्वायोनुमन्तव्यः पालयितव्यश्च । यो वाज्ञानतिमिरपटला-
- 21 वृतमतिराच्छिन्वादाच्छिद्यमानकं वानुमोदेत स पञ्चभिर्महापातकैस्सयुक्तस्स्यादित्युक्त¹⁵-
- 22 ञ्च भगवता वेदव्यासेन व्यासेन । षष्टिवर्षसहस्राणि स्वर्गे तिष्ठति भूमिदः [1*] आच्छेत्ता

¹ From the photo-lithographs accompanying Dr. Bühler's article in *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. V, pp. 37 ff.

² Expressed by a symbol.

³ Read निस्त्रिंश-

⁴ The engraver at first incised *ni* which was later on altered to *ti*.

⁵ Read -धिकाधिकादीन्समनुदर्शयति । अस्तु.

⁶ The engraver at first incised ग्रामो, but later on altered it to ग्रामा- by cancelling the *mātrā* on *mā*.

⁷ Read सीम्न.

⁸ Read -वदरीवृक्षौ.

⁹ The subscript *m* of *Ima* is not completely incised. The mark of punctuation, which follows, is superfluous.

¹⁰ I am not certain about the correct form of this technical term which so far as I know, occurs only in the Palitānā plates of Dhruvasēna I (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XVII, p. 107) in the form, *sa-Jaibaram*. There also it is an adjective of some word like *kshētram* which is omitted by mistake. M. Williams gives *Sibira* in the senses of a royal camp, a tent, an entrenchment for the protection of an army, a kind of grain, but none of these meanings would suit here. Perhaps it means 'a farm-house'.

¹¹ The word हवन does not occur in the corresponding portion of the last grant.

¹² Read विभवा-

¹³ Read प्रदानफलेप्सुभिः.

¹⁴ Read -संयुक्तस्स्यादिति । उक्तञ्च.

- 23 चानुमन्ता च तान्येव नरके वसेत्¹ ॥ [१॥*] बहुभिर्व्वसुधा भुक्ता राजभिस्सगरादिभिः [१*]
यस्य यस्य
- 24 यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फलं (लम्) ॥ [२॥*] यानीह दत्तानि पुरा नरेन्द्रैर्दानानि धर्मार्थ-
यशस्कराणि [१*]
- 25 निर्भुक्तमाल्यप्रतिमानि तानि को नामसाधुः पुनराददीत² ॥ [३॥*] स्वदत्तां परदत्तां वा यत्ताद्र-
क्ष युधिष्ठिर । महि (ही) महिमतां श्रेष्ठ दानाच्छेयोनुपालनं (नम्)³ ॥ [४॥*] इति [१*] संवत्सर-
शतत्रये द्विनवत्यधि-
- 27 के वैशाखपौर्णमास्यां भोगिकपालककवकंदूतकं लिखितं सान्धिविग्रहिकरेवेण स्वमुखाजयेति [॥*]
28 सं ३०० ९० २ वैशाख शु १० ५ [॥*] दिनकरचरणाच्चैरनरतस्य श्रीवीतरागसूनोः स्वहस्तोयं
श्रीप्रशा-
- 29 न्तरागस्य ॥

TRANSLATION

(For a translation of lines 1-7, see above, p. 65.)

(Line 8) "Be it known to you! For the increase of the religious merit and fame of (Our) mother and father and of Ourselves, We have granted with a libation of water, on the full-moon day of Vaiśākha, the field on the south-eastern border of the village Kshīrasara situated in the *vishaya* of Saṅgamakhēṭaka, requiring for its seed-grains ten *prasthas*⁴ of paddy by the larger measure—on the eastern boundary of which (*there is*) an *Ankōlla* tree,⁵ on the north a *Sāka* tree⁶ and a Banyan tree, on the west a *Khadira*⁷ and a *Badarī* (jujube) tree, on the south a *Sālmali*⁸ (*tree*), and a haunted Banyan tree—(*the field*) marked clearly with these four boundaries together with *śibara* (a farm-house?), *ud-rāṅga* and *uparikara*, inclusive of all dues, and exempt from all gifts, forced labour, (*and*) special rights—which is not to be entered by *chāṭas* and *bhaṭas*, according to the maxim of waste land, (*and*) which is to be enjoyed by a succession of sons and sons' sons as long as the moon, the sun, the ocean (*and*) the earth will endure—to the Brāhmaṇa Sūrya of the Bharadvāja *gōtra*, a student of the Vājasaneyya Mādhyandina *śākhā*, who, having emigrated from Daśapura, (*now*) resides in the village Kshīrasara—for the maintenance of the five great sacrifices (*such as*) *bali*, *charu*, *vaiśvadēva* (*and*) offerings in *agnihōtra*, and other (*religious*) rites.

(For a translation of ll. 17-21, see above, p. 66.)

(L. 21) And it has been said by the holy Vyāsa the redactor of the Vēdas—

(Here follow four benedictive and imprecatory verses).

(L. 26) In the year three hundred increased by ninety-two on the full-moon day of Vaiśākha, (*this charter*), the *dūtaka* of which is the *Bhōgikapālaka* Karka, has been written at the command of Our mouth by the *Sāndhivigrahika* Rēva.

The year 300 (*and*) 90 (*and*) 2, (*the month*) Vaiśākha, the bright (*fortnight*), (*the lunar day*) 10, (*and*) 5. This is the sign-manual of the illustrious Praśāntarāga, the son of the illustrious Vītarāga, who is devoted to the feet of the sun.

¹ Metre of this and the next verse: *Anuṣṭubh*.

² Metre: *Indravajrā*.

³ Metre: *Anuṣṭubh*.

⁴ *Prastha* is a measure of capacity, being equal to four *kuḍavas*.

⁵ 'Alangium Hexapetalum' (M. W.)

⁶ 'Acacia Sirissa' (*Ibid*).

⁷ 'Acacia Catachu' (*Ibid*).

⁸ The Seemul or Silk-cotton tree.

No. 21; PLATE XIV

NAVSARI PLATES OF JAYABHATA III : (KALACHURI) YEAR 456

THESE plates were found during excavation of some foundations at Navsāri, the chief town of the Navsāri *Prānt* of the Surat District, Bombay State. They were brought to notice by Mr. Shariatji Dadabhai Bharuch of Navsāri, who sent them to Pandit Bhagvanlal Indraji. The latter edited them with photozincographed plates and a translation in the *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XIII, pp. 70 ff. They are edited here from the same facsimiles.

They are two copper-plates each measuring 12" by 9". Their edges are fashioned thicker so as to serve as rims for the protection of the writing. A small piece at the top of the proper right-hand side and a large triangular piece with its sides measuring about 4", 3" and 4½" at the bottom of the same side of the second plate have been broken away and lost. This has resulted in the loss of one *akshara* in 1.23 and from one to six *aksharas* in 11.36-43. All the missing letters except those in 1.42 can, however, be conjecturally supplied. The plates are otherwise in a state of good preservation. They have two round holes about ½" in diameter for the rings which must have originally held them together, but the rings and the seal, which must have been on one of them are lost. The record consists of forty-four lines, twenty-two being inscribed on each plate. The average size of letters is .15".

The characters belong to the western variety of the southern alphabets and resemble those of the grants of Dadda II. As regards individual letters, attention may be drawn to the two forms of *ḍ* as in the Kairā plates of K. 380¹—one with a loop and the other with a tail, see *tadāka*-, 11.24 and 28, and to the triangular *th* in *pathak*-, 1.22. *Dh* appears round in *-ādhirōhaṇa*, 1.10 and elongated elsewhere as in *dhārā*-, 1.6; *b* is square in *bahubhir*-, 1.37, round in *bandhu*, 1.15, *bal-ādihikṛita*-, 1.42 and almost triangular like *v*, in *bali*-, 1.21; *ś* shows, instead of the usual horizontal bar, a notch in its right limb, see *ma-hā-śabda* and *kuśali*, both in 1.17. A final consonant is indicated by a horizontal line at the top, see *vasēt* 1.36, or by curve as in *nibaddham* 1.43. Punctuation is expressed by single and double dots as well as by single and double vertical strokes. The numerical symbols for 400, 50 and 6 occur in 1.42. Others for 10 and 5, which must have occurred at the beginning of 1.43, have been lost. The sign-manual at the end is in the northern current-hand characters. Unlike the sign-manual of Dadda II, it shows the bipartite Nāgari form of *y*.

The language is high-flown Sanskrit, containing long compounds and puns and other *alanākāras*. The eulogistic portion is composed on the model of that of the earlier grants of Dadda II (see e.g., the Kairā plates). Except for six benedictive and imprecatory verses at the end, the record is in prose throughout. The Prakrit word *satka* occurs thrice in the formal part defining the boundaries of the donated field. As regards orthographical peculiarities, we may notice the use of the guttural nasal instead of *anusvāra* as in *vaṇṣa* and *nistriṇṣa*, both in 1.6 and the doubling of a consonant after *r* as in *vinirggata* and *chāturvīdyā*, both in 1.19, *pūrvvōttara*, 1.22 etc. The marks of punctuation appear redundant in many cases in the prose portion of the text.

The plates were issued by the illustrious Jayabhata, the devout worshipper of Mahēśvara, from his camp at Kāyāvatāra. He was born in a family descended from the Mahārāja Karṇa and had attained the *pañchamahāśabda*. The object of the inscription

¹ See above No. 16.

is to record the grant, by Jayabhata, of a field measuring sixty *nivartanas* on the north-east boundary of the village *Śamīpadraka* situated in the *Kōrillā pathaka* (sub-division). Two villages *Golikā* and *Dhāhaddha* are mentioned in connection with the boundaries of the field. The purpose of the gift was, as usual, to provide for the maintenance of the religious rites such as *balli*, *charu*, *vaiśvadēva*, *agnihōtra*, (the reception of) guests etc. The donee was the Brāhmaṇa Dēvasvāmin of the Prāgāyaṇa¹ *gōtra*, a student of the Mādhyandina *śākhā* of the White Yajurveda, who had emigrated from *Girinagara* and was at the time of the grant residing at the *agrahāra* village *Śraddhikā*. The grant was made on the occasion of a lunar eclipse on the fifteenth (tithi) of the bright half of Māgha. It was written by the *Mahābalādhipikṛita Kēśava*, the son of a *Bhōgika* whose name is lost. The *dūtaka* was the *Balādhipikṛita Bāvulla*².

The plates give the following genealogy of the donor—

Dadda.
|
Jayabhata.
|
Dadda-Bāhusahāya.
|
Jayabhata.

The record does not furnish much historical information about these princes. The last two—the second Dadda and the second Jayabhata—were devout worshippers of Mahēśvara and had attained the *pañchamahāśabda*. The former is also said to have attained the biruda of *Bāhusahāya* (he whose arm is the sole helper) by the might of his arm, which he exhibited in the wars with the eastern and western supreme rulers. As these rulers are not mentioned by name, it is not possible to identify them definitely, but the former may be the ruler of Valabhī and the latter the king of Malwa. In connection with the first Dadda in the above list, we have the interesting information, which is supplied for the first time by the present grant, that he attained great fame by giving protection to the lord of Valabhī when he was attacked by the Emperor, the illustrious Harshadēva.

Though the present grant does not specify the dynasty to which these princes belonged, there is no doubt that they belonged to the *Gurjara* lineage; for as Pandit Bhagvanlal pointed out, these names do not occur in any other dynasty.³ In the present record their family is, for the first time, said to have descended from the *Mahārāja Karṇa*. This is evidently in accordance with the tendency of the age to trace the origin of royal families to some mythical or legendary eponymous hero. This *Mahārāja Karṇa* is, therefore, probably identical with the epic hero of that name, the staunch supporter and friend of Duryōdhana, who distinguished himself in the Mahābhārata war.

As shown below, the present grant was made in the Kalachuri year 456. Dadda, the first prince mentioned in it who was the great-grand-father of the donor Jayabhata, was, therefore, probably ruling in the Kalachuri year 381. He is consequently identical with Dadda II—Praśāntarāga whose known dates range from K. 380 to K. 392, i.e., from 629-30 A.C. to 641-42 A.C. This is again confirmed by the statement in the present plates that he was a contemporary of the Emperor Harshadēva who is none other than Harshavardhana of Kanauj (606-647 A.C.). The Gurjara princes mentioned in the present

¹ See below, p. 86, n. 3.

² He is the *dūtaka* mentioned in the Anjanēri plates also of the same king. See line 39 of No. 22, below.

³ One Dadda is mentioned in the Jōdhpur inscription of the Pratihāra Bāuka (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 91). As shown by Dr. R. C. Majumdar, he was probably identical with Dadda I and flourished about 575 A. C.

grant are, therefore, Dadda (II)-Prasāntarāga, his son Jayabhāṭa (II), his son Dadda (III)-Bāhusahāya, and his son Jayabhāṭa (III) who made the present grant.

As stated above, the grant recorded on the present plates was made on the occasion of a lunar eclipse on the full-moon day of Māgha. The year is given in words in 1.41 as 456 of an unspecified era. There is, however, no doubt that like the dates of the other grants of the Early Gurjaras, this date is to be referred to the Kalachuri era. The charter was written on the same day on which the grant was made. The date of its recording was expressed by numerical symbols in 11.42 and 43. The symbols which occur at the end of 1.42 give the year 456 as the year of recording, but the name of the month, and the lunar fortnight as well as the symbols for the *tithi*, which were incised in the beginning of 1.43, are lost owing to the breaking off of the left-hand corner of the second plate. The name of the week-day is also lost, as only the letters *vāre* can be read with certainty in the beginning of the preserved portion of 1.43. The *akshara* which preceded *vā* of *vāre* is also partially broken away, but what remains of it shows that it was *ma* and, therefore, the day was either *Sōma* Monday or *Bhauṃa* Tuesday. Assuming that the charter was made *nibaddha* on the same day on which the grant was made as in the case of the Kāvī plates¹ of Jayabhāṭa IV, Bhagvanlal and Fleet conjectured that Māgha śu. di. 15, Monday (or Tuesday) of the year 456 was the date of the grant. Cunningham found by calculation that with the epoch of 249-250 A.C., the full moon day of Māgha of the Chēdi (or Kalachuri) year 456² fell on Tuesday, the 2nd February 706 A.C., on which day there was a lunar eclipse³ as stated in the grant. This is, therefore, the date of the grant.

As for the geographical names occurring in the present grant, Pandit Bhagvanlal⁴ identified Kāyāvatāra, the site of the royal camp, with Kāvī in the Jambusar *tāluka* of the Broach district; but, as pointed out by Bühler⁵, Kāvī does not phonetically correspond to Kāyāvatāra; besides, the old name of Kāvī was Kāpikā which is mentioned in the Kāvī plates of the Gujarat Rāshtrakūṭa prince Gōvinda⁶. Dr. Bühler at first took the place-name to signify the incarnation of a son or descendant of *Ka* or Prajāpati, and thought that Kāyāvatāra was a place of pilgrimage on the Narmadā⁷. Later on he identified it with Kārwan (lat. 20° 3' N. and long. 73° 10' E.) which he connected philologically with Kāyāvatāra (the village possessing the Kāya manifestation⁸). It seems better to derive Kārwan from Kāyāvarōhaṇa⁹ which conveys the same sense as

¹ See below No. 23.

² Cunningham did not state in this connection whether the year was current or expired, but from his remarks in *A. S. I. R.* Vol. IX, p. 111, it is clear that he took it to be an expired year. Later on, Kielhorn clearly showed in his article 'the Epoch of the Kalachuri or Chēdi Era' that the year was expired according to the epoch A. D. 248-249. (See *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVII, p. 220). This is one of the few verifiable early dates of the era, which come from Western India. It shows that the epoch A. D. 247-248, which Kielhorn deduced later from Kalachuri dates found in the Madhya Pradesh and Central India, does not suit these early dates.

³ According to Von Oppolzer's *Canon der Finsternisse* there was a lunar eclipse on February 2, 706, 16 h. 37 m. Greenwich time or at Lañkā, 9 h. 40 m. P. M. *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVII, p. 220.

⁴ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIII, p. 71.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Vol. XVII, p. 193, n. 36.

⁶ *Ibid.*, Vol. V, p. 147.

⁷ *Ibid.*, Vol. XVII, p. 193, n. 36.

⁸ *Ibid.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 176. In this case also Dr. Bühler derived *Kāya* from *Ka*, Brahman, and supported the derivation by stating that in 'Kārwan the chief deity is Brahmēśvara Mahādēva, which might also be called Kāyēśvara, because *ka* and Brahman are synonyms.'

⁹ There is metathesis here as in Achalapura (Ellichpur) and Vārāṇasi (Benares). Bühler later on accepted the derivation. See *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, p. 274.

Kāyāvatāra, *viṣṭ*, 'the descent in the bodily form' of Śiva and refers to his incarnation as Lakuliṣa, the founder of a Pāśupata sect.¹ Girinagara is the well-known Girnār in Kathiawad. Śraddhikā is Sādhi, 5 miles south by west of Padrā, the head-quarters of the Padrā taluka in the Baroda District. Kōrillā, the headquarters of the *pathaka* (sub-division), in which the donated village was situated, is probably Kōral on the northern bank of the Narmadā 10 m. north-east of Broach. Śamīpadraka is, as shown by Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar², identical with the village of the same name which was given away by the Navsāri plates of Karka-Suvarṇavarsha, for two of the surrounding villages Gōlikā and Dhāhaddha are the same³ in both the grants. In Karka's grant the village is said to be situated in the country between the Mahī and the Narmadā.⁴ From the boundary villages mentioned in it, Śamīpadraka seems to be identical with Sōndārṇ, seven miles south-west of Kārwan and about twelve miles north of the Narmadā. Dhāhaddha is probably Dhāwaṭ two miles to the north of Sōndārṇ. Gōlikā cannot be identified.

TEXT⁵

First Plate

- 1 सिद्धम्⁶ स्वस्ति [१*] श्रीकायावतारवासकात् सतत[ल]क्ष्मीनिवासभूते ।⁷ तृष्णासन्ताप-
हारिणि⁷ । [दि]नतायवि-
- 2 स्तारितानुभावे । द्वि[ज]कुलोपजीव्यमानविभवशालिनि । महति महाराजकर्णान्वये । कमला-
कर इव रा-
- 3 जहंसः प्रबलकलिकालविलसिताकुलित⁸विमलस्वभावो गम्भीरोदारचरितविस्मापितसकललोकपा-
- 4 लमानसः परमेश्वरश्रीहर्षदेवाभिभूतबलभीषतिपरित्राणोपजातभ्रमददभ्रशुभ्राभ्रविभ्रम-
- 5 यशोवितानः श्रीदहस्तस्य सूनुरशङ्कतागतप्रणयिजनोपभुक्तविभवसञ्चयोपजीयमानमनो-
- 6 निर्वृतिक(र)नेककण्टकवङ्क्ष⁹संदोहदाहदुर्ललितप्रतापानलो निशित्त(त)निस्त्रिंश¹⁰धारादा[रि]-
तारातिकरि-
- 7 कुम्भमुक्ताफलच्छलोल्लसितसितयशोङ्क्षुका¹¹वगुष्ठितदिग्धवूदनसरसिजः श्रीजयभटस्तस्या[त्म]
जो म-
- 8 हामुनिमनुप्रणीतप्रवचनाधिगमविवेकस्वधर्मानुष्ठानप्रवणि¹²वर्णाश्रमव्यवस्थोन्मूलितसक-
- 9 लकलिकालावलेपः प्रणयिजनमनोरथविषय¹³व्यतीतविभवसंपादनापनीताशेषपार्थिवदाना-

¹ The place is called Kāyāvatāra in the *Liṅga-purāṇa* and Kāyārōbaṇa in the *Vāyu-purāṇa*. (J. Bom. Br. R. A. S., Vol. XXII, p. 154). See also the Ekaliṅgi stone inscription (*loc. cit.* pp. 151 ff.) which mentions it as Kāyāvarōbaṇa and Cintra *prastā* (Ep. Ind., Vol. 1, p. 281) in which it is called Kārōbaṇa.

² J. Bom. Br. R. A. S., Vol. XX, p. 149.

³ Dr. Bhandarkar read the name of one of them as Dhāhadva instead of Dhāhaddha. In the present grant the subscript letter of the last *aksara* is clearly *dh*. For the form of the subscript *r* see *tach-chāturvidya*- 1.19, *pūrvvat* 1.23 etc.

⁴ See *Mahī-Narmad-āntarāladeta-varti-Śamīpadraka-nāmā grāmā* etc. in the Navsāri plates of Karka, J. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. XX, pp. 151 ff.

⁵ From the facsimile accompanying Pandit Bhagvanlal's article in *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIII, pp. 70 ff.

⁶ Expressed by a symbol.

⁷ The mark of punctuation is unnecessary here and in lines 2-34, below.

⁸ The sense requires a reading like विलसितानाकुलित-.

⁹ Read वंश-.

¹⁰ Read निस्त्रिंश-.

¹¹ Read यशोङ्क्षुका-.

¹² Read -प्रवीणो.

¹³ Bhagvanlal read this word as विलय. The horizontal stroke over the top of the middle *aksara* shows that it is *sha*. The reading *visaya* is clear in 1.7 of the Anjaneri plates (No. 22 below).

- 10 भिमानो मदविवशाङ्कुशातिवर्तिकुपितकरिनिवारणप्रथितगुरुगजाधिरोहणप्रभावो [वि]पत्त्रपात-
 11 पतितनरपतिशताभ्युद्धरणनिखिललोकविश्रुतपरोपकारकरणव्यसनः प्राच्यप्र[ती]च्याधिराज-
 12 [वि]जृम्भितमहासंग्रामनरपतिसहस्रपरिवारितानेकगजघटाविघटनप्रकु (क) टितभुज [वीर्यं] वि-
 13 ख्यातबाहुसहायापरनामा । परममाहेश्वरः समधिगतपञ्चमहाशब्दश्रीदहस्तस्य सूनुर-
 14 नेकसमरसंघट्टघनघटितगजघटापाटनपटु[र]सहिष्णुवन[ग]हनदावानलो दीनाना[था]-
 15 तुरसुहृत्स्वजनबन्धुकुमुदाकरकौमुदीनि[शा]करः भागीरथीप्रवाह इव विपक्षक्षोभक्षमः [शान्तनु]-
 16 रिव समुद्भूतकलकलारावमहाबाहिनीपतिः आदिवराह इव स्वभुजबलपराक्रमोद्भूतघ[राघरः
 प-]¹
 17 रममाहेश्वरः समधिगतपञ्चमहाशब्दश्रीजयभटः कुशली । सर्वानेव राजसाम[न्त]भोगिक[वि]षय-
 18 पतिराष्ट्रग्राममहत्तराधिकारिकादीन्समनुदर्शयत्यस्तु² वः संविदितं । यथा मया मातापित्रोरात्म-
 19 नश्चैहिकामुष्मिकपुण्ययशोभिवृद्धये । गिरिनगरविनिर्गतश्रद्धिकाग्रा (ग्र) हारवास्तव्यतच्चातुर्विद्यसा-
 मान्य-
 20 प्रावायन³सगोत्रवाज[स]नेय⁴माध्यन्दिनस[त्र]ह्यचारिब्राह्मणदत्तपुत्र[त्रा]ह्मणदेवस्वामिने ।
 अस्मत्कु-
 21 तप्रकाशनामकल्लुम्बराय । बलिचरुवैश्वदेवाग्निहोत्रातिथिपञ्चमहायज्ञा[दि]क्रियोत्सर्पणा-
 22 त्थं । कोरिल्लापयकान्तर्गतशमीपद्रकग्रामे [पू]र्वोत्तरसीम्नि । चतुष्पष्टिभूनिवर्तनप्रमाणं

Second Plate

- 23 [क्षे*][त्रं] । यस्याघाटनानि पूर्वतो गोलिकाग्रामसीमासन्धिः⁵ दक्षिणतो यमलखल्लराभिधा-
 24 नतडाकं । तथा महत्तरमाहेश्वरसत्कक्षेत्रं ॥ नापितदेवकसत्कवापकक्षेत्रञ्च । अपरतः शमी-
 25 पद्रकग्रामादेव घाहृद्धग्रामयायी पन्थाः उत्तरतो बरुटखल्लराभिधानं तडाकं । तथा
 26 कोरिल्लावासिब्राह्म[ण]नर्मसत्क[त्र]ह्यदेयक्षेत्रञ्च । एवमिदं चतुराघाटनोपलक्षितक्षेत्रं ।
 सोद्रङ्गं । सोप-
 27 रिकरं । सभूतपातप्रत्यायं⁶ । सधान्यहिरण्यादेयं । सदशाप[रा]धं सोत्पद्यमानविष्टी (ष्टि)-
 कं । गृहस्थावरचल-
 28 क । रथ्या । प्रवेश । निर्गम । सं[च]र । चतुष्पदा (द) प्रचार । वापी । कूप । तडाक ।
 पद्रोपजीव्यसमेतं ॥ सर्वरा-
 29 [जकी]यानामहस्तप्रक्षेप[णी]यं पूर्वप्रतदेवब्रह्मदायरहितं । भूमिच्छिद्रन्यायेनाचन्द्रावर्काण-
 30 वक्षितिस[रि]त्यर्व्वतसमकालीनं । पुत्रपौत्रान्वयक्रमोपभोग्यमद्य माघशुद्धपञ्चदश्या । चन्द्रोप-
 31 रागे । पुण्यतिथावुदकातिसर्गोणं ब्रह्मदायत्वेन प्रतिपादितं (तम्) । यतोस्योचितया । ब्र-
 [ह्मदा]-

¹ The letters in the bracket are very indistinct. Pandit Bhagvanlal read them as -रणिः प, but the space is certainly too much for three *aksharas*. Read -राघरः प- as in the Anjaneri and Prince of Wales Museum plates. (Below, Nos. 22 and 24).

² Read -न्समनुदर्शयति । अस्तु.

³ Pandit Bhagvanlal read *Shrāvāyana* and proposed to alter it to *Brāhmnāyana*. The *Gotra-pravara-nibandha-kadamba* gives *Prāgāyana* as a *gotra*, which is perhaps the nearest substitute that can be adopted here. For the confounding of *v* and *g*, see *gabana* in l. 14 which appears to have been incised as *vabana*.

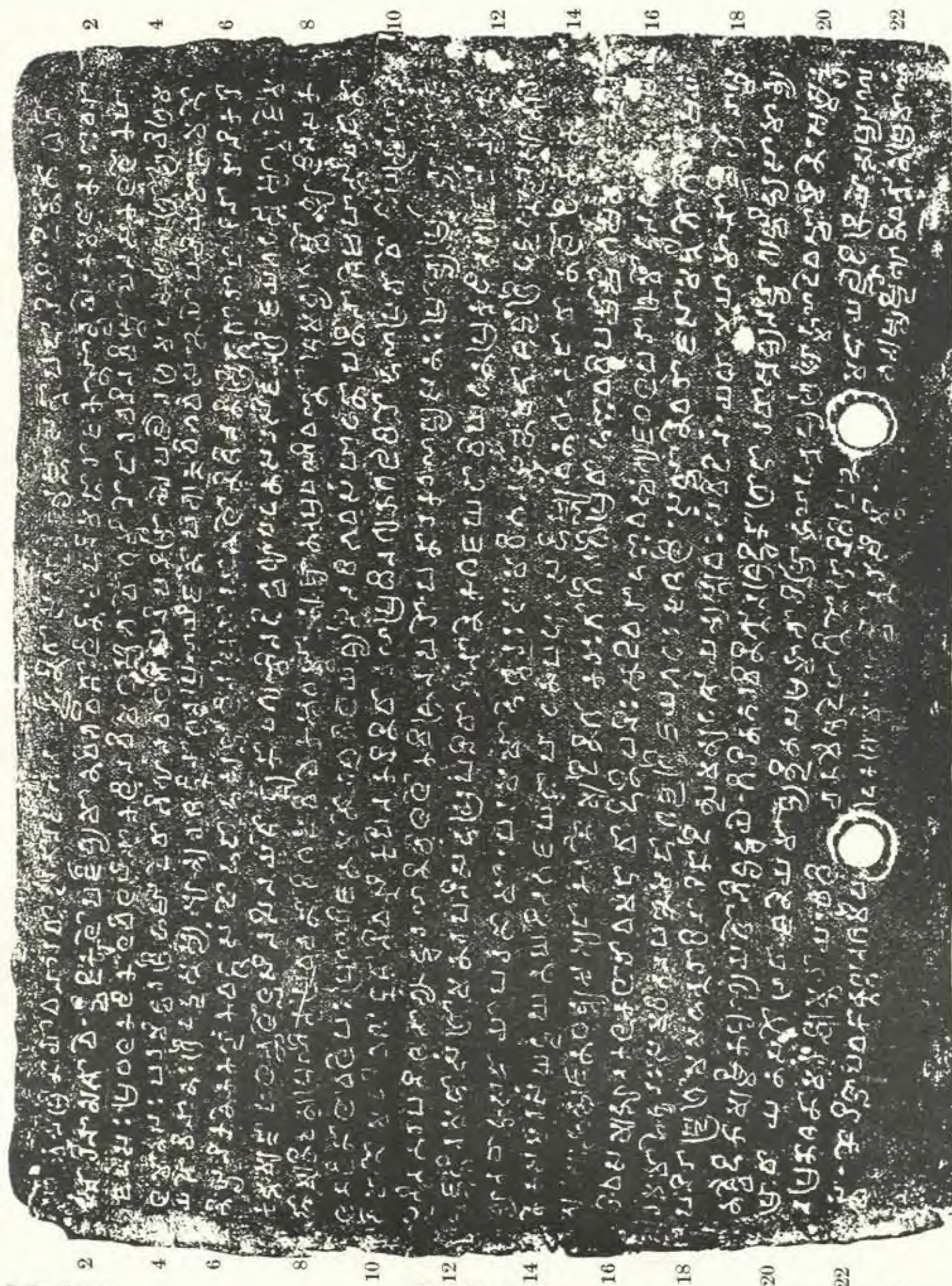
⁴ The engraver first omitted *sa* of *Vājasanīya*. As there was then no space between *ja* and *nē* for engraving the *akshara sa*, he incised another *ja* between *vā* and *ja* and tried to correct the original *ja* into *sa*.

⁵ Here and in some places below, the rules of *sandhi* have not been observed.

⁶ This expression generally occurs as *समूतवातप्रत्यायं* in inscriptional records.

⁷ Pandit Bhagvanlal read *sagara* which gives no satisfactory meaning.

NAVSARI PLATES OF JAYABHATA III: (KALACHURI) YEAR 456



11. $(\mathbb{Z}/2\mathbb{Z}) \times (\mathbb{Z}/2\mathbb{Z}) \times (\mathbb{Z}/2\mathbb{Z})$

- 32 यस्वित्या भुञ्जतः कृषतः कर्षयतः प्रतिदिशतो वा न कैश्चिद्वासेधे वर्तितव्यमागामिभद्रनृ-
 33 पतिभिरस्मद्वंश्यैरन्यैर्व्वयिमस्मदायोनुमन्तव्यः पालयितव्यश्च । यश्चाज्ञानतिमिरपटला-
 34 वृतमतिराच्छिन्नादाच्छिद्यमानं वानुमोदेत । स पञ्चभिर्महापातकैः सोपपातकैः संयुक्तः स्या-
 दित्यु¹-
 35 क्तञ्च भगवता वेदव्यासेन व्यासेन । षष्टि वर्षसहस्राणि स्वर्गं तिष्ठति भूमिदः । आच्छेत्ता
 चानुमन्ता
 36 [च*]² तान्येव नरके वसेत् ॥³ [१॥*] विन्ध्याटवीष्वतोयासु शुष्ककोटरवासिनः । कृष्णाहयो
 हि जायन्ते भूमिदा-
 37 [यं ह*]रन्ति ये । [२॥*] बहुभिर्व्वंसुधा भुक्ता (क्ता) राजभिः सगरादिभिः । यस्य यस्य यदा
 भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फ[लं](लम्) ॥ [३॥*]
 38 [अग्नेर*]पत्यं प्रथमं सुवर्णं भूर्व्वेणवी सूर्य्यंसुताश्च गावः । लोकत्रयं तेन भवेत्तु दत्तं यः काञ्चनं गां
 39 [च महीञ्च*] दद्यात्⁴ ॥ [४॥*] यानीह दत्तानि पुरा नरेन्द्रैर्दानानि धर्म्मार्त्थयशस्कराणि ।
 निर्व्वृत्तमाल्यप्रतिमा-
 40 [नि तानि को*] नाम साधुः पुनराददीत ॥ [५॥*] स्वदत्तां परदत्तां वा यत्नाद्रक्ष युधिष्ठिर ।
 महीं मतिमतां श्रेष्ठ
 41 [दानाच्छ्रेयोनु*]पालनं (नम्)⁵ ॥ [६॥*] संवत्सरशतचतुष्टये षट्पञ्चाशदुत्तरके माघशुद्धपञ्चदश्यां
 लिखितमिदं
 42 [.....]भोगिकपुत्रमहाबलाधिकृतके[शवेनेति] ॥ बलाधिकृतबाबुल्लदूतकं ॥ सं ४००
 ५० ६
 43 [माघ⁶ शु १० ५ भौ* ?][म]वारे निबद्धम् ॥
 44 स्वहस्तो मम श्रीजयभटस्य ॥

TRANSLATION

Success ! Hail ! From the camp at the famous Kāyāvatāra—

In the great lineage of the *Mahārāja Karṇa* which, like a lake full of lotuses⁷, has become the perpetual abode of Lakshmi; which (*by its charity*) allays the suffering caused by desire for wealth (*as the lake does by quenching the thirst for water*); which has its greatness enhanced by the sun; which shines with prosperity which affords support to the families of Brāhmaṇas (*as the lake does by giving shelter to multitudes of birds*), (*there was*), like a swan, the illustrious **Dadda (II)** whose pure disposition was not affected by the freaks of the powerful Kali age; who by his inscrutable and noble deeds excited the wonder of all the guardians of the world;⁸ who had a canopy of glory, possessing the grace of a moving large and white cloud, which had sprung from his protection of the king of Valabhī when he was attacked by the Emperor, the illustrious **Harshadēva**.

¹ Read स्यादिति । उक्तञ्च.

² The letters in this and other square brackets in the beginning of ll. 36-41 which are broken away have been supplied from the corresponding portions of cognate records.

³ Metre of this and the next two verses: *Anuṣṭubh*.

⁴ Metre of this and the next verse: *Indravajrā*.

⁵ Metre: *Anuṣṭubh*.

⁶ The *akṣaras* and numerical figures in the bracket have been supplied conjecturally with the help of the passage in l. 41. The name of the week day must have been either *Sōma* or *Bhauṃa* as the *akṣara ma* is partially visible.

⁷ The adjective *trishṇā-santāpa-hāriṇī* shows that *kamalākara* is used here in the sense of 'a lake abounding in lotuses' rather than in that of 'a group of lotuses'.

⁸ These are Indra, Agni, Yama, Sūrya, Varuṇa, Vāyu, Kubēra and Sōma.

(Line 5) His son (*was*) the illustrious Jayabhata (II), the joy of whose mind was heightened as his stores of wealth were enjoyed by supplicants who fearlessly approached him; whose valour was too much fondled by the destruction of the families of many foes, as fire is by the burning of a mass of thorns and bamboos; (*and*) who covered the lotus-like faces of the damsels that were the regions, with the shining white garment of his fame in the guise of the pearls from the frontal globes of the elephants of his enemies, cleft by the sharp edge of his sword.

(L. 7) His son (*was*) the illustrious Dadda (III), who was clever in performing his duty by discrimination acquired by the study of the sacred treatise composed by the great sage Manu and who, by maintaining (*the institutions of*) *varṇas* (castes) and *āśramas* (orders of life), completely uprooted the pride of the Kali age; who annihilated the vanity of all kings by (*spending in charity*) the wealth he had acquired¹, in excess of the desires of (*his*) supplicants; whose valour in mounting mighty elephants became well known through (*his*) holding in check infuriated elephants, which, becoming uncontrollable through rut, had grown restive under the goad; whose habit of (*performing*) acts of benevolence was celebrated throughout the world through his deliverance of hundreds of kings who had fallen under the blow of adversity; whose second name Bāhusahāya (one whose arm is the sole helper) became renowned through the valour of his arm which he exhibited in routing numerous hosts of elephants that surrounded thousands of kings in the great wars fought with the supreme rulers of the east and the west; who was a devout worshipper of Mahēśvara (*and*) attained the *pañchamahāśabda*.

(L. 13) His son, the illustrious Jayabhata (III),—who is clever in destroying the hosts of elephants thickly arrayed in the clash of many battles; who is a wild fire in (*burning*) the forests of the rebellious; who is to the destitute, helpless and distressed people, friends, servants and relatives as the full-moon is to the clusters of lotuses; who is able to confound his adversaries as the current of the Bhāgirathī (*i.e.*, the Gaṅgā) is to undermine the opposite banks; who is the commandant of a large and boisterous army even as Sāntanu was the lord of a great and noisy river (*viz.*, the Gaṅgā); who has rescued kings by the might and valour of his arm, even as the primeval Boar rescued mountains; who is a devout worshipper of Mahēśvara and has attained the *pañchamahāśabda*—being in good health, addresses (*the following order*) to all the kings, feudatories, *Bhōgikas*, heads of *vishayas* the *Mahattaras* and *rāshṭras* and villages:—

(L. 18) “Be it known to you that for the increase of the religious merit and fame in this world and the next of (*My*) mother and father and of Myself, I have today, on the occasion of an eclipse of the moon on the auspicious day of the fifteenth tithi of the bright fortnight of Māgha, granted with a libation of water, as a *brahmadāya*, a field measuring sixty-four *nivartanas* of land on the north-east boundary in the village Śamīpadraka situated in the Kōrillā *pathaka*—the boundaries of which are (*as follows*)—on the east the junction with the boundary of the village Gōlikā; on the south the tank called Yamalakhallara², and the field belonging to the *Mahattara* Mahēśvara and the cultivated field belonging to the barber Dēvaka; on the west, the road that goes to the village Dhāhaddha from the village Śamīpadraka itself; on the north, the tank called Baruṭakhallara and the

¹ *Vibhava-sampādana* in the text is equivalent to *sampādita-vibhava* according to the rule ‘*Bhāvānayanāṁ dravy-ānayanam*.’ Pandit Bhagvanlal translates, ‘by acquiring (again) the wealth that had been spent (*by him*) etc.’

² *Khallara*, according to Pandit Bhagvanlal, is a *dāśī* word meaning a pond. *Yamala* means twins. So the expression seems to denote a tank consisting of twin ponds. An analogous expression, *yamala-vāpī*, occurs in l. 25 of the Dhank plates of Śilāditya I, *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. IX, pp. 237 ff.

brahmadēya field belonging to the Brāhmaṇa Narma residing at Kōrillā—this field thus defined by its four boundaries, together with the *udraṅga*¹ and the *uparikara*, with taxes on things manufactured or imported (*into the village*),² with its income in grain and gold, with (*finer imposed for*) the ten offences³, with the right to forced labour arising therefrom,⁴ with houses, immovables and movables, streets, (*the right to*) ingress, egress (*and*) (*free*) movements, pasture-lands for four-footed animals, step-wells, (*other*) wells, tanks, (*and other*) things necessary for living in the village;⁵ free from the interference of all officers of the state; exclusive of grants previously made to gods and Brāhmaṇas; (*which is*) to be enjoyed according to the maxim of waste land, successively by sons, sons' sons, and their descendants as long as the moon, the sun, the ocean, the earth, rivers and mountains will endure,—to the Brāhmaṇa Dēvasvāmin, who is known by the name Kallumbara which we have given him; (*who is*) the son of the Brāhmaṇa Datta, who belongs to the Prāgāyana *gōtra* (*and*) is a student of the Mādhyandina (*śākhā*) of the Vājasaneyya (*i.e.*, White Yajurveda); who has emigrated from (*the city of*) Girinagara and is *now* residing at the *agrahāra* (*village*) Śraddhikā and belongs to the community of the Chāturvēdins of the place,—for the performance of the five great sacrifices (*viz.*) *balī*, *charu*, *vaśīvadēva*, *agnihōtra*, (*reception of*) guests and such other (*religious*) rites.

(L. 31) Wherefore, none should cause obstruction while he is enjoying (*it*), cultivating (*it*), or causing (*it*) to be cultivated or directing (*others to cultivate it*) in accordance with the rules applicable to *brahmadāya* (*land*). And future gracious kings, whether born in our family or others, should consent to this our gift and preserve it! Whoever with his mind shrouded by the veil of the darkness of ignorance, would confiscate it or allow it to be confiscated, shall incur the five great sins together with the minor sins."

(L. 34) And it has been said by the holy Vyāsa, the redactor of the Vēdas—
(*Here follow six imprecatory and benedictive verses*).

(L. 41) This (*charter*) has been written by the Mahābalādhikṛita Kēśava, the son of the Bhōgika... on the fifteenth (*tithi*) of the bright fortnight of Māgha in the year four hundred increased by fifty-six. The *dūtaka* of this (*charter*) is the Balādhikṛita Bāvulla. This is recorded on [Tuesday] the month [Māgha, the bright fortnight, the lunar day 10 and 5] in the year 400 (*and*) 50 (*and*) 6.

This is the sign-manual of Me, the illustrious Jayabhata (III).

¹ As remarked by Bhagvanlal, some of these rights and privileges are hardly appropriate in the case of the donation of a field.

² As Dr. Altekar has shown (*Rashtrakūṭas and Their Times*, p. 229), *vāta* refers to the articles imported and *bhūta* to those manufactured in the village. The expression sometimes occurs in the form '*bhūt-ōpātta-pratyāya*.' Notice the analogous expression *sa-bāhy-ābhyantar-ādāyanā* 'together with external and internal taxes' in the Ichhāwār plates of Paramardideva. *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXV, pp. 205 ff.

³ These are probably identical with the ten sins enumerated in the *Śukranītisāra* (*adhyāya* 3, *sl.* 6) *viz.*, murder, theft, adultery, slander, harsh language, lying, divulgence of secrets, evil design, atheism and perverseness. The same enumeration occurs in the *Aśtāṅgabhidāya* of Vāgbhata. Cf. also Fleet, *C. I. I.*, Vol. III, p. 189, n. 4.

⁴ Pandit Bhagvanlal omits *sōtpadyamāna* in the translation.

⁵ Pandit Bhagvanlal translates *padr-ōpajīvyā-samētam* by 'with those who live on the skirts of the village.' *Padra*, which often occurs at the end of a village-name, seems to mean a village, here, the people living in the village. The expression seems to convey some miscellaneous rights enjoyed by villagers.

No. 22 ; PLATE XV

ANJANERI PLATES OF JAYABHATA III : (KALACHURI) YEAR 460

THESE plates were discovered in 1936 in the possession of the Shid family of Anjanēri, a village about four miles to the east of Trimbak, the well-known place of pilgrimage in the Nasik District of the Bombay State. They were brought to my notice by Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshit, Director General of Archaeology. I edit the inscription here from the original plates which were kindly sent to me by the Superintendent of Archaeology, Western Circle, Poona.¹

They are two copper-plates each measuring 12.8" in breadth and 9.4" in height. At the top of each plate there are two round holes, .6" in diameter, for two rings which must have originally held them together. One of the rings has since been lost. The ends of the other are soldered into the bottom of a ladle-shaped seal. On the face of the latter, which is roundish and measures about 1.8" in diameter, there appears in relief on a countersunk surface a solar symbol similar to that on the seals of the Kairā plates² of Dadda II, and below it the legend *Śrī-Jayabhata*. The plates, which are inscribed on the inner side only, are in a state of good preservation. Their ends are slightly raised for the protection of the writing. There are thirty-nine lines in all, of which eighteen are inscribed on the first plate, and the remaining twenty-one on the second. The average size of the letters is .15".

The characters belong to the western variety of the southern alphabets and resemble those of the Navsāri plates. The sign-manual of the donor is in the northern characters. As shown below, he is identical with Jayabhata III who granted the Navsāri plates. It is noteworthy, therefore, that the formation of some *aksharas* in the sign-manual of the present grant is different; compare, e.g., the *aksharas* *ma*, *ja*, *bha* and *ṭa* in the two signatures. The grant is written in a careless and cursive hand. Notice, for instance, the cursive form of *li* in *kali* and *-ākulita-*, both in l. 2. Several letters are mis-shapen or incompletely formed owing to the carelessness of either the writer or the engraver. See, e.g., *ś* in *-nistriṇṣa-*, l. 5 and *śrī-Jayabhata-*, l. 6; *m* in *-samudbhūta-*, l. 13 and *kachchhikāmra-*, l. 25, *n* in *-pramāṇam*, l. 27 etc. Many letters appear in varying forms; see, for instance, the form of *ch* in *-charita-*, l. 3 and *-pravachan-*, l. 6; of *th* in *-nātha-*, l. 1, *-manōratha-*, l. 7 and *yathā*, l. 15; of *p* in *-vismāpita-* and *-lōkapāla-*, both in l. 3; of *m* in *-muni-* and *-Manu-*, both in l. 6; of *y* in *-yaśō-*, l. 4, *mayā*, l. 15 and *Vijaḍamba*, l. 24; of *r* in *-nivāraṇa-* and *-guru-*, both in l. 8; of *v* in *iva* and *-vilasit-*, both in l. 2, *-vāsinah* l. 34 etc. Owing to the similarity of *bh*, *g* and *ś*, as well as of *v*, *b* and *dh* it sometimes becomes difficult to say what exactly was intended to be expressed. The *jihvāmūliya* occurs in l. 14. Punctuation, which is redundant in several places, is generally indicated by a single dot, but in metrical passages by single or double vertical strokes. The numerical symbols for 400, 60, 10 and 1 occur in the last line.

The language is Sanskrit. Except for six benedictive and imprecatory verses at the end, the whole record is in prose. The text of the inscription is *mutatis mutandis* identical with that of the Navsāri plates. It shows generally the same orthographical peculiarities. One additional peculiarity noticed here is the doubling of *k* before *t* as in *-samyukta-*, l. 33, and *-nirbhukta*, ll. 36-37, which is in accordance with Pāṇini's rule, VIII, 4, 47.

¹ Since this article was written, the plates have been edited by Messrs. Vats and Diskalkar in the *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXV, pp. 292 ff.

² Nos. 16 and 17, above.

The plates were issued from **Bharukachchha** by the illustrious **Jayabhata**, the devout worshipper of **Mahēśvara**, who had attained the *pañchamahāśabda*. His genealogy is given here exactly as in the **Navsāri** plates, commencing from **Dadda II**. He is, therefore, **Jayabhata III of the Early Gurjara Dynasty**. The object of the present inscription is to record the grant, by **Jayabhata III**, of three pieces of land, measuring sixty *nivartanas* in all, in the village **Tōraṇaka** situated in the *vishaya* of **Nāndīpura**. In connection with their boundaries are mentioned the villages **Jayapura**, **Viddhēraka**, and **Bhūtishōhī** as well as the river **Karillīnī**. The donee was the **Brāhmaṇa Nārāyaṇa**, the son of **Chashtasvāmin**, of the **Śāṇḍilya gōtra** and the **Kauṭhuma śākhā** of the **Chhandōga (Śānavēda)**, who was then residing at **Brahmapurī**. The purpose of the gift was, as usual, to provide for the maintenance of the five great sacrifices, *bali*, *charu*, *vaiśvadeva* and others. The grant was made on the occasion of the **Tulā-saṅkrānti** on the 11th tithi of the dark fortnight of **Āśvayuja**. It was recorded on the same tithi of the dark fortnight of **Āśvayuja** in the year 460 of an unspecified era. The charter was written by the *Balādhikṛita* **Sahabhata**, the son of the *Balādhikṛita* **Durgabhata**. The *Dūtaka* was the same as in the earlier **Navsāri** plates, viz. the *Balādhikṛita* **Bāvulla**.

The tithi on which the grant was made is mentioned in words in l. 30, and that on which it was recorded is expressed by numerical symbols in the last line. The year is mentioned only once, in the last line, and is expressed in numerical symbols only. This makes it doubtful if the dot following the symbol for 60 indicates the number one, or is a redundant punctuation mark. I am inclined to take the latter view, because a similar mark is used throughout in this record to mark punctuation.¹

According to **Kielhorn's** final view, the **Kalachuri-Chēdi** era commenced on **Āśvina** śu. di. 1 (the 5th September) in 248 A.C. and its months were *pūrṇimānta*. Of the early dates of this era, only two² admitted of verification and both of them appeared irregular according to this epoch. It would, therefore, be interesting to see how far **Kielhorn's** conclusion about the epoch of the **Chēdi** era is proved or disproved by the date of the present grant. The statement in the present plates that the **Tulā-saṅkrānti**, on which the grant was made, occurred in the dark half of **Āśvayuja** shows that the month was *amānta*.³ According to **Kielhorn's** final view, the date of the present grant would be expected to fall in 707 A.C. if the **Kalachuri** year 460 was current, and in 708 A.C. if it was expired. But in neither of these years, did the **Tulā-saṅkrānti** fall on the 11th tithi of the dark fortnight of the *amānta* **Āśvina**.⁴ Again, even if we suppose that the **Kalachuri** year began on **Āśvina** śu. di. 1 in 249 A.C. (not in 248 A.C.) as was first held by **Kielhorn**, the date of the present grant would fall in 708 or 709 A.C. according as the year 460 was current or expired. We have seen above that 708 A.C. does not suit. In 709 A.C. also, the **Tulā-saṅkrānti** did not⁵ fall on **Āśvina** va. di. 11. If, on the other hand, the **Kalachuri** year commenced on **Kārttika** śu. di. 1 as I have shown elsewhere⁶, the date of the

¹ A similar redundant mark of punctuation occurs after the symbols indicative of the tithi in the same line. Again, if thus read, the year would be an expired one like those of the **Navsāri** and **Kāvi** plates of the same dynasty. If the symbols are interpreted to mean 461, the year would have to be taken as current; but current years are cited only exceptionally.

² Viz., the dates of the **Navsāri** plates of **Jayabhata III** (No. 21) and the **Kāvi** plate of **Jayabhata IV** (No. 23).

³ The month, if *pūrṇimānta*, would have been **Kārttika**.

⁴ In 707 A.C. the **Tulā-saṅkrānti** fell on the *amānta* **Āśvina** va. di. 8 and in 708 A.C. on **Āśvina** śu. di. 5.

⁵ In 709 A.C. the **Tulā-saṅkrānti** fell on **Āśvina** *pūrṇimā*.

⁶ See Introduction, above.

present grant, for the expired Kalachuri year 460 would regularly correspond to Tuesday, the 23rd September 710 A.C., according to the epoch 248-249 A.C. which suits other verifiable early Kalachuri dates. On that day the 11th *tithi* of the dark fortnight of the *amānta* Āśvina commenced 45 minutes after mean sunrise and the Tulā-saṅkrānti occurred 15 h. 20 m. after mean sunrise. Tuesday, the 23rd September 710 A.C. is, therefore, the date of the present grant.

As for the geographical names in the present record, Bharukachchha is, of course, modern Broach. Nāndīpura is Nāndōd in the Rājpiplā subdivision of the Broach District. Tōraṇaka is still called Tōraṇ or Tōraṇmāl and lies only two miles to the north of Nāndōd. The statement in the present grant that Tōraṇaka was situated in the Nāndīpura *viśhaya* proves the correctness of the identification of Nāndīpura with Nāndōd which was first proposed by Pandit Bhagvanlal Indrajī. The river Karillīṇī is clearly Karjan, on the right bank of which both Nāndōd and Tōraṇ are situated. Jayapura cannot be definitely located, unless it is Jesalpur, 3 miles to the north of Tōraṇ. As described in the present plates, it lies on the road passing through Tōraṇ. Bhūtishōhī may be Bhuchād, about 1½ miles from Tōraṇ, on the western bank of the Karjan¹. Viddhēraka cannot now be traced in the neighbourhood. Brahmapurī, where the donee resided, is probably identical with Brahmapura, mentioned as the place of residence of the donee of the Jhar plates of Dharasēna II². It may be identical with Bāmanphaliā, nine miles south-west of Nāndōd.

TEXT³

First Plate

- 1 सिद्धम्⁴ [।*] स्वस्ति [।*] श्रीभरुकच्छात्सततलक्ष्मीनिवासभूते ।⁵ तृष्णासन्तापहारिणि ।⁶
दिननाथविस्तारितानुभावे ।⁶ द्विजकुलोपजीव्यमानविभवशा-
- 2 लिनि ।⁶ महति महाराजकर्णान्वये कमलाकर इव राजहंसः प्रबलकलिकालविलसिताकुलित⁶-
विमलस्वभावो गम्भीरो-
- 3 दार[च]रितविस्मापितसकललोकपालमानसः परमेश्वरश्रीह[र्ष]देवाभिभूतवलभीपतिपरित्राणोप-
जातभ्रमद-
- 4 दभ्रशुभ्रा[भ्र]विभ्रमयशोवितानः श्रीददस्तस्य सूनुरश[ङ्कि]तागतप्रणयिजनोपभुक्तविभवसंच-
योपचीयमानम-
- 5 नोनि[वृ]ति[र]नेककण्टकवङ्गसंदोहदाहदुर्ललितप्रतापानलो ।⁶ निशितनिस्त्रि[ङ्ग]धारादारि-
तारातिकरिकुम्भ[मु]क्ताफलच्छ-
- 6 लोल्लसितसितयशोङ्गशुका⁶वगुण्ठितदिग्बधूवदनसरसिजः [श्री]जयभटस्तस्यात्मजो महामुनिमनु-
प्रणीतप्रव[च]नाधिग-

¹ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXV, p. 292, n. 6.

² *Bhānagar Inscriptions*, pp. 31 ff. and *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XV, p. 187.

³ From the original plates.

⁴ Expressed by a symbol.

⁵ This mark of punctuation is redundant.

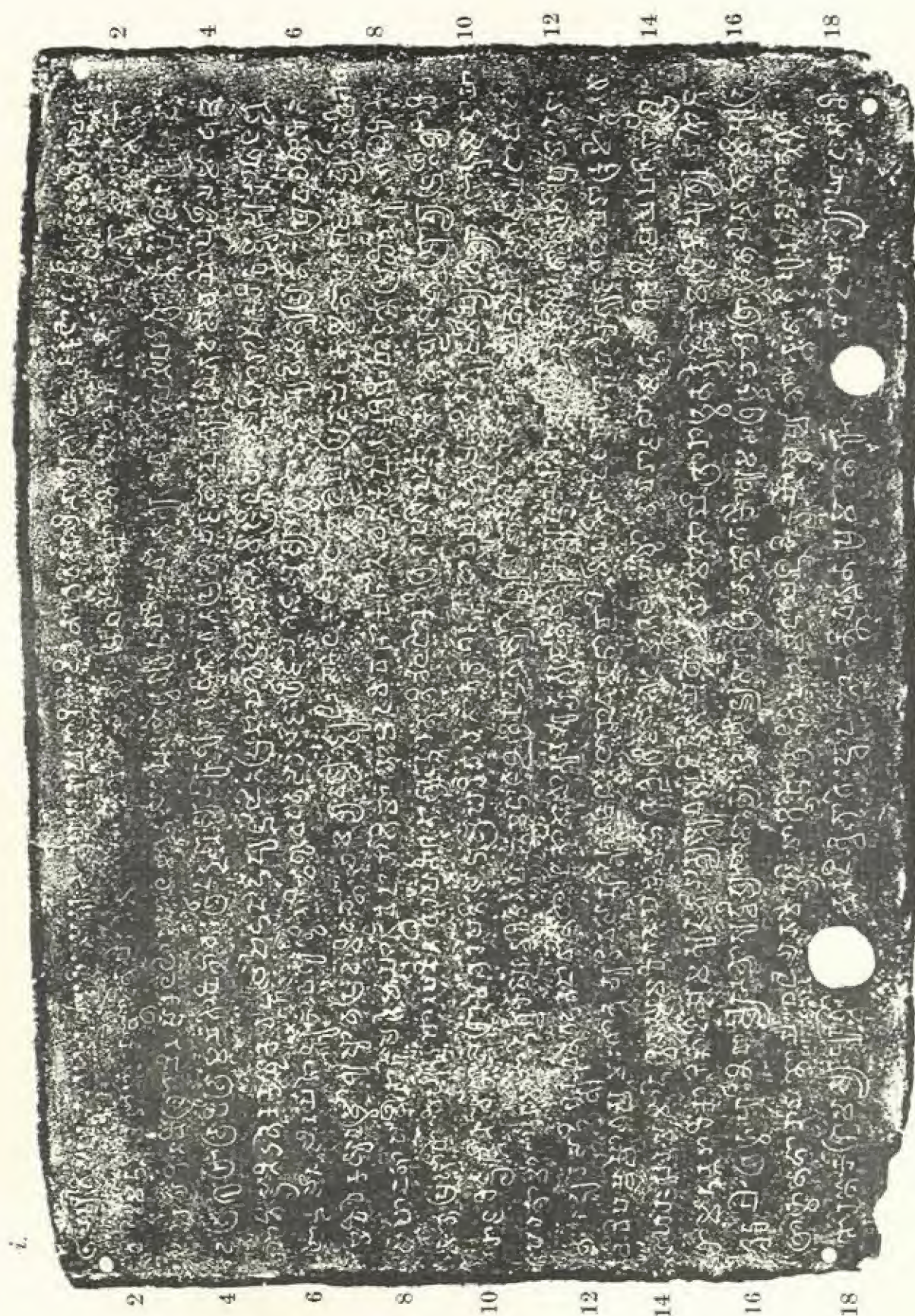
⁶ Read -विलसितानाकुलित-. It is curious that the mistake has persisted in this record also.

⁷ Read -वंश-.

⁸ Read -निस्त्रिंश-.

⁹ Read -यशोङ्गशुका-.

ANJANERI PLATES OF JAYABHATA III: (KALACHURI) YEAR 460



20
22
24
26
28
30
32
34
36
38

Handwritten text in an ancient script, likely Pahlavi, on a dark, rectangular tablet. The text is arranged in approximately 15 horizontal lines. There are two circular holes on the left side of the tablet, one near the top and one near the bottom. The script is dense and cursive, with some characters appearing to be in a different script or dialect than the main body of text.

Seal



(From a photograph)
About actual size

- 7 मविवेकस्वधर्मानुष्ठानप्रव[मि?]¹ वर्णाश्रमव्यवस्थोन्मूलितसकलकलिकालावलेपः प्रणयिजनम-
नोर[थ]विषयव्यतीतविभव-
8 संपादनापनीता[शे]षशेष²पात्थिवदानाभिमानो मदविवशाकुशातिर्वत्तिकुपितकरिनिवारणप्रथित-
[गु]रुगजाधिरो-
9 हणप्रभावो ।³ विपत्प्रपातपतितनरपतिशताभ्युद्धरणनिखिल[लो]कविश्रुतपरोपकारकरणव्यसनः
प्राच्यप्रतीच्या[धि]⁴-
10 राजविजृ[म्भि]तमहासंग्रामनरपतिसहस्रपरिवारितानेकगजघटाविघटनप्रकटितभुजवीर्यविख्यात-
बाहुसहाया-
11 परनामा ।³ परममाहे[स्व]रस्समधिगतपञ्चमहाशब्द[ः*] श्रीदहस्तस्य सूनुरण(ने)कसमर-
संघट्टधनघटितगजघटापाट-
12 नपटुरसहिष्णुवनगहनदावानलो ।³ दीनानाथातुरसुहृत्स्वजनव(व)न्धुकुमुदाकर[कौ]मुदीगि-
(नि)[शा]करो ।³ भागीर[थी]प्रवाह इ-
13 व विपक्षक्षोभक्षमः शान्तनुरिव स[मु]द्भूतकलकलारावमहावाहिनीपतिरादिवराह इ[व] स्वभुज-
बलपराक्रमोद्धृतघ-
14 राधरः परममाहेस्वरस्समधिगतपञ्चमहाशब्द(ब्द)[ः*] श्री(श्री)जयभट⁵कुशली सर्वा[ने]⁶व
राजसामन्तभोगिक ।³ विषयपतिराष्ट्र-
15 ग्राम[म*]हृतराधिकारिकादीन्समनुदशि(शं)यत्यस्तु वस्संविदितं यथा मया⁶ मातापित्रोरात्मनश्च-
हिकामु[ष्मि]कपुण्यशोभि-
16 वृद्धये ।³ ब्रह्मपुरीनिवास्येतच्चातुर्विद्यसामान्यशा[ण्डि]ल्यसगोत्र ।³ छन्दोग ।³ कौटुमसब्रह्म-
चारिब्राह्मणचष्टस्वामिपुत्र-
17 ब्राह्मण[ना]रायणाय ।³ बलिचरुवैश्वदेवाग्निहोत्रातिथिपञ्चमहायज्ञादिकृ(क्रि)योत्सर्पणार्थं ।³
नान्दीपुरविषयान्तर्गत ।³
18 तोरणकग्रामस्य पूर्वोत्तरदिग्विभागे ।³ द्वापञ्चाशन्नवर्तनप्रमाणं भूखण्डं ।³ यस्याघाटनानि ।³

Second Plate

- 19 पूर्वतः⁷ जयपुरग्रामयायी पन्था हस्तिनिकागर्तासंलग्नः⁸ स(?)रो दक्षिणतः छेद[की]वृक्षोप-
लक्षितमैरान्तरि-
20 तकुटुम्बिदीपसत्कौटुम्बक्षेत्रं ।³ मैरातस्समुत्थितो दक्षिणाभिनु(मु)खो बहश्च ।³ तथा अपरतः
तोरणकग्रा-
21 मात् विद्धेरकग्रामयायी पन्थाः तथा क्षेत्रमदिरोत्थितो सुमिआरवृक्षः तथा धम्मणगर्तागामी बहश्च ।
उत्तरतः धम्माणखट्टा ।³
22 एवमे ।³ [त*]च्चतुराघाटनोपलक्षितं भूख[ण्डं] ।³ तथास्यैव ग्रामस्य दक्षिणदिग्विभागे कच्छे ।³
पञ्चनिवर्तनप्रमाणं⁹ भूख[ण्डं] ।³ यस्याघाटनानि पू-

¹ Read प्रवीणो.

² These two *aksharas* are unnecessarily repeated here.

³ This mark of punctuation is superfluous.

⁴ *Db* is imperfectly formed here and appears somewhat like *r*. The reading given above is clear in the corresponding passage of the Prince of Wales Museum plates (No. 24, below.)

⁵ The engraver first incised *m* and then tried to alter it into *n*.

⁶ Y has here a cursive transitional form.

⁷ Here and in many places below, the rules of *sandhi* have not been observed.

⁸ Read -संलग्न.

⁹ Read पञ्चनिवर्तन-.

- 23 व्वंतः वरद(ट)कम[र्या]दा¹न्तरितकुटुम्बरे[व]ल्लसत्ककौटुम्बक्षेत्रं ।² दक्षिणतः करिल्लिणीःनदी ।³
अपरतः [छ]त्वा(त्त्रा)भ्युपलक्षितवरटकमर्या-
- 24 दान्तरितकुटुम्बविजडम्बसत्ककौटुम्बक्षेत्रं ।⁴ उत्तरतः ब्राह्मणदामोदरसत्कब्रह्मदेयक्षेत्रं ।⁵ राज-
कीयचरिका च । तदेवं चतुराघाट-
- 25 नोपलक्षितं भूखण्डं । तथास्यैव भूखण्डस्य दक्षिणदिग्विभागे ।⁶ कच्छे ।⁷ कच्छिकाग्र[नि]बद्ध-
निवर्त्तनत्रयप्रमाणं भूखण्डं ।⁸ यस्याघाटनानि
- 26 पूर्वतः करिल्लिणी नदी ।⁹ दक्षिणतो(तः) सैव करिल्लिणी नदी ।¹⁰ [अ]परतः भूति[पो]हीशाम-
[गा]मी सीमासन्धिः उत्तरतो[ङ्को]ल्लवृक्षोपलक्षित-
- 27 करिल्लिणीनदीवितटी । एवमेतच्चतुश्चतु¹¹राघाटनोपलक्षितभूखण्डत्रयावस्थितष[ष्टि]निव-
र्त्तनप्रमा[णं] क्षेत्रं ।¹² सोपरिकरं ।¹³ सभूत-
- 28 पात¹⁴प्रत्यायं ।¹⁵ सधान्यहिरण्यादेयं ।¹⁶ सदशापरावं सोत्पद्यमानविष्टिकं ।¹⁷ [स]व्वंराजकीया-
नामहस्तप्रक्षेपणीयं ।¹⁸ पूर्वप्रत्त-
- 29 देवब्रह्मदायरहितं ।¹⁹ भूमिच्छिद्रन्यायेनाचन्द्राकर्णवस्थि(क्षि)तिसरित्पव्वंतसमकालीनं ।²⁰ पुत्र-
पौत्रान्वयक्रमोपभोग्यं ।²¹ गृहस्थाव-
- 30 रक(च)लकसहितमद्याश्वयुजबहुले(लै)कादश्यां तुलासंक्रान्तेरवादु(वु)दकातिसर्गणेन प्रतिपादितं-
(तम्) । यतोस्योचितया ब्रह्मदायस्थित्या भुं-
- 31 जतः कृषतः कर्षयत प्रतिदिशतो वा न कैश्चिद्दृष्टासेवे वक्ति(त्ति)तव्यमागामिभद्रनृपतिभिरस्म-
द्वश्यैरन्यैर्द्वि(र्वि)यमस्मदायोनुमन्तव्यः
- 32 पालयितव्यश्च । यश्चाज्ञानतिमिरपटला[व]तमतिराच्छिन्द्यादाच्छिद्यमानकं वानुमोदेत स
पञ्चभिर्ममहापातकैस्तोप-
- 33 पातकैस्सं[यु]क्तः[*] स्यादित्यु²²वतं च भगवा(वता) दे(वे)दव्यासेन व्यासेन । षष्टि वर्ष-
सहस्राणि स्वर्गे तिष्ठति भूमिदः [1*] आच्छेत्ता चानुमन्ता च ता-
- 34 न्येव नरके वसेत् ॥²³ [१॥*] विन्ध्याटवीष्वतोयासु शुष्ककोटर[वा]सिनः [1*] कृष्णाहयो
हि जायन्ते ।²⁴ भूमिदायं हरन्ति ये ॥ [२॥*] बहुभिर्व्वसुधा भुक्ता
- 35 राजभिस्सगरादिभिः [1*] यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिः²⁵ [त]स्य तस्य तदा फलं(लम्) । [३॥*]
नु(अ)ग्नेरपत्यं प्रथमं सुवर्णं भूव्वेणवी सूर्यसुताश्च गावः [1*]
- 36 [लो]क्कत्र[यं]²⁶ तेन भवेत्तु दत्तं(त्तम्) । यः काच(श्च)नं गां च महीं च दद्यात् ॥²⁷ [४॥*]
यानीह दत्तानि पुरा नरेन्द्रैः दानानि²⁸ धर्मात्ययशस्कराणि । नि-
- 37 भुक्त्तमाल्यप्रतिमानि तानि ।²⁹ को नाम साधुः पुनराददीत । [५॥*] सु(स्व)दत्तां परदत्तां वा
यत्नाद्रक्ष युधिष्ठिर । महीं महिमतां श्रेष्ठ दाना-
- 38 च्छ्रेयोनुपालनमिति ॥³⁰ लिखितमिदि(दं) बलाधिकृतदुर्गभटसूनुना बलाधिक(कृ)तसह³¹भटे-
नेति ॥ बलाधिकृतबाबुल्ल-

¹ A similar expression occurs in the Dhānk plates of Silāditya I-Dharmāditya. See *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. IX, p. 239.

² This mark of punctuation is unnecessary.

³ इचतु is redundant.

⁴ Read सभूतवात-.

⁵ Read स्यादिति । उक्तं च.

⁶ Metre of this and the following two verses: *Anushtubh*.

⁷ Read भूमिस्तस्य.

⁸ Read लोकत्रयं.

⁹ Metre of this and the following verse: *Indravajrā*.

¹⁰ Read नरेन्द्रैर्दानानि.

¹¹ Read -योनुपालनम् ॥६॥ इति ॥ Metre: *Anushtubh*.

¹² The *akshara ha* has an unusual form here as in *gaj-ādbirōhaṇa*, ll. 8-9, above.

39 दूतकं ॥ सं ४०० ६० १^१ आश्वयुज व १० १ १^१ निम(व)द्वम् ॥ स्वहस्तो मम श्रीजयभ-
टा(ट)स्य ॥

Seal

श्रीजयभट [१*]

TRANSLATION

[For a translation of lines 1-15, see above, pp. 87 f.]

(Line 15) "Be it known to you that for the increase of the religious merit and fame, in this world and the next, of (My) mother and father and of Myself, I have today, on the eleventh (*tithi*) of the dark fortnight of Āśvayuja, on the occasion of the sun's entering the Tulā² (*rāśi*), granted with a libation of water, fields measuring sixty *nivartanas* in three pieces of land with their boundaries defined as follows:—a piece of land measuring fifty-two *nivartanas* in the north-east direction of the village Tōraṇaka situated in the Nāndīpura *vishaya*, the boundaries of which are,—on the east, the road going to the village Jayapura (and) the tank adjacent to the pit Hastinikā; on the south, the family-field belonging to the householder Dīpa, separated by the field-boundary marked by the *chhrēdakī* tree, and a stream flowing from the field boundary³ towards the south; and on the west, the road going from the village Tōraṇaka to the village Viddhēraka and the *sumiāra* tree growing on the boundary of the field and a stream flowing into the Dhammāṇa pit; on the north, the Dhammāṇa pit,—the piece of land defined by these four boundaries; further, in the marshy region in the southern direction of this very village, a piece of land measuring five *nivartanas*, the boundaries of which are,—on the east, the family field belonging to the householder Rēvalla separated by the boundary of *baraṭaka*⁴; on the south, the river Karillīṇī; on the west, the family field belonging to the householder Vijaḍamba separated by the boundary of *baraṭaka* and marked by an umbrella; on the north, the *brahmadēya* field belonging to the Brāhmaṇa Dāmōdara and a royal road,—the field marked by these four boundaries; and on the south of this very piece of land, in the (*same*) marshy region, (*another*) piece of land measuring three *nivartanas* and surrounded by mango trees of the marshy region, the boundaries of which are,—on the east, the river Karillīṇī; on the south, the same river Karillīṇī; on the west, the boundary leading to the village Bhūtishōhī; on the north, the *vitāṭī*(?) of the river Karillīṇī marked by the *aṅkōlla* tree,—(*the fields measuring sixty nivartanas in all in three pieces of land with their four boundaries defined as above*)—together with the *uparikara*, with taxes on commodities manufactured and imported, with the income in grain and gold, with (*the fines imposed for*) the ten offences, with the right to forced labour arising therefrom, free from the interference of all officers of the state, exclusive of the gifts to gods and Brāhmaṇas previously made (and) including houses, immovables and movables,—which are to be enjoyed by a succession of sons and sons' sons as long as the moon, the sun, the ocean, the earth, rivers and mountains will endure, accord-

¹ This mark of punctuation is unnecessary.

² *Libra*, the seventh sign of the Zodiac.

³ *Mairā* is a word unknown to Sanskrit dictionaries. But the context shows that the meaning of a field-boundary is probably correct. Even now *mīrā* has that sense in Marāṭhī, and *mīrī* in Kan-
naḍa.

⁴ Monier-Williams gives *baraṭṭa* in the sense of a kind of grain. It seems to mean here some plant used for the fencing of fields. A similar expression *baraṭaka-maryādā-pūrvvataḥ* occurs also in line 7 of the Dhānk plates of Śīlāditya I-Dharmāditya (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. IX, pp. 238 ff.), which Bühler translated as 'to the east of Baraṭaka.'

ing to the maxim of waste land,—to the Brāhmaṇa Nārāyaṇa, the son of the Brāhmaṇa Chasṭasvāmin, of the Sāṇḍilya *gōtra*, (who is) a student of the Kāuṭhuma *śākhā* of the Chhandōga (i.e., Sāmavēda) who resides at Brahmapurī and belongs to the community of the Chaturvedins of that place, for the performance of five great sacrifices, viz., *bali*, *charu*, *vaiśvadēva*, *agnihōtra*, (reception of) guests and such other (religious) rites.”

[For a translation of ll. 30-33, see above, p. 89.]

(L. 33) And it is said by the holy Vyāsa, the redactor of the Vēdas—

(Here follow six benedictive and imprecatory verses.)

(L. 38) This (*charter*), the *Dūtaka* of which is the *Balādhikṛita* Bāvulla, has been written by the *Balādhikṛita* Sahabhāṭa, the son of the *Balādhikṛita* Durgabhāṭa.

Recorded in the year 400 (and) 60, (the month) Āśvayuja (and) the dark (fortnight) (and) (on the lunar day) 10 (and) 1.

This is the sign-manual of me, the illustrious Jayabhāṭa.

Seal

The illustrious Jayabhāṭa

NO. 23; PLATE XVI

KAVI PLATE OF JAYABHATA IV: (KALACHURI) YEAR 486

THIS plate was discovered by Rao Saheb Gopalji G. Desai of Broach in 1875.¹ He found it with several other plates in the possession of the Kapila Brāhmaṇas of Kāvī, an ancient town in the Jambusar *tāluka* of the Broach District, situated not far from the Gulf of Cambay, a few miles to the south of the Mahī. Dr. Bühler, to whom its impressions were sent, made personal inquiries at Kāvī in the course of which he came to know the following history of the plates—‘Five or six hundred years ago a small *tānk* or receptacle for water, attached to the outside of a house behind a temple of Gaṅgeśvara Mahādēva at Kāvī was cleaned, and among the rubbish at the bottom, seven inscribed copper-plates were found. These were taken possession of by the caste of the Kapilas. During the times of the Musalman rule, in the reign of Mahmud Bigarhā, the Kapilas were sorely oppressed. A portion of the community fled to Gaṅgāsāgara in Bengal and took away two of the plates. The others remained at Kāvī.’² The present plate is the second and last plate of its set. It is still in the possession of the Kapila Brāhmaṇas from whom it was recently taken on loan by a medical practitioner of Bombay. The first plate, which was probably one of the two taken to Bengal, is not now forthcoming. The inscription on the second plate was edited with a translation, but without a facsimile, by Dr. Bühler in the *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. V, pp. 109 ff. Its photograph was subsequently published in Fleet’s *Sanskrit, Pāli and Old Kanarese Inscriptions*, Plate 272. Having failed to get a fresh impression of the original plate, I edit the inscription on it from a copy of the photograph in Fleet’s book, kindly supplied to me by the Director-General of Archæology in India.

‘Originally the plate measured ten inches in height by thirteen in breadth. But not inconsiderable pieces have been broken off from the right and left hand sides, so that

¹ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. V, p. 109.

² *Loc. cit.* Of the four other plates shown to Dr. Bühler, three forming a set contained a grant of Gōvindarāja of the Gujarāt Rāshtrakūṭa branch (ed. by Bühler in *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. V, pp. 143 ff.) and the remaining one, a grant of the Chaulukya Abhayapāla.

the latter has assumed a nearly semi-circular shape¹. Almost all the lost *aksharas*, except those at the end of l. 25 and the beginning of l. 26, can be supplied with the help of the recently discovered Prince of Wales Museum plates² of the same king. The plate seems to have undergone very rough treatment, as it is full of indentations. A few letters of the 20th and 22nd lines have been incised with such violence that the punch has penetrated to the other side of the plate. At the back, some lines of illegible letters appear, as if the engraver had first begun his work there, but had afterwards abandoned his attempt. The plate is free from verdigris and oxidization.³

As said before, this is the **second plate** of its set and contains, therefore, the latter half of the grant. The extant portion consists of twenty-six lines, all of which are inscribed on the same side. The average size of the letters is .2".

The characters belong to the western variety of the southern alphabets and resemble those of the Navsāri plates of Jayabhata III. The royal sign-manual is, however, in the northern characters. The only peculiarities that call for notice are the long *mātrās* denoting medial diphthongs 'which curl over three or even four *aksharas*', the curling stroke for medial *ri* in *kṛi* which is attached to the horizontal bar of *k*, instead of to its vertical, (see *kṛishṇa*- and *-kṛita*-, both in l. 4 and *kṛishṇa-āhayaō*, l. 20), and the unlooped *n* in *ndh* of *gandha*-, l. 10 and *-panthā*, l. 12. The sign for the *jīhvāmūliya* occurs in l. 22. The language is Sanskrit. Except for two verses embedded in the eulogistic portion and six benedictive and imprecatory ones at the end, the record is in prose throughout. The orthography shows the same peculiarities as in other records of the Early Gurjaras.

The extant portion of this grant begins abruptly with the eulogy of the donor, the illustrious Jayabhata who had attained the *pañchamahāśabda* and was the lord of great *sāmantas* or feudatory chiefs. As already stated, the text of the eulogistic portion, so far as it goes, is identical with that of the Prince of Wales Museum plates. This Jayabhata is, therefore, **Jayabhata IV** of the **Early Gurjara Dynasty**. Much of the praise bestowed on him is conventional, but there is one important reference in v. 2 to his victory over the Tājjikas or Arabs in the city of the lord of Valabhi. It is said that by the sharp edge of his sword he put an end to their oppression of the people even as a cloud with its showers extinguishes fire which is troublesome to the people.⁴

The inscription records the grant, by Jayabhata IV, of a field measuring fifty *nivartanas* on the south-west boundary in the village Kēmajju situated in the Bharukachchha *vishaya*. In connection with the boundaries of the field, the record mentions the villages Chhīrakaha, Jambhā, Gōliavali and Sīhu. The object of the grant was to provide for the supply of the materials of worship and repairs to the temple of the god Āśramadēva in the village Kēmajju.

The grant was made on the occasion of the Sun's entering the Karkata-rāśi, i.e., the sign of Cancer, on the 10th tithi of the bright fortnight of Āshāḍha⁵. The year was mentioned in words at the end of l. 24, but owing to the breaking away of the

¹ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. V, p. 110.

² No. 24, below.

³ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. V, p. 110.

⁴ This important reference has escaped the notice of all scholars who have subsequently written about this grant; for they adopted Dr. Bühler's translation based on an incorrect reading of ll. 6 and 7, viz., 'who by the edge of his sword quieted in battle the impetuosity of the lord of Valabhi.' Jayabhata was thus supposed to be an enemy of the contemporary Maitraka king, while, as a matter of fact, he was his friend and deliverer.

⁵ The *tithi* is expressed in words in l. 15.

lower right hand corner of the plate, the expression is partly mutilated. The symbols denoting the same year, which have been preserved in the beginning of the extant portion of l. 25, leave no doubt, however, that it was 486. Like other dates of the Early Gurjaras this must, of course, be referred to the Kalachuri era.¹ The *tithi*, on which the grant was recorded (*nibaddha*), was also mentioned along with the year in ll. 24 and 25, and like the latter, is partly mutilated. The words *Ashāḍha śu. . . Adityavāre* are perfectly clear in l. 25. As regards the symbol following *śu*, I cannot do better than quote Dr. Kielhorn's remarks: 'In l. 25 the numerical symbol following upon *śu* is decidedly indistinct. What is clearly seen both in the impressions and in the photograph is the symbol for 10, as it occurs, e.g., at the end of the Valabhī grant of Dharasēna II. . . minus the curved line on the right; but there are indications that that curved line had been engraved and that, therefore, 10 was intended.'² It is more difficult to say whether certain marks after the symbol for 10 are accidental scratches or intended to denote the unit 1 or 2.³ The grant was, therefore, recorded on a Sunday, the 10th, 11th or 12th *tithi* of the bright fortnight of *Āshāḍha* in the (Kalachuri) year 486.

With the epoch of 248-249 A.C., which Kielhorn at first fixed for the Kalachuri-Chēdi era and which he found applicable in the case of the date of the Navsāri plates of Jayabhata III, the date of the present plate should fall in 735 or 736 A.C. 'according as the figure 486 denotes the current year or the number of years expired'. Kielhorn found by calculation that 'in A.D. 735 the Karkāṭa-saṁkrānti took place on Thursday, June 23, which was the 13th of the dark half of a month, while the 10th of the bright half of *Āshāḍha* had fallen already on Sunday, June 5, i.e., no less than eighteen days before the saṁkrānti. In A.D. 736, on the other hand, the Karkāṭa-saṁkrānti took place about 8 hours after sunrise of June 22; and the tenth *tithi* of the bright half of *Āshāḍha* began 21 minutes after mean sunrise of June 22, and ended 1 h. 21 m. before mean sunrise of June 23. The *tithi*, therefore, in all probability, was a *kshaya-tithi*, but, under any circumstances, the Karkāṭa-saṁkrānti, in A.D. 736, did take place during the tenth *tithi* of the bright half of *Āshāḍha*. June 22, however, was a Friday, not a Sunday; and the nearest Sunday, June 24, was the 12th of the bright half of *Āshāḍha*, because the 12th *tithi* of the bright half ended on it, 20 h. 37 m. after mean sunrise'⁴. Friday, the 22nd June 736 A.C. is, therefore, the date of the grant, and Sunday, the 24th June of the same year, the date of its recording.

The localities mentioned in the grant were fully identified by Dr. Bühler⁵. 'The village *Kēmajju* is the present *Kīmōj* or *Kīmaj*. Straight to the west from *Kīmaj* at a distance of five or six hundred yards, there is the temple *Āsamēśvar*, *Āsramadēva* of our grant. The present temple is a small brick building erected a few years ago; but it contains an ancient *Linga*, and near it to the east are an old well and a depression in the ground which looks like the remnant of a small tank. To the west of the village lies *Sigām* or *Sigām*, the *Sihugrāma* of the grant; towards the south-west there is the village of *Jāmaḍi*, called also *Sāmaḍi*, which corresponds to *Jambhā*; and to the north we have the ruins of *Gōlāl* (on the Trigonometrical map erroneously called *Galāl*), the

¹ Bühler referred it to the Vikrama era and as, according to the calculations of Prof. Bahudēva Śāstrī, in 429 A. C. corresponding to V. 486, the 10th *tithi* of the bright half of *Āshāḍha* fell on Sunday when the sun entered the sign of Karkāṭa, Dr. Bühler concluded that it demolished the theory that the Vikrama era was a forgery and was invented after the battle of Kōrur.

² The same symbol is used to denote 10 in the Prince of Wales Museum plates (No. 24, below.)

³ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVII, p. 220.

⁴ *Loc. cit.*, p. 221.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Vol. V, p. 112.

Gōliavali of the plate. Chhīrakaha is not to be traced. Sōlepur Sagari occupies the position assigned to it.²

TEXT¹Second Plate²

- 1 [तुरङ्गमनिकरभङ्गभासुरो*]³ [द्वु]तदलितद्विरदकुम्भस्थलश (ग) लितमुक्ताफलनिक [रदन्तु-
रासि*]—
- 2 [लतामरीचिनिचय*]मेचकितदक्षिणबाहुशिखरः पद्माकर इव प्रकटानेकलक्ष[णो न पुनर्ज*]—
- 3 [लाशयः क्षपा*]कर इव सकलकलापान्वितो⁴ न पुनर्दोषकर⁵[*] सागर इवान्तःप्रवेशितवि-
पक्षभूभृद्मण्ड[लो] [न*]
- 4 [पुनर्ग्राहाकुलः नारा*]यण इव सुदर्शनचक्रक्षपितविपक्षो न पुनः कृष्णस्वभावः हर इवाङ्गीकृत-
भूतिनिचयो [न*]
- 5 [पुनर्भुजङ्गपरिवृतः।*] बालेन्दुविम्बप्रतिमेन येन प्रवर्द्धमानस्वतनूदयेन [।*] प्रणामकामोत्पकरेण
लोक[*] कृताञ्ज[लिः*]
- 6 [कान्तिमता कु*][तोयं](यम्)⁶ [॥१॥*] असिधाराजलेन शमित[*] प्रासभं बलभीपतेः
पु[रे] यो (ये) नाशेषलोकसं[ता]पकलापदस्ताज्जिकानलो [ज*]—
- 7 [यभटजल*]द एष⁷ [ः ॥२॥*] स वि[गी]यति⁸(ते) देववधूकदम्भ(म्ब)कैर्नृपशतमकुटरत्नकि-
(र)णावलिरंजित(न)पादपङ्कजा(जः) समधिगतपञ्चम[हाश*]—
- 8 [ब्दो म*]हासामन्ताधिपतिश्रीजयभटः कुशली सर्वानेव राजसामन्तभोगिकु(क)विषयपतिरा-
ष्ट्रग्राममहत्तराधिकारिकाद(दी)—
- 9 [न्सम*] नुदर्शयत्यस्तु वस्संविदितं(तम्)। यथा मया मातापित्रोका(रा)त्मनश्चैहिकामुष्मिक-
पुण्ययशोभिवृद्धये केमज्जु[ग्रा][म*]—
- 10 [नि*]विष्टाश्रमदेवपादेभ्यः गन्धधूपपुष्पदीपप्रदांतसंशीतकसत्रप्रवर्तनसत्माज्जनोदयेन⁹ देवकुलस्य
खण्ड[स्फुटि][त*]—
- 11 [विशीर्ण*?]¹⁰संस्कारनव कर्माक्ता¹¹द्युत्सर्पणार्थं श्रीभरुकच्छविषयान्तर्गतकेमज्जुग्रामे ग्राम-
स्यापरदक्षिणसीमिन् पञ्चाशन्नित्तं[नप्रमा]—

¹ From Plate 272 in Fleet's *Sanskrit, Pāli and Old Kanarese Inscriptions*.

² The first plate is lost.

³ The *aksbaras* marked with an asterisk in this and other rectangular brackets, which are lost owing to the breaking away of the corners of the plate, have been supplied from the corresponding portions of the Prince of Wales Museum plates of the same king (No. 24, below).

⁴ Read सकलकलाकलापान्वितो.

⁵ Read -दोषकरः.

⁶ Metre: *Upajāti*.

⁷ The verse is very corrupt. Its correct reading may be restored as follows:—

असिधाराजलशमितः प्रसभं बलभीपतेः पुरे येन ।

जनसन्तापकलापदस्ताज्जिकानलो जयभट जलद एषः ॥

Dr. Bühler read असिधाराजलेन शमित(तं) प्रासभं बलभीपतेर्दुदे(दे) यो न शेषलोकु(क)सभापकलापदस्ताज्जिकानलो...फलद This does not give a satisfactory meaning. Metre: *Giti*.

⁸ Bühler read सविमिरंति and proposed to emend it as सर्वर्गीयते. Our reading विगीयते can be explained as विविधं गीयते 'is extolled in manifold ways'.

⁹ Read -प्रभातसंगीतकसत्प्रवर्तनसन्मार्जनोदयेन. Bühler proposed to read प्रदानसंगीतक—.

¹⁰ The *aksbaras* are not clear. Bühler's reading पतित- does not appear to be warranted by the photograph. The last *aksbara* appears like *ppa*. I propose to read *visirṇṇa* which generally accompanies *khaṇḍa* and *sphuṭita*.

¹¹ Read -कर्माक्ताद्युत्सर्पणार्थं.

- 12 णं¹ भूखण्डः यस्याघाटनानि पूर्व्वट(तः) छोरकहग्रामनामिपन्था दक्षिणतः जम्भाग्रामसीमासन्धिः
अपरतः जम्भाग्रामा[त् गोलिअवलि]²—
- 13 ग्रामगामी पन्था उत्तरतः केमज्जुग्रामासीहुग्रामकतामी³ पन्था वटवापी च[1*] एवं चतुराघाटनोपल-
क्षितक्षेत्रं सोपरिकदर⁴
- 14 सभूतपातप्रत्यायं⁵ सधान्या⁶ हिरण्यादेयं सदशापराधं सोत्पद्यमानविष्टिकं अचाटभटप्रावेश्यं सर्व्व-
राजकीयानामहस्तप्र-
- 15 क्षेपणीयं पूर्व्वपरदेवद्वहदायरहितं भूमिच्छिद्रन्यायेनाचन्द्राकर्काण्वक्षितिसरित्पर्व्वतसमकालीनम-
द्याषाडशु[द]दश[म्यां]⁷
- 16 कर्कटकराशी⁸ संक्रान्ते रवौ पुण्यतिथावुदकातिसर्गेण देवदायत्वेन प्रतिपादितं [1*] यतो-
स्योचितया तपोवनाचारस्थित्या भुंजतः कृ-
- 17 पतः कर्षयतः प्रतिदिशतो वा न कैश्चिद्व्यापेधे वर्त्तितव्यं⁹ मागामिभद्रनृपतिभिः अस्मद्वंश्यैरन्यैर्व्याय-
मस्मदायोनुमन्तव्यः पा[ल]-
- 18 यितव्यश्च [1*] यश्चाज्ञानतिमिरपटलावृतमतिराच्छिन्वादाच्छिद्यमा[न]कं वानुमोदेत ।¹⁰ स
पञ्चभिर्महापातकैस्सोपपातकैः
- 19 संयुति¹¹ [स्या]दित्युक्तं [च] भगवता वेदव्यासेन व्यासेन [1*] षष्टी¹² वर्षसहस्राणि स्वर्गे
तिष्ठति भूमिदः [1*] आच्छेत्ता चानुमं-
- 20 [ता] च तान्येव नरके वसेत् [॥३॥*] विन्ध्याटवीष्वतोयासु शुष्ककोटरवासिनः [1*] कृष्णाहयो
हि जायन्ते भूमिदयं¹³ हरन्ति ये [॥४॥] बहु[भिर्व्वं*]-
- 21 [सुधा*] भुक्ता राजभिः सगरादिभिः [1*] यस्य यस्य यदा भूमि[स्त]स्य तस्य तदा फलं-
(लम्) [॥५॥*] अनेरपत्यं प्रथमं सुवर्णं [भूर्व्वेणवी*]
- 22 [सूर्यसु*]ताश्च गावः [1*] लोकत्रयं तेन भवेद्धि दत्तं य^xकां¹⁴ चनं गां च महीं च दद्यात् ।
[॥६॥*] यानीह [दत्तानि] पुरा नरैर्द्रेढानानि धर्मार्थं*]-
- 23 [यशस्करा*]णि [1*] निर्भुक्तमाल्यप्रतिमानि तानि को नाम साधुः पुनराददीत [॥७॥*] स्वदत्तां
परदत्तां वा यत्ना[द्रक्ष] युधिष्ठिर । महीं*
- 24 [महिमतां श्रे *]ष्ठ दानाच्छ्रेयोनुपालनमिति । [॥८॥*] श्रीकण्डकणकदूतकं ॥ संबत्सरशत-
तुष्टये प[ड]शीत्यधिके आषाढशुद्ध*]-¹⁵

¹ Bühler reads प्रमाणो, but the last *akshara* is clearly णं. Read -निवर्त्तनप्रमाणो.

² I am not certain about the *aksharas* in brackets, which are very indistinct in the photograph.

³ Read केमज्जुग्रामासीहुग्रामगामी.

⁴ Read सोपरिकरं.

⁵ Read सभूतपातप्रत्यायं.

⁶ Read सधान्य-.

⁷ The curve for the subscript *y* is faintly seen in the photograph.

⁸ Bühler reads कर्कटकराशी, but the mark for medial *ā* is quite clear.

⁹ Read वर्त्तितव्य-.

¹⁰ This mark of punctuation is superfluous.

¹¹ There is no superscript *k* here. Read संयुक्तः स्यादिति । उक्तं च ।

¹² The medial vowel is clearly *i* here. Read षष्टिं.

¹³ Read भूमिदयं.

¹⁴ The sign for *jīvaṃ āliya*, not noticed by Bühler, is quite clear here.

¹⁵ The *aksharas* in brackets in this and the following line are conjecturally supplied on the analogy of the wording in ll. 49 and 50 of the Prince of Wales Museum plates (No. 24, below).

KAVI PLATE OF JAYABHATA IV: (KALACHURI) YEAR 486



25 [द्वादश्यां सं*] ४०० ८० ६ आषाढ शु १० [२]^१ आदित्यवारे [निबद्धं लिखितं चैत-]
[न्या*]^२.....

26स्वहस्तो मम श्रीजयभट[स्य ।*]^३

TRANSLATION

[His son is the illustrious Jayabhata (IV)],—[who appears resplendent by his destruction of troops of horses....]; the top of whose right arm becomes dark-blue [with the multitude of rays from his creeper-like sword which becomes uneven] with clusters of pearls from the frontal globes of elephants cleft in haste; who has manifested many auspicious marks as a lotus-pool exhibits cranes,⁴ [but who, (*unlike a lotus-pool which contains a store of water*),⁵ has not an insensible heart]; who has acquired the multitude of all fine arts even as the moon contains all the digits, but who, (*unlike the moon that marks the night*),⁶ has no blemish; who has given refuge to a multitude of hostile princes as the ocean gave shelter to a number of wingless mountains, [but who, (*unlike the ocean that is infested by alligators*), is not affected by greed]; who destroys his enemies with his well-equipped army⁷ just as Nārāyaṇa (Vishṇu) does with his discus Sudarśana, but who, (*unlike Nārāyaṇa who is dark-complexioned*), is not evil-intentioned; who has acquired abundant prosperity as Śiva takes a large quantity of ashes⁸ (*to smear his body with*), [but who, (*unlike Śiva whose body is entwined by serpents*), is not surrounded by dissolute men].

(Verse 1) These people are made to fold their hands and to bow to him, who resembles the disc of the crescent moon, [since he is possessed of brilliance], has an increasing splendour of the body, and levies light taxes (*even as the moon looks lovely, increases in size and sheds tender rays*).

(Verse 2) This is that [Jayabhata], who, with the edge of his sword, has forcibly vanquished, in the city of the lord of Valabhī, the Tājīkas⁹ who greatly oppressed all people, even as a cloud extinguishes with its showers the fire that troubles all people.¹⁰

(Line 7) He, the illustrious Jayabhata—who is praised in songs by assemblages of the wives of gods; whose lotus-like feet are reddened by the lines of the rays of jewels (*set*) in the diadems of hundreds of kings; who has attained the *pañcamaḥśabda*, (*and*) is the lord of the great *sāmantas* (feudatory chiefs),—being in good health, addresses the following order to all king, feudatories, *Bhōgikas*, heads of *vishayas*, the *Mahattaras* of *rāṣṭras* and villages, officials (*and*) others:—

¹ For the reading of the *ṭṭhi*, see above, p. 98.

² The name of the scribe is completely lost. He may have been the *Mahābalādhikṛita* Saṅgulla who wrote the Prince of Wales Museum plates of the same king about three and a half months later, see below, p. 107, l. 31.

³ The plate shows a stroke like that of medial *ṣ* on the *akṣara* following *ṣa*. Bühler conjecturally restored the *akṣara* as *dā* (of *dāva*), but none of the sign-manuals of Gurjara kings contains a name ending in *dāva*.

⁴ There are puns on several words in the eulogistic portion. Here, *e. g.*, *lakṣaṇa* (n.) means 'an auspicious mark' and *lakṣaṇa* (m.) means 'a crane'.

⁵ A pun on the word *jaḍ-āśaya* (read as *jal-āśaya* by the rule *ḍaḥyōr-ābhāḍa*).

⁶ *Dōṣhākara* is taken as (1) *dōṣhā-kara*, 'the maker of the night', and (2) *dōṣh-ākara*, 'a store of blemishes'.

⁷ Bühler translates 'with his army placed in a well-looking circular battle-array,' evidently understanding *chakra* in the sense of the *chakra-vyūha*, but then, there remains no word meaning 'an army.'

⁸ There is a play on the word *bhūti* meaning (1) prosperity and (2) ashes, and another on *bhujanga* meaning (1) a dissolute person and (2) a serpent.

⁹ *I. e.*, the Arabs.

¹⁰ Bühler translated the passage as follows:—'who by the edge of his sword quieted in battle the impetuosity of the lord of Valabhī,—who quenching the fire of the desires of the great Pandits of the whole world, and (giving them the fruits of their wishes)—is praised.....'. This translation misses the important historical reference altogether.

(L. 9) "Be it known to you that for the increase of the religious merit and fame, in this world and the next, of (My) mother and father as well as of Myself, I have today, on the occasion of the sun's entering the sign of Karkāṭaka (Cancer), on the holy day of the tenth tithi of the bright fortnight of Āshāḍha, granted, with a libation of water as a *dēvadāya*¹, a piece of land measuring fifty *nivartanas* and (*lying*) on the south-western boundary of the village, in the village Kēmajju situated in the famous *vishaya* of Bharukachcha, the boundaries of which are,—on the east the road leading to Chhīrakaha, on the south the junction with the boundary of the village Jambhā, on the west the road going from the village Jambhā to the village Gōliavali, on the north the road going from the village Kēmajju to Siḥu and the well near the banyan tree,—the field defined by these four boundaries, together with the *uparikara*, with taxes on things manufactured or imported, with its income in grain and gold, with (*the fines imposed for*) the ten offences, with the right of forced labour arising therefrom; (*which is*) not to be entered by *chāṭas* and *bhaṭas*; (*which is to be*) free from interference of all officers of the State; exclusive of all grants previously made to gods and Brāhmaṇas; (*and the grant of which is to last*) as long as the moon, the sun, the ocean, the earth, rivers and mountains will endure, according to the maxim of waste land,—to the divine (god) Āśramadēva established in the village of Kēmajju, in order to defray the expenses of perfume, frankincense, flowers, lamps (*and*) the morning musical service, of the maintenance of an alms-house, of cleaning the temple, and of the repairs of the broken, rent and dilapidated (*portions*), (*and*) of (*building*) new structures."

[For a translation of ll. 16-19, see above, p. 89.]

(L. 19) And it has been said by the holy Vyāsa, the redactor of the Vēdas—

(*Here follow six benedictive and imprecatory verses.*)

(L. 24) This (*charter*), the *Dātaka* of which is the illustrious Kaṇḍakaṇaka, has been written and recorded by [me].....in the year four hundred increased by eighty-six [on the twelfth tithi of the bright fortnight of Āshāḍha, the year] 400 (*and*) 80 (*and*) 6, (*the month*) Āshāḍha, the bright (*fortnight*), (*the lunar day*) 10 (*and*) 2, on Sunday.

This is the sign-manual of me, the illustrious Jayabhāṭa.

NO. 24; PLATE XVII

PRINCE OF WALES MUSEUM PLATES OF JAYABHATA IV²: (KALACHURI) YEAR 486

"THESE two plates were received by the Prince of Wales Museum from the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society in 1920, when the Society's collection was lent to that Museum. Their original find-spot is not known.' They have been edited before by Mr. G.V. Acharya, Curator of the Prince of Wales Museum, in the *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXIII, pp. 147 ff. They are edited here from photographs kindly supplied by Mr. Acharya.

The plates, which are inscribed on the inner side only, measure 12·7" by 10." Each

¹ *I. e.*, a gift made in honour of a god.

² Mr. Acharya calls him Jayabhāṭa III, identifying Dadda II-Praśāntarāga of the Kairā and Saṅkhēḍā plates (above, Nos. 16-17 and 19-20) with Dadda-Bāhusahāya. But this view is incorrect. Apart from the difference in their *virūdas*, the former was a devotee of the sun and the latter of Mahēśvara. So the two princes were not identical. For some more arguments, see my note on the plates in *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXIV, pp. 176 ff.

of them has two holes, 6" in diameter, at the top for the rings which must have originally held them together; but neither the rings nor the seal, which must have been connected with one of them, is forthcoming. Some portion of the upper left-hand corner of each plate has been broken away, which has resulted in the loss of from one to fifteen *aksharas* in ll. 1-14 on the first, and from one to three *aksharas* in ll. 29-33 on the second plate. Besides, a few *aksharas* have become illegible owing to the corrosion of the surface of the plates in some places. The record consists of 51 lines, of which 28 are inscribed on the first, and 23 on the second plate. The average size of the letters is about .15".

The characters belong to the western variety of the southern alphabets, and resemble those of the other grants of the Early Gurjaras. It would suffice to draw attention to the following peculiarities of individual letters. The sign for medial (long) *ā* in *-nmūlita-*, l. 8, is added to the top of *m* and not to the bottom as is usually done; the medial *ri* of *kri* is formed as in the Kāvī plate only in one place, viz., in *Mahābalādhikṛita-*, l. 30-; in other places it appears in its usual form, see, e.g., *-Valadhikṛita-* in the same line; *ḍ* shows a loop in *suchaṇḍa-*, l. 23, but contrast its form elsewhere, e.g., in *-Kaunḍinya-*, l. 35; *n* has no loop in *kaumud-īndu-*, l. 17; *b* is generally rectangular, but in *svabhūja-bala-*, l. 14, it is elongated, and in *bali-*, l. 36, it is roundish. It is generally distinguished from *v*, but in *-Valadhikṛita-*, l. 30, it is indicated by the same sign as that for *v*. Another letter, which is occasionally liable to be mistaken for *v*, is *dh*, see, e.g., the forms of the two occurring side by side in *-ādhirāja-vijṛimbhi-*, l. 10. The language is Sanskrit. Except for two verses which occur in the eulogy of the donor and six more expressing benediction and imprecation at the end, the record is in prose throughout. It is carelessly written, especially on the second plate. The eulogy of the first four princes given here closely agrees with that in the Navsārī and Anjanērī plates, while a considerable portion of the description of the last prince is the same as in the Kāvī plate. The text of ll. 16-24, however, which describe Ahirōla and his son Jayabhata IV is not known to occur anywhere else. The orthography shows the usual peculiarities noticed in connection with other Early Gurjara grants.

The plates were issued by the illustrious Jayabhata born in the great family of *Maharāja Karna*, who had attained the *pañchamahāśabda* and was the lord of *Mahā-sāmantas* (great feudatory chiefs).¹ The object of the inscription is to record the grant, by Jayabhata, of the village *Mannātha* situated in the famous *Bharukachchha* district. The donee was the *Brāhmaṇa Āchhaḍa*², the son of the *Brāhmaṇa Ādityanāga*, of the *Hētāvuka* sub-caste,³ who belonged to the *Kaunḍinya gōtra* and was a student of the *Mādhyaṇḍina śākhā* of the *Vājasaneyā* (or White *Yajurveda*). He had emigrated from the *pathaka* and *āhāra* of *Lōhikaksha*. The object of the gift was, as usual, to provide for the performance of the five great sacrifices and other rites. The *Dātaka* was the illustrious *Dēiyaka* and the scribe the *Mahābalādhikṛita Saṅgulla*, the son of the *Balādhikṛita Alla*.

The grant was made and written on the fifteenth day of the dark half (called *amāvāsyā* in l. 40) of *Āśvina* in the year 486. The year and the *tithi* are expressed in ll. 49-50, both in words and numerical symbols. This date must, of course, be referred to the Kalachuri era. As the Kalachuri year according to my view began on Kārttika śu. di. 1, the date of the present grant would be later than that of the Kāvī plate by more

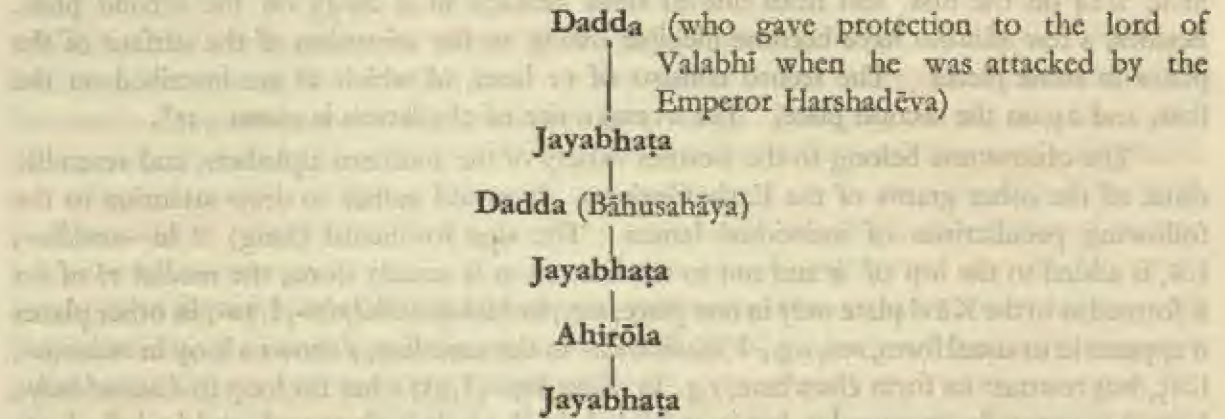
¹ The place of issue is not known, as the first few *aksharas* in l. 1, where we could have expected its mention, are lost owing to the breaking away of the left-hand upper corner of the first plate.

² Mr. Acharya reads his name as *Uchchaḍa*, but there is no trace of any *mātrā* on the left of *ḍ* in *Bhaṭṭ-Āchchaḍīya*, l. 36.

³ See below, p. 109, n. 3.

than three and a half months.¹ Taking the year as expired and the month as *amānta*, the corresponding Christian date would be the 9th October 736 A.C. It does not admit of verification.

The present inscription gives the following genealogy of the donor—



As stated above, the description of the first four princes is exactly as in the Navsāri and Anjanēri plates of Jayabhāṭa III. They must, therefore, be identified with Dadda II (*alias* Praśāntarāga), Jayabhāṭa II, Dadda III (*alias* Bāhusahāya) and Jayabhāṭa III. The next prince Ahirōla, the son of Jayabhāṭa, is mentioned in the present plates only. Like his father, he was a devout worshipper of Mahēśvara (Śiva); attained the *pañchamahāśabda* and was the lord of great feudal chiefs. His description in other respects is merely conventional. His son Jayabhāṭa is similarly described. He must be called Jayabhāṭa IV and distinguished from Jayabhāṭa III, who issued the Navsāri and Anjanēri plates and who was his grandfather. The latter portion of his eulogy in the present inscription occurs also in the Kāvī plate. Its historical importance has already been noticed.² The rest is a mere conventional description.

Of the localities mentioned in the present grant, Bharukachchha has already been identified with Broach. Mannātha the donated village is probably Magnāth³ on the right bank of the Dhādhar about 2 m. south-east of Jambusar, and 25 m. north of Broach. Lōhikaksha I am unable to locate.

TEXT⁴

First Plate

१ [सिद्धम् [*] स्वस्ति [*] . . . सततलक्ष्मी*] निवासभूते ।^६ तूष्णासंताप[हारिणि]
[दिनना]यवि[स्ता]रिता[नुभावे] द्विज[कु-]

¹ This is according to the *amānta* scheme. According to the *pūrṇimānta* scheme, the interval would be about two months and a half.

² See above, p. 97.

³ Both *Mannātha* and *Magnātha* are corrupt forms of *Magnanātha* (the submerged Lord) and evidently owe their origin to the presence, in the village, of a temple, probably of Śiva, which was submerged by the Dhādhar. Mr. Acharya identifies Mannātha with 'Manād, about a mile and a half north-east of Mehegam, on the north bank of the river Narmadā' *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXIII, p. 148.

⁴ From the photographs kindly supplied by Mr. G. V. Acharya, the Curator of the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay.

⁵ The *akṣaras* marked with an asterisk in this and the following rectangular brackets, which are lost, are supplied from the Navsāri and Anjanēri plates of Jayabhāṭa III (Nos. 21 and 22, above).

⁶ This mark of punctuation is redundant.

- 2 [लोपजीव्यमानविभवशालिनि*] ¹ महति महाराजकर्णान्वये ¹ कमलाकक(र) इव रा-
[जहं]सः प्रबलकलिकाल-
- 3 [विलसितानाकुलितविमलस्वभावो गं*][भीरो]दारचरितविस्मापितसकललोकपालमानस[: प]-
रमे[श्वरश्रीहर्ष]देवाभिभूतव-
- 4 [लभीपतिपरित्राणोप*]जातभ्रमददभ्रशुभ्राभ्रविभ्रमयशोवितान[:*] श्रीददस्तस्य सू[नुरश-
ङ्क]ता]गतप्रणयि-
- 5 [जनोपभुक्तविभवसं*]ज्योपचोयमानम[नो]निर्वृतिरनेककण्टकवंक्षश²संदोहदाहदुल्ललितप्रतापा-
नलो नि-
- 6 [शितनिस्त्रिशधारा*] दारितारातिकरिक्कुम्भमुक्त³मुक्ताफलच्छलोल्लसितसितयशोङ्शुका⁴वगु-
[ण्ठ]त[दिग्बधू]वदनसर-
- 7 [सिजः श्री*]जयभटस्तस्यात्मजो महामुनिमनुषणीतप्रवचनाधिगमविवेकस्वधम्मनिष्ठान[प्रवीणो व]-
र्णाश्रम-
- 8 [व्यवस्थो*] न्मूलितसकलकलिक(का)लावलेपः प्रणयिजनमनोरथवजय⁵व्यतीतविभवसंपाद-
ना[प] नीताशेज(ष)-
- 9 [पा]त्थिवदानाभिमानो मदविवशाङ्कुशातिवर्त्तिकुपितकरिनिवारणप्रथितगुरुगजाधिरोहणप्र-
[भा]वो विप-
- 10 [त्र*]पातपतितनरपतिशताभ्युद्धरणनिखिललोकविश्र(श्रु)तपरोपकारका(क)रणव्यसनः प्राच्य-
प्रतीच्याधिराजविजृम्भि-
- 11 [त*] महासंग्रामनरपतिसहस्रपरिवारितानेकगजघटाविधटनप्रकटितभुजवीर्यं[वि]श्यातवाहुसहा-
याए-
- 12 [र*] नामा ¹ परममाहेश्वरः समधिगतपञ्चमहाशब्द[:*] श्रीददस्तस्य सूनुरनेकसमरसंघट्टघन-
घटितगजघ-
- 13 [टा*] पाटनपटुरसहिष्णुवतगहनदावानलो दीनानाथातुरसुहृत्स्वजनवध्र(वन्धु)कुमुदाकरकौमुदी-
निशाकरो [भागी]-
- 14 [र*]वीप्रवाह इव विपक्षक्षोभक्षमः शान्तनुरिव समुद्भूतका(क)लकलारावमहावाहिनीपतिरा-
दिय(व)राह इव स्वभुजबल-
- 15 पराक्रमोद्धृतधराधरः परममाहेश्वरः समधिगतपञ्चमहाशब्द(ब्दो) महासाम[न्ताधि]पति[:*]
श्रीजयभटस्तस्य सुतः शौ[र्यं]-
- 16 दण्डोदयोत्तुङ्गोत्तमाङ्गभूपालमौलिमालाचुम्बितचरणयुगलः सकलाभिगामिकादिगुणानुरागनि-
[वर्भ]रम-
- 17 नसा स्वयं वृतो राजलक्ष्म्या ¹ कौमुदीन्दुदीधितिचक्रवालविमलयशःशेखरितमेरुशिखरो रणाङ्गणा-
गतवरवै-
- 18 रिवारणघ[टा]कोटिकुहा(ट्टा)कदोर्हण्डश्चतुर्विद्या[धिग]मोप[वृ]ङ्गहित⁶प्रज्ञातिशयसम्यक्प्र-
(क्प्र)व[र्त्ति]तनीतिमार्गानु[र]जित-

¹ This mark of punctuation is redundant.

² Read -वंश-.

³ The Navsāri and Anjanēri plates omit मुक्त.

⁴ Read -यशोशुका-.

⁵ It would be better to read विषय as in the Anjanēri plates.

⁶ Read -पर्वहित-.

- 19 प्रकृतिः प्रकृतिकल्याणाशयत्वादस्पृष्टः क[लि]कालकालिम्ना ।¹ सन्निहितयौवनोपनतान्तविष-
योपभोगसौह्ये
- 20 सहजशत्रुतया वशीकृत[तेन्द्र]यशामः पा[ङ्गुण्य]प्रयोगनिपुणः शक्तिला(त्र)योपचितमहिमा ।²
परममाहेस्वरः सम-
- 21 [धि*][ग]तपञ्चमहाशब्दमहासामन्त(न्ता)धिपति श्री[मन्]हिरोलस्तस्य सकलभुवनतिलकस्या-
त्मजो निजगुणगणमालाल-
- 22 कृतोनेकनरेन्द्रवृन्दारकवृन्दवन्दितचरणा[र]विन्दद्वयः कुन्देन्दुसितसिन्दुवार[कुसु]मधवल्यशःसुधाध-
23 वलितसकलध[रा]मण्डल[*] सुचण्ड³सु(प्र)ताप(पा)नलकवलिताखिलजगदुपप्लवो दुर्वार-
शरासारसमुसो(त्सा)[रित]-
- 24 सक[ला]रातिचक्रवालः प्रधानप्रघनप्रघ(धा)वितप्रकटकरिघटापाटनपटुः चटुलरणाङ्गनावङ्गण-
(न)रव⁴-
- 25 णतुङ्गतु[रङ्ग]म[नि]करभङ्गभासुरो ।⁵ द्रुतदा(द)लितद्विरदमुवत⁶मुक्ता[फ]लनिकरदःतुरा-
सिलतामरीचिनिच[य]-
- 26 मि(मे)चकितदक्षिणबाहुशिखर पद्माकर इ[व*] प्रकटाण(ने)कलक्षणो न पुनर्जलाशयः
क्षपाकर [इव]
- 27 सकलकला[क]लापान्वितो न पुनर्दोषाकरः सागर इ[वा]न्तःप्रवेशितविपक्षभू-
- 28 भृन्मण्डलो न पुनः ग्राहाकुलः नारायण इव सुदर्शनचक्र-

Second Plate

- 29 [क्षपित*] विपक्षो [न पु]नः कृष्णस्वभावः हर इवाङ्गीकृतभूतिनिच[यः] न पुनर्भुजङ्गप-
- 30 [रिवृत*][ः ।] बालेन्दुविम्बप्रतिमेन येन प्रवट्टम(मा)नस्वतनूदयेन । प्रणामकामोत्पकरेण लो-
- 31 [कः कृ*]ताञ्जलिः कान्तिमता कृतोयं(यम्) ॥⁵ [१॥*]सुसिधाराजलेन शामितः प्रसभं बल-
[भी]पतेः पुरे योनाशेषलोकसं-
- 32 [ताप*]कलापदतज्जिकानलः जरा(य)भटजलद एष⁶ [ः ॥२॥*] स विगीयते देववधूकद[म्बे]-
नृपशतमकुटरत्नकिरण[ि*]बलि-
- 33 [रं*]जितपादपं[क]जः समधिगतपञ्चमहाशब्दमहासामन्ताधिपतिश्रीजयभटः कुशली सर्वानेव
राजसा-
- 34 मन्तविषयपतिराष्ट्रग्राममहत्तराधिकारिकादीन्समनुदर्शयत्यस्तु वः संविदितं यथा मया मातापित्रो-
- 35 रा[त्मन]श्चैहिकामुष्मिकपुण्ययशोभिवृद्धये ।¹ लोहिकक्षपकथाहार²विनिर्गततत्त्रैविद्यसाम(मा)-
न्यकौण्डिन्यसमोत्र-
- 36 वाजि[मा]ध्यन्दिनस[त्र]ह्यचारिहेटावुक[त्रा]ह्यणादित्यनागपुत्रभट्टाच्चढाय³ । बलि ।⁴ चरुवैश्व-
देवाग्निहो[त्रा]तिथिपञ्च-

¹ This mark of punctuation is redundant.

² Read प्रचण्ड-.

³ Mr. Acharya read here -रङ्ग-.

⁴ The corresponding passage in the Kāvi plate reads द्विरदकुम्भस्थलश(ग)लितमुक्ताफल-.

⁵ Metre : Upajitii.

⁶ Read the whole verse as follows :—

असिधाराजलशमितः प्रसभं बलभीपतेः पुरे येन ।

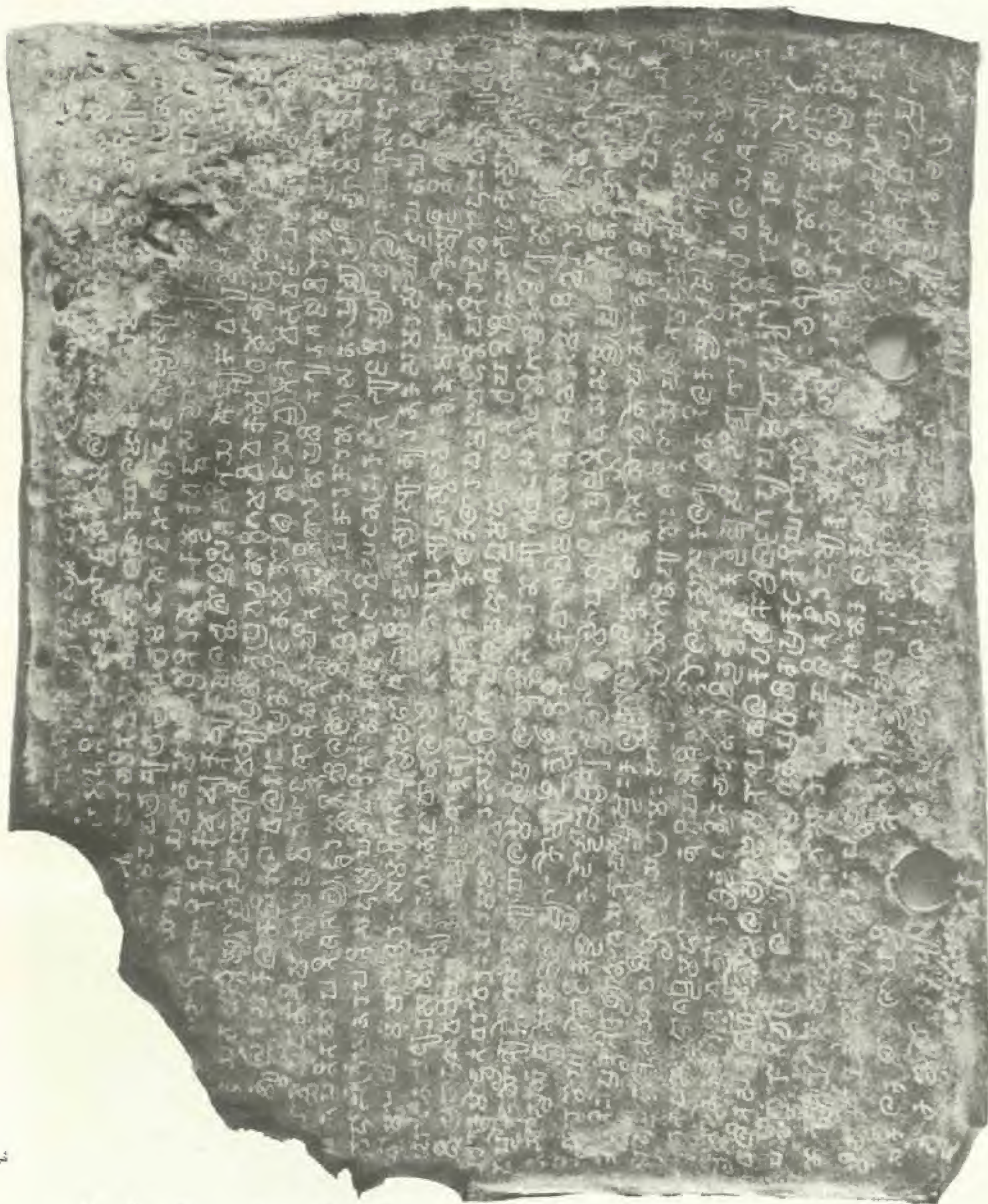
जनसंतापकलापदताज्जिकानलो जयभट जलद एषः ॥ Metre : Giti.

⁷ Read -पयकाहार-.

⁸ See above, p. 103, n. 2.

PRINCE OF WALES MUSEUM PLATES OF JAYABHATA IV: (KALACHURI) YEAR 486

2 4 6 8 10 12 14 16 18 20 22 24 26 28



2 4 6 8 10 12 14 16 18 20 22 24 26 28

E. CB. CHARRA,
Res. No. 3977 E'36-778'51.

SCALE: THREE-FOURTHS.

SURVEY OF INDIA, CALCUTTA.

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- 37 वि(म)हा[यज्ञा]दिक्त्रिया(यो)त्सप्रा(पं)णा[त्थं] श्रीभरुकच्छविषयान्तर्गतमन्नाथग्रामः सोद्रङ्गः
सोपरिकरः सभूतपातप्र¹न्या(त्या)य[*]
38 सधान्यहिरण्यादेयः सदशापर(रा)धः सोत्पद्यम(मा)नविष्टिकः अचाटभटप्रवेश्यः सर्व्वराजकीया-
नामहस्तप्र[क्षे]पनी(णी)-
39 यः पु(पु)[र्व्व]प्रत्तदेवब्रह्मवा(दा)यरहितः भूमिच्छिद्रन्यायेनाचन्द्र(न्द्रा)र्काण्णवक्षितिसरित्पर्व्व-
तसमकालीनः पुत्रपौला(त्रा)न्व[य]-
40 ऋमोप[भोग्यो]द्याश्वयुजमसामुवास्या² उदक्या³तिसर्गणेण श्र(ब्र)ह्मदायत्वे[न*] प्रतिपादितो
या(य)तोस्योचितयाप्र(ब्र)ह्म-
41 वा(दा)यस्थित्या भुजतः कृषतः कक्ष(षं)यतः प्रतिदिशतो वा न कैश्चिद्वच(द्वचा)सेधे वर्त्तितव्यम-
(मा)गामिभद्रनृतिभिरयमश्म(स्म)द्वंश्यै-
42 [र*]न्यैर्व्व(र्व्वा)यमक्मा(स्म)द्यायोनुमन्तव्यः प(पा)लयितव्यश्च । यश्चाज्ञानतिम(मि)रपट-
[ला*]वृतमतिराच्छिन्द्यादाच्छिद्यम[मा]नकं [वा]नुमे(मो)दे[त] स
43 [प*]ञ्चभिर्महाप(पा)तकैस्सोपप[पा]तका(कै)श्च संयुक्त[*] स्य(स्या)दित्युक्तं⁴ च भगवता
वेदव्यासेन व्य(व्या)सेन । षष्टिवप(षं)सहस्र(स्रा)णि स्वर्गं ति-
44 [ष्टति*] भू[मि]द[*] आच्छेत्ता वा(चा)नुम[न्ता] च त(ता)स्वे(न्ये)व नरके वसेत्⁵ [॥३॥*]
विन्ध्याटवीज्वातोयासु⁶ शुष्ककोटरवासिनः [॥*] कृष्णा[हयो] हि
45 [जा*]यन्ते भु(भू)[मि]शायं हरन्ति ये । [॥४॥*] व(ब)हुभिर्व्वसुधा भुक्ता राजभि[*]
सगरादिभिः [॥*] यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य [त]दा फलं(लम्) [॥५॥*]
46 अग्नेरपत्यं प्र[थ]मं सुवर्णं(णं) भूवर्णवी सु(सु)य्य(य्यं)सुताश्च शा(गा)वः[॥*] लोकत्रयं
त(ते)न भवेद्दि दत्तं ॥⁷ यः काञ्चनं गाञ्च [महीं]
47 च दद्यात् [॥६॥*] यानोह दत्तानि पुरा नरेन्द्रः दानानि धर्मञ्च⁸यशस्कराणि ।⁹ नि[र्भु]त्त-
मल्यप्रतिमनि¹⁰तानि को नाम सा-
48 धुः पुनराददीत ।¹¹ [॥७॥*] स्वदत्तां परदत्तां वा या(य)त्नाद्रक्ष युधिष्ठि(ष्ठि)र । महीं महिमतां
श्रेष्ठ दानाच्छ्रेयोनु[पलनमिति](पालनम्¹¹ ॥८॥ इति)
49 भट्टश्रीदेइयकदूतकं ॥ संवत्सरशतचतुष्टये षडशीत्यधिके ।⁷ आश्वयुजबहुलपञ्चद[श्यां]
50 संम्ब[त्*] ४०० ८० ६ आश्वयुज व १० ५ [॥*] लिखितञ्चैतन्मया व(व)ल[ला]घिकृता-
ल्लसुतमहाव[लाघिकृत-]
51 संगुल्लेन ॥

स्वहस्तो मम श्रीजयभटस्य ॥

¹ Read सभूतपात-.

² Read -द्याश्वयुजमसामुवास्यायां.

³ Read उदका-.

⁴ Read स्यादिति । उक्तं च.

⁵ Metre of this and the next two verses: *Anushṭubh*.

⁶ Read विन्ध्याटवीज्वातोयासु.

⁷ This mark of punctuation is superfluous.

⁸ Read धर्मार्थ-.

⁹ Read निर्भुक्तमल्यप्रतिमानि.

¹⁰ Metre: *Indravajrā*.

¹¹ Metre: *Anushṭubh*.

TRANSLATION

[For a translation of lines 1-15, see above, pp. 87 f.]

(Line 15) His son (*was*) the illustrious Ahirōla,—the pair of whose feet was kissed by the crest-wreaths of kings who held their heads on high by reason of (*their*) valour and army; who was freely chosen by the goddess of fortune, her mind being overpowered by love for all his attractive royal qualities and other excellences; who provided the peaks of the Mēru (mountain) with the crest of (*his*) fame, spotless like the mass of lunar rays on the full-moon day; whose staff-like arm was wont to destroy crores of excellent elephant hosts of the enemies on the battlefield; who delighted his subjects with the paths of moral conduct properly laid by his great wisdom enhanced by the acquisition of the four lores; who, noble-minded as he was by nature, was not affected by the blackness of the Kali age; who, being naturally averse to pleasures (*derived*) from the enjoyment of innumerable objects close at hand (*which were*) presented by (*his*) youth, controlled all his sense organs; who was adept in the use of the six measures of policy¹, whose greatness was increased by the triad of powers (*śaktis*)², who was the devout worshipper of Mahēśvara, attained the *pañchamahā-śabda* and was the lord of the great feudatories.

(L. 21) The son of him, who was an ornament of the whole world, is the illustrious Jayabhata (IV),—who is adorned with the wreaths of his numerous virtues; the pair of whose lotus-like feet is saluted by many hosts of eminent kings; who has white-washed the whole orb of the earth with his fame, which in brightness resembles *kumda*³ flowers, the moon and white *sinduvāra*⁴ flowers; whose extremely terrible fire of valour has put an end to the troubles of the whole world; who with the showers of his irresistible arrows has routed the hosts of all his foes; who is clever in piercing the crowds of elephants that are openly made to charge in great wars; who appears resplendent by his destruction of troops of swift and tall horses that trot and prance about on the battlefield; the top of whose right arm becomes dark-blue with the multitude of rays from his creeper-like sword, which becomes uneven with clusters of pearls from the frontal globes of elephants cleft in haste; who has manifested many auspicious marks⁵, as a lotus-pool exhibits cranes, but who, (*unlike the lotus-pool which contains a store of water*), has not an insensible heart; who has acquired the multitude of all fine arts even as the moon contains all digits, but who, (*unlike the moon that marks the night*), has no blemish; who has given refuge to a multitude of hostile princes as the ocean gave shelter to a number of wingless mountains, but who, (*unlike the ocean that is infested by alligators*), is not affected by greed; who destroys his enemies with his well-equipped army just as Nārāyaṇa (Vishṇu) does with his discus, Sudarśana, but who, (*unlike Nārāyaṇa who is dark complexioned*), is not evil-intentioned; who has acquired abundant prosperity just as Śiva takes a large quantity of ashes (*to smear his body with*), but who, (*unlike Śiva whose body is entwined by serpents*), is not surrounded by dissolute men.

[For a translation of ll. 30-34, see above, p. 101.]

(L. 34) "Be it known to you that for the increase of the religious merit and fame, in this world and the next, of (*My*) mother and father and of Myself, I have today on the new-

¹ These are *sandhi* 'peace,' *vigraha* 'war' *yāna* 'marching,' *āsana* 'sitting encamped,' *dvaiddibhāva* 'duplicity' and *saṁśraya* 'alliance with a more powerful king.'

² These are *prabhuṭva*, 'power derived from one's royal position,' *mantra*, 'the power of good counsel' and *utsāha*, 'personal energy'.

³ *Jasminum multiflorum*.

⁴ *Vitex Negundo*.

⁵ For the explanation of the puns in this and the following clauses, see above, p. 101, notes 4-8.

moon day of the month Āśvina granted with a libation of water as a *brahmadāya*,¹ the village Mannātha situated in the famous *vishaya* of Bharukachcha,—together with the *udraṅga* and the *uparikara*, with taxes on things manufactured or imported, with its income in grain and gold, with (the fines imposed for) the ten offences, with the right of forced labour arising therefrom; (which is) not to be entered by *chāṭas* and *bhaṭas*; (which is to be) free from interference of all officers of the state; exclusive of all grants previously made to gods and Brāhmaṇas; (which is) to be enjoyed by a succession of sons and sons' sons, as long as the moon, the sun, the ocean, the earth, rivers and mountains will endure, according to the maxim of waste land;—to Bhaṭṭa Āchchada² the son of the Brāhmaṇa Ādityanāga of the Hētāvuka³ (sub-caste) of the Kauṇḍinya *gōtra*, who is a student of the Mādhyandina *śākhā* of the Vājasaneyā, who has emigrated from the *āhara* and *pathaka* of Lōhikaksha and belongs to the community of the Trivēdins of that place,—for the performance of the five great sacrifices, (*viz.*) *bali*, *charu*, *vaiśvadeva*, *agnihōtra*, (and the reception of) guests and such other (religious) rites.

[For a translation of ll. 40-43, see above, p. 89.]

(L. 43) And it has been said by the holy Vyāsa, the redactor of the Vēdas—

(Here follow six benedictive and imprecatory verses).

(L. 49) This (*charter*), the *Dūtaka* of which is the Bhaṭṭa, the illustrious Dēiyaka, has been written by me, the Mahābalādhikṛita Saṅgulla, the son of the Balādhikṛita Alla, on the fifteenth (*tithi*) of the dark fortnight of Āśvayuja in the year four hundred increased by sixty,—the year 400 (and) 80 (and) 6, (the month) Āśvayuja, the dark (fortnight), (the lunar day) 10 (and) 5.

This is the sign-manual of Me, the illustrious Jayabhata.

¹ *I.e.*, a gift made to a Brāhmaṇa. Villages or lands so granted had special privileges.

² See above, p. 103, n. 2.

³ In later times *Hētāvuka* came to signify 'a horse-dealer'. The *Mitākṣarā* on the *Yājñavalkya-Smṛiti*, ch. II, v. 30 mentions the *Hētāvukas* together with betel-sellers, weavers and shoemakers as persons who formed guilds, and the commentary *Bālabhāṭṭi* explains that the *Hētāvukas* are dealers in horses. They sell them either personally or through their agents in different places. The commentary adds that the word is well-known in the *Gurjara-dēśa*. Cf. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, p. 185 and *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XLII, p. 64.

INSCRIPTIONS OF THE SENDRAKAS

NO. 25; PLATE XVIII

KASARE PLATES OF ALLASAKTI: (KALACHURI) YEAR 404

THESE plates were discovered in 1937 at Kāsārē, a village thirty-four miles almost due west of Dhulia in West Khandesh, Bombay State. They are now deposited in the Bhārata Itihāsa Samśōdhaka Maṇḍala, Poona. I edit the inscription here from excellent photographs kindly supplied by the Secretary of the Maṇḍala.¹

They are two copper-plates measuring 7·7" in length and 5·5" in breadth. At the top of each there is a roundish hole about .4" in diameter for two rings which hold them together. One of them carries a conical seal with a circular face measuring 1·5" in diameter, which has the legend *Sri-Allasakti*. The weight of the plates together with the rings and the seal is 108 *tolas*. The record consists of thirty-three lines, of which fourteen and fifteen are incised on the inner sides of the first and the second plate respectively, and the remaining four on the outer side of the first plate turned upside down. The writing is in a state of good preservation almost throughout. The size of the letters varies from .1" to .2".

The characters are of the western variety of the southern alphabets, and resemble those used in the grants of the Early Gurjaras. The technical execution is very bad. The letters are of uneven size and are carelessly formed; those on the outer side of the first plate are more than double the average size of the rest. Besides, the *aksharas* originally engraved in ll. 20 and 21 were subsequently beaten in, and others much larger in size incised over them. The earlier *aksharas* have, however, been left over through inadvertence between ll. 19 and 20. Some more can be read with patience and perseverance here and there from the traces left behind. It is not possible to say definitely when the record was thus tampered with, or altered by authority; but the form of the letters subsequently engraved indicates that the alteration must have been made in the same period, to which the rest of the inscription can be referred on palæographic grounds.² As regards individual letters, we may notice that the writer has confounded *v* and *b* in some places; see *prabhavati*, l. 6, and *bhagabatō*, l. 27. The cursive subscript *m* occurs in *brāhmaṇa-* and *-brahmachāri-*, both in l. 22. Both the forms of *l* have been used,—the northern with a shortened right limb as in *lōkānām*, and *lōkapālah*, both in l. 9, and the southern with the right limb bent to the left as in *prithivīvallabha* and *kuśali*, both in l. 18. A peculiar form of *dh* occurs in *Aśhādha*, l. 32. The sign for the *jihvāmālīya* is used in ll. 8 and 18, and that for the *upadhmāniya* in ll. 10, 17 and 27. The symbols for the numbers 400 and 4 occur in l. 31.

The language is Sanskrit. Except for three verses embedded in the eulogistic

¹ Since this article was written, the plates have been published by Mr. G. H. Khare in the *Sources of the Medieval History of the Deccan*, Vol. II, pp. 66 f.

² One of the reasons for alteration was perhaps the omission of some portion of the record in l. 20 as originally written, for the space between *yathā mayā Brāhma-* in l. 20 and *yasya ch-āghāṣanāni* in the next line is not sufficient to contain the mention of the *śākhā*, *gōtra* and name of the Brāhmaṇa donee and the name of the donated village, the boundaries of which were introduced with the words *yasya ch-āghāṣanāni*. Nevertheless, it cannot be said that the present text is only a revised form of the earlier grant, for it differs materially from it; there are, for instance, no boundaries of the granted village mentioned in the later text.

portion and one more added at the end to convey benediction and imprecation, the record is in prose throughout. It is written in an ornate style,¹ but contains two grammatical blunders² in the second verse. As regards orthography, we may notice that the medial *ri* is in many places written as *ri*; see *nighrishṭa*, l. 4, *drishṭvā*, l. 5 etc.; *v* and *b* are generally expressed by separate signs, but in *prabhabati* l. 6, and *bhagabatō*, l. 27, *v* is indicated by the sign for *b*; the consonant following *r* has been correctly reduplicated in several places, but in *varshsha*, l. 27 it violates Pāṇini's rule, VIII, 4, 49.

The plates were issued by Allasakti of the family of the Sēndrakas, who had attained the *pañchamahāśabda* and was a devout worshipper of Mahēśvara. The *birudas* Prithivivallabha and Śrī-Nikumbha³ are mentioned in connection with his name. The charter in its revised form purports to record the grant of fifty *nivartanas* of land to the south of the river Pa(?)ṇḍha⁴ in the village Pippalakhēṭa, in honour of the deity Alaṅghyēśvara. The donee was the Brāhmaṇa Bālapravasita of the Kṛishṇātrēya *gōtra*, who was a student of the Mādhyandina *śākhā* of the Vājasanēya or White Yajurveda. The grant was written by Dēvadinna by the order of the *Mahābalādhikṛita*, the illustrious Vāsava.⁵ It was made on the occasion of the solar eclipse on the new moon day of Āshāḍha in the year 404, expressed in numerical symbols⁶ only, of an unspecified era.

In the eulogistic portion we are told that Allasakti was the son of Ādityarāja, who was himself the son of the illustrious Nikumbha. The description of these princes is quite conventional and mentions no historical event. Another grant of the Sēndrakas found at Mundkhēḍē near Chalisgaon in West Khandesh has been published by the late Mr. G.K. Chandorkar.⁷ It gives the following genealogy—

Bhānuśakti (Śrī-Vallabha)
|
Ādityaśakti
|
Nikumbhallaśakti (Satyāśraya, Prithivivallabha, who attained the *pañ-*
chamahāśabda)
|
Jayaśakti (Satyāśraya, Prithivivallabha, Vikramāditya, Nikumbha)

¹ Notice, for instance, the puns in v. 2, which make the comparison of Ādityarāja with the sun possible and the description of Allasakti in ll. 15-17 in which the names of all the Pāṇḍavas are cleverly interwoven.

² *Vic*, the ungrammatical form *ebakshū-bhāṭa*, l. 9 and the wrong *sandbi -tsutō = dityarājab*, l. 10.

³ That *Nikumbha* is a *biruda* is shown by the fact that the royal name occurs without it in the legend on the seal, as well as in l. 17.

⁴ The first *akṣara* of this name is uncertain.

⁵ The text reads *Śrī-Vāsavataṭa-samādēśāt* but the *akṣaras* *sana* seem to have been repeated by mistake.

⁶ Of the symbols, the first denoting hundreds is clearly a sign for 400 and the second, except for the curve at the top, is the usual sign for 4. It may be noted that a similar curve is attached to the top of the symbol denoting 4 in the date of the Surat plates of Śrīśraya-Śilāditya, No. 19, Pl. XXII. The symbol would have to be taken as denoting 40 if the following symbol denotes a unit number like 7, but in that case its date (K. 447 or 696 A. C.) would be later than the date Śaka 602 or 680 A. C. which we have for Allasakti's son Jayaśakti in his Mundkhēḍē plates. I, therefore, prefer to take the last sign to denote *de*, corresponding to *dī* (*dīna*) which occurs before the symbol of the *tithi* in early Brāhmī records. It is noteworthy that the scribe of the present grant wrote also the Bagumrā plates of the same king and the *Mahābalādhikṛita* was also the same in both, (see p. 121, n. 41, below). The names of both are mentioned in another grant of Allasakti (see N. I. A., Vol. I, p. 747.) The date of the present grant must, therefore, be within a few years on either side of the date K. 406 of the Bagumrā plates.

⁷ This grant has been published twice, but without a facsimile, first in the Marāṭhī monthly *Prabhāta*, Vol. I (pub. in 1908), and again in the *Annual Report of the Bhārata Itihāsa Samsthādhaka Maṇḍala* for Śaka 1834. The plates are not forthcoming now.

The use of *Nikumbha* as a *biruda* prefixed to the name of Jayaśakti suggests that the word is a *biruda* in the name Nikumbhallaśakti also and, therefore, the real name of the prince was probably Allaśakti. Of the four princes named in the Mundkhēḍe plates two,—Ādityaśakti and Allaśakti,—are thus common to our grant. This shows that Nikumbha was another name or title of Bhānuśakti, and he being the founder of the family, it was used as a *biruda* by his descendants. It is again plain that Jayaśakti was the son of the Allaśakti who issued the present plates. As stated above, Allaśakti's present grant was made in the year 404, while Jayaśakti's Mundkhēḍe plates were issued in the year 602. The only way in which we can reconcile these two dates is to refer the former to the Kalachuri era and take it to correspond to 653 or 654 A.C., and the latter to the Śaka era, corresponding to 680 A.C. As Jayaśakti was the son of Allaśakti, the interval of nearly twenty-six years between the two dates appears quite natural.

Referring the date of the present grant to the Kalachuri era, we find that according to the epoch of 248-49 A.C., the new-moon day of the *pūrṇimānta* Āshāḍha in the *current* Kalachuri year 404 fell on Saturday, the 1st of June 653 A.C. when there was a solar eclipse¹ as stated in the present record. There was no solar eclipse either in *pūrṇimānta* or *amānta* Āshāḍha in 652 A.C. or 654 A.C. The date of the present plates is noteworthy, because it is one of the two early verifiable dates of the Kalachuri era which cite a current year,² and secondly its month was *pūrṇimānta*,³ while the prevailing custom in Gujarat and the Deccan was to cite *amānta* months. The Kalachuri year, as shown elsewhere, was *Kārttikādi*. From an examination of several dates of the Vikrama era, Kielhorn came to the conclusion that the southern (*Kārttikādi*) year of the Vikrama era was joined with the *pūrṇimānta* as with often as with the *amānta* scheme.⁴ It should, therefore, cause no surprise if we find that the *Kārttikādi* year of the Kalachuri era also was occasionally and exceptionally joined with the *pūrṇimānta* scheme in Gujarat and the adjoining country.

Of the geographical names mentioned in the present grant, Pippalakhēṭa is probably Pimpalnēr, about 9 miles west of Kāsārē. The river Parṇandha may be the Panjhrā which flows along the northern boundary of Pimpalnēr. The land to the south of it was, therefore, within the boundary of the village as stated in the present grant.

TEXT⁵

First Plate: Inner Side

1 सिद्धम्⁶ [1*] स्वस्ति [1*] मेरुमहीध[र]शिखरस्थिर[र]चिरसमुन्नते विकसितयशसि

2 महति सेन्द्रकराजानामन्वये⁷ अनेकचातुर्दन्तगजघटाटोपसमरसङ्घट्ट-

¹ The eclipse was a total one and was visible in India.

² For the other early Kalachuri date citing a current year, see the Nasik plates of Dharaśraya-Jayasimha, No. 28, below.

³ The month in the Anjanēri plates of Jayabhata III is *amānta* as shown above. In the later Kalachuri dates from North India and Madhya Pradesh, the months are invariably *pūrṇimānta*.

⁴ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XX, p. 401. For a later date in a *pūrṇimānta* month from Gujarat, see the Kaḍi copper-plate inscription of the Chālukya Mūlarāja, dated V. 1043, *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VI, p. 192. See also *ibid.*, Vol. XIX, p. 166.

⁵ From the photographs of the plates kindly supplied by the Secretary of the Bhārata Itihāsa Saṁśōdhaka Maṇḍala, Poona.

⁶ Expressed by a symbol.

⁷ Read सेन्द्रकराजानामन्वये.

- 3 लब्धविजयो विजिताशेषरिपुगण[:*] स्वभुजवलविक्रमक्रान्त¹महीमण्डल[:*]
 4 प्रणताशेषसामन्तशिरो[मु]कुटनिघ्नष्टपादपङ्कजो² पुनरपि च [।*] [आजो] नि-
 5 [भि]न्नकुम्भ[प्र]गलितरुधिर[व्या]प्तभूमौ हता[स्वे] ।³ द्विष्ट्वा⁴ सङ्गाहशु⁵जालं क्षरदन-
 लक-
 6 ण(णं) प्र[स्फु]रद्विद्युद(दा)भं(भम्) । स्थातु(तुं) शक्नोपि येषां प्रभव(व)ति न रणे
 ताद्रिशा⁶भुन(न्न)तानां
 7 राजासीच्छ्रीनिकुम्भ[:*] [सु]रपतिसद्विशो⁷ वंशज⁸ सेन्द्रकाणां(णाम्)⁹ [॥१॥*] विभ्राण(णो)
 [भा*]नुरागम्(गं)
 8 जग(न)हितमननं सर्व्वदा सानुराग¹⁰कुर्व्वणिप्रोन्नतना¹⁰ [गु]रुकटकभित(भूतां) भूभू-
 9 ता(तां) [मृ]द्वि(द्विघ्न) पादं(दम्) [।*] लोकानां चक्षुभूत¹¹शमितजनतमा लोकपालः
 प्रि(पृ)थिव्या(व्यां) श्रि(श्री)मा(मान्)
 10 विख्यातकीर्त्ती रविरिव विम[ल*]स्तत्सुतोदित्यराज¹²[: ॥२॥*] तस्यात्मज¹²प्रबलरिपुब-
 11 लोद्भूतविभ[व]प्रध्वंसहेतुः शरदमलशशाङ्कमण्डलामलयशाः
 12 सुरपतिरिव विद्याधरजनगन्ध[र्व्व]निषेवितस्सेव्यो रम्या(म्य)ज्ञानकर्मभावितम-
 13 ताश्च गरुड इव विनतानन्दजण(न)नो राम इव परिसमाप्तसीता-
 14 विग्रह[:*] यश्च विप्राधिष्ठितसम्पदाहितगुरुः¹³

Second Plate

- 15 [धु]र्याविनध्व(द्धः) सदा [श्री]मानर्जुनकर्मभावितमना[:*] सही(द्धी)मस(से)ना-
 16 न्वित[:*] धर्मात्मा सहदेव[पृ]जितवपु[:*] स[सा]मान्य[दा]नस्सदा[मित्रा?] कृ[ष्ण¹⁴]कु-
 17 [लो*] [यु]धिष्ठिरसमो रा[जा]ल्लशक्ती¹⁵ क्षितौ¹⁶ [॥३॥*] मातापितृषादानुद्धृष्टात[:*]
 परममाहेस्वर¹⁷पर-
 18 मन्नहाय्य[:*] समावाप्त¹⁷[प*]ञ्चमह(द्वा)शब्द[:] प्रिथिवीवल्लभ¹⁸श्री निकुम्भालल्लशक्ति¹⁸कुशली
 सर्व्वानिव राजसाम-

¹ The cognate Bagumrā plates (No. 26) read विक्रमाक्रान्त-.

² Read -निघ्नष्टपादपङ्कजः.

³ This mark of punctuation is superfluous.

⁴ Read दृष्ट्वा.

⁵ Read सङ्गाह-.

⁶ Read तादृशा-.

⁷ Read -सदृशो.

⁸ Read वंशजः.

⁹ Metre: *Sragdharā*.

¹⁰ Read ¹⁰प्रोन्नतानां.

¹¹ The correct grammatical form would be चक्षुभूतः which would not, however, suit the metre. Read नेत्रभूतः.

¹² The correct *sandhi* of तत्सुतः and आदित्यराजः would be तत्सुत आदित्यराजः, but this would go against the metre. Read तत्सुतादित्यराजः. Metre: *Sragdharā*.

¹³ Read -गुरुर्धुर्या-.

¹⁴ The reading of these four *akṣaras* is uncertain.

¹⁵ Read राजाल्लशक्तिः.

¹⁶ Metre: *Sārdūlavikrīḍita*.

¹⁷ Read समावाप्त-.

¹⁸ Read पृथिवीवल्लभ-.

- 19 न्तविषयभोगिक[चो]रोद्धरणिकदण्डपाशिकदूतश (ग) मागमिकग्राममहत्तराधिकादि (रि) कादी [न्]
 20 समाज्ञापयत्यस्तु¹ व[:*] संविदितं यथा² मया पिप्पलखेटग्रा[मा*]न्तर्गत-
 21 [प] ण्णन्धदि(दी)दक्षिणत[:*] भूनिवर्तनानि वर्तनानि³
 22 पञ्चाशतः⁴ ब्राह्मणवाजि(ज)सनेयसन्नह्यचारिमाद्धचन्दिनकि(कु)ष्णात्रेयसगोत्रवालप्र-
 23 वसिताय⁵ भूच्छिद्रन्यायेन्या (ना) चन्द्रावर्काण्ण[व]क्षितिस्थितिसमकालीनत्वेन पुत्रपौ[त्रा]-
 24 न्वयभोग्यतयालङ्घ्येश्वरदेवपादोपयोगाय (या)स्मै⁶
 25 पित्रोरात्मनश्च पुण्ययशोभिन्नि(वृ)द्धये⁷ उदका-
 26 तिसर्गणे प्रतिपादितो⁸ यतोस्मद्वृजै⁹रर्ण्य (न्ये)वर्गार्गा(गा)भिन्नि(नृ)पतिभिरस्मद्वा-
 27 योनुमन्तव्यप्रतिपालयितव्यश्चेत्युक्तं¹⁰ भगव(व)तो(ता)व्यासेन¹¹ व्यासेन [1*] षष्ठिम्बर्षं¹²स-
 28 ह्नाणि स्वर्गो मोदति भूमिदः [1*] आच्छेत्ता चानुमन्ता च तान्येव नरक(के)
 29 वसे [त्*]¹³ [11४11*]क¹⁴छारामतलभो[ग्य](ग्या)नि [स*][दा] मय्यादया [1*]

First Plate : Outer Side

- 30 महाबलाधिकृत¹⁵ श्रीवासवसवसमादेशा¹⁶[त्*]
 31 लिखितमि[दं*] देवदिग्नेनेति [1*] सं ४०० ४ दे¹⁷
 32 आपा[द]¹⁸ व आमा[व]स्या¹⁹ सूर्यग्रहो-
 33 परागे [11*]

Seal

श्रीअल्लशक्ति [11*]

¹ Read समाज्ञापयति । अस्तु.

² The *aksbaras* from here onwards up to ब्राह्मण in l. 22 are written in a much larger form and are engraved over other previously written *aksbaras*, which, though beaten in, can be read here and there. Between lines 19 and 20, the *aksbaras* यथा मया ब्राह्मण which were previously written and were meant to be connected with अस्तु वः संविदितं in l. 20 can be read quite clearly. Similarly, between lines 20 and 21, the words यस्य चाघाटनानि are still legible. The following portion of that line lay under the *aksbaras* पिप्पलखेट etc. and can be read with some diffidence as उत्तरते(तः) स(?)न्यनदी पूर्व्वं [तः]... याणक-. In the next line which lies partly between ll. 21 and 22 and partly below the *aksbaras* in l. 21 one can read ग्राम[ः] दक्षिणतः... पश्चिमतः[ः] त(?)टाकीस(?)मेतो. Traces of some five *aksbaras* can be seen after वर्तनानि in l. 21 of the text, which may be read एवं चतुरा-.

³ These four *aksbaras* are superfluous.

⁴ Read पञ्चाशद्.

⁵ Read -वाजसनेयसमाध्यन्दिनसन्नह्यचारि... ब्राह्मणवालप्रवसिताय

⁶ Read -यास्मत्पित्रो-.

⁷ Read -वृद्धय.

⁸ Read प्रतिपादितानि so as to agree with भूनिवर्तनानि in l. 21.

⁹ Read -स्मद्वृजै-.

¹⁰ Read -श्चेति । उक्तं च ।

¹¹ Read वेदव्यासेन.

¹² Read षष्टि वर्ष-.

¹³ Metre: *Anushtubh*.

¹⁴ The *aksbaras* are quite clear here, but I am not certain about the meaning. Perhaps कच्छारामतलानि भोग्यानि सदा मय्यादया is meant.

¹⁵ The engraver first incised नि which he later altered into कि. Read महाबलाधिकृत-.

¹⁶ Read श्रीवासवसमादेशाद् There is a redundant and unconnected curve on the left of *śrī*.

¹⁷ This *aksbara* is superfluous.

¹⁸ The form of this *aksbara* is unusual.

¹⁹ Read अमावस्यायां.

KASARE PLATES OF ALLASAKTI: (KALACHURI) YEAR 404

i.a.

2 3 4 6 8 10 12 14

2 4 6 8 10 12 14

ii.

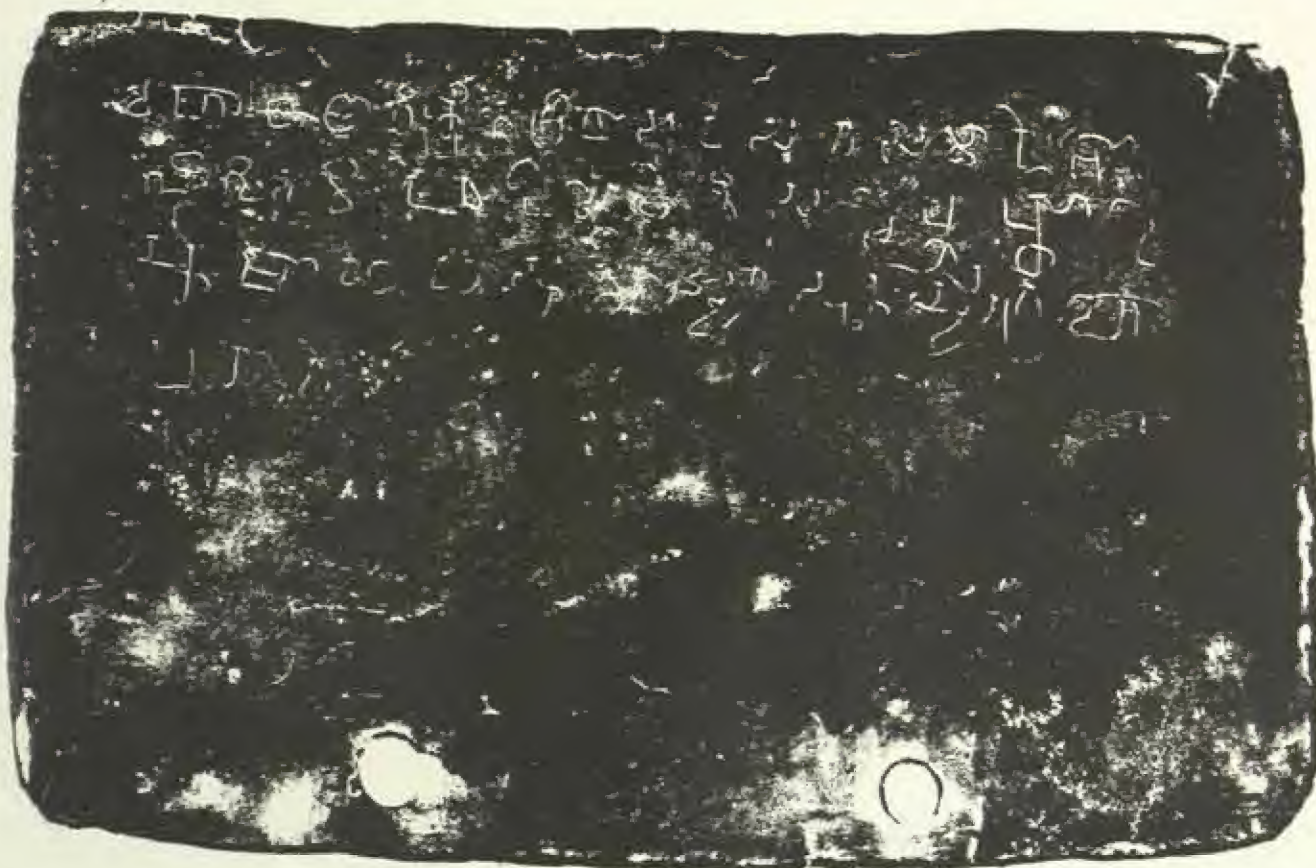
16 18 20 22 24 26 28

16 18 20 22 24 26 28

i, b.

30

32



30

32

Seal



(From a photograph.)

TRANSLATION

Success! Hail! In the great lineage of the Sēndraka kings which is firmly established, excellent and elevated like the peak of the mountain Mēru, (and) the fame of which has become expanded, (there was the illustrious Bhānufakti¹), who obtained victory in the clash of fight by means of the arrays of troops of many four-tusked elephants; who conquered the multitude of all his foes; who obtained the circle of the earth by the might and prowess of his arms; whose lotus-like feet were scratched by the diadems on the heads of all the feudatories who bowed to him. And again.—

(Verse 1) Born in the family of those eminent Sēndrakas,—seeing the mass of lustre of whose swords, emitting sparks of fire and resembling flashes of lightning, even Śakra can not hold his ground, fighting on the battlefield where horses lie slain and the ground of which overflows with blood flowing from the cut-off frontal globes (of the hostile elephants)—there was the king, the illustrious Nikumbha, who resembled Indra.

(V. 2) His son (was) the illustrious Ādityarāja, the guardian of the people,—whose fame spread (all) over the earth; who was stainless like the sun; who had the splendour of the sun; who with affection always thought of the well-being of the people; who placed his foot on the heads of great kings who had large armies, even as the sun casts his rays on the summits of high mountains having extensive ridges²; (and) who, being like the eye of the people as the sun is of the worlds, has destroyed the ignorance of the people (even as the sun dispels darkness).

(Line 10) His son (is) the Prithivīvallabha, illustrious Nikumbha, Allaśakti³, who has caused the destruction of the greatness, due to might, of his powerful adversaries; whose stainless fame is like the orb of the spotless autumnal moon; who is waited upon by learned men and musicians even as the lord of gods (i.e., Indra) is served by the Vidyādhara and Gandharvas⁴; (who is) fit to be served; who has his mind purified by delightful knowledge and actions; who causes delight to the humble even as Garuḍa did to (his mother) Vinatā; who has put an end to disputes about (the possession of) ploughed fields⁵ as Rāma finished fighting for (the rescue of his wife) Sītā;⁶ who, again, is—

(V. 3) The king Allaśakti who on earth bears resemblance to Yudhisṭhira, because his fortune is governed by the Brāhmaṇas, (because) he honours the elders, (and) is always at the head and ready; because his mind is purified by righteous deeds even as

¹ This name does not occur in the text, but is supplied from the corresponding passage of the cognate Bagumrā plates. The repetition of the expression *Sēndrakāṇām vaṇśajaḥ* in v. 1 below shows that the verse is to be taken separately and not to be connected with the preceding expressions in prose.

² There are puns on the words *bhūbhṛt* meaning 'a king' and 'a mountain,' *pāda* meaning 'the foot' and 'a ray' and *kaśaka* meaning 'an army' and 'the ridge of a mountain'.

³ Though the expression *śrī-Nikumbha* seems to be inseparably joined to *Allaśakti*, the legend on the seal shows that the royal name was *Allaśakti* only.

⁴ This and the following expressions in the original admit of a double interpretation on account of puns on some words occurring in them.

⁵ The *Arthashastra* of Kauṭilya has a chapter entitled *Sītādhyakṣa* which deals with agricultural matters.

⁶ Or, if we take *vigraha* in the sense of 'the body,' it may mean 'as Rāma put an end to Sītā's bodily form' the reference being to the disappearance of Sītā underground as described in Vālmiki's *Rāmāyaṇa*.

Yudhishthira's was by the (*valorous*) deeds of Arjuna¹; because he is pious-minded and is followed by an excellent army as Yudhishthira was called Dharma² and was accompanied by (*his brother*), the noble Bhīmasēna; because his gifts are always shared by the Brāhmaṇas (*lit.*, those whose person is worshipped) together with the gods, even as Yudhishthira's person was honoured by Sahadēva and his gifts were shared (*by all*); because his family is friendly and untarnished, even as Yudhishthira's brother Nakula exterminated his foes.³

(L. 17) He, the *Prithivīvallabha*, the illustrious *Nikumbha Allaśakti*,—who meditates on the feet of *his* mother and father; who is a devout worshipper of Mahēśvara (*and*) very pious; and who has attained the *pañchamahāśabda*,—being in good health, addresses the (*following*) order to all the kings, feudatories, heads of *vishayas*, *Chaurōddharanikas*, *Danḍapāsikas*, *Dūtas*, *Gamāgamikas*,⁴ the *Mahattaras* of the village, officials and others:—

(L. 20) "Be it known to you that for the increase of the religious merit and fame of (*My*) parents and Myself, I have granted, with a libation of water, fifty *nivartanas* of land to the south of the *Parṇandha* river in the village of *Pippalakhēṭa*,—to be enjoyed by a succession of sons and sons' sons as long as the moon, the sun, the ocean and the earth will endure, according to the maxim of waste land,—to the Brāhmaṇa *Bālapravasita* of the *Kṛishṇātrēya gōtra*, who is a student of the *Mādhyandina śākhā* of the *Vājasaneyā* (or White Yajurveda), for the use of the god *Alaṅghyēśvara*.

(L. 26) Wherefore future kings, whether born in our family or others, should consent to and preserve (*this*) our gift."

It has been said by the holy Vyāsa, the redactor (*of the Vēdas*),—

(*Here follows one benedictive and imprecatory verse*).

(L. 29) The banks, groves and tanks (*in the donated land?*) are to be enjoyed at all times according to the (*proper*) custom.

This (*charter*) is written by⁵ *Dēvadinna* by the order of the *Mahābalādhikṛita*, the illustrious *Vāsava*. In the year 400 (*and*) 4, on the new-moon day in the dark (*fortnight*) of *Āshāḍha*, on (*the occasion of*) a solar eclipse.

Seal

The illustrious *Allaśakti*

¹ This and the following expressions, in which the names of the Pāṇḍavas are cleverly interwoven, are intended to be construed with *Allaśakti* and *Yudhishthira*.

² In the case of *Yudhishthira*, *dharm-ātmā* is to be explained as *dharmāḥ ātmā* (*svarūpam, nāma vā*) *yasya*. He was known by the name *Dharma*.

³ In the case of *Allaśakti*, the *pada-ekabhedā* is *mitra-akṛishṇa-kulō* and in that of *Yudhishthira* it is *amitra-akṛish-Nakulō* (*amitrān ākarishati iti tādṛishā Nakulō yasya*). The correct grammatical expression in the latter case should, however, be *amitr-akṛiṇ-Nakulō*.

⁴ The *Gamāgamika* (*lit.* he who superintends the egress and ingress of travellers) was evidently an inspector of passports. The *Arthasāstra* of Kautilya mentions a similar officer called *Mudrādhyakṣha*.

⁵ See the discussion about the date above, p. 112.

No. 26; PLATE XIX

BAGUMRA PLATES OF ALLASAKTI¹ : (KALACHURI) YEAR 406

THE plates were found in 1881 together with several others² by a labourer of Surat, 'who was engaged in excavating the *pro tempore* kitchens for a large wedding party at Bagumrā³ (Zilla Balesar) in the Gackwad's territory.'⁴ They were edited by Dr. G. Bühler first in *Sitzungsberichte der Wiener Akademie*, Band CXIV, pp. 169 ff. and subsequently with some emendations and a translation accompanied by excellent lithographs in the *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 265 ff. I edit the inscription here from the lithographs as well as from fresh ink impressions kindly supplied by the authorities of the British Museum.

'The grant is engraved on two copper-plates,—now in the British Museum,—each measuring about 7½" by 5½". The rims are raised. Two holes on the lower broad side of the first plate and the upper one of the second, show that they were held together by two rings which have been lost. Only the inner sides of the plates have been inscribed; the first has nineteen, the second twenty lines. The technical execution is very bad. The letters are often badly formed, of unequal size and sometimes stand so close together that they run into each other. The upper part of the first plate and the lower one of the second have considerably suffered by oxidisation'⁵.

The characters belong to the western variety of the southern alphabets, and resemble those used in the inscriptions of the Early Gurjaras. Owing to the carelessness of the writer or the engraver, the same letter appears in varying forms in different places. Contrast, e.g., the form of *d* in -*dāna*-, l. 5 with that in -*dākshinya*-, ll. 5-6; of *t* in *pranāt*-, l. 4 with that in -*gatib*-, l. 13; of *bh* in -*vallabha*-, l. 15 with that in -*gabhirō*-, l. 12; of *m* in -*dama*-, l. 5, -*Nikumbh*-, l. 15 and *maya*-, l. 18 with the cursive one in -*Lakshmi*-, l. 9, *Brāhmaṇ*-, l. 17 etc.; of *n* in -*kālīnab*-, l. 22 with that in *gagana*-, l. 1. It is noteworthy that *t* shows a vertical stroke at the top in -*paṭal*-, l. 30, *Vindhy-āṭavī*-, l. 33 etc.; *y* appears in a transitional form without a hook in its left limb, while *l* shows both the northern form as in -*Lakshmi*-, l. 9, -*maṇḍal*-, l. 7, -*bala*-, l. 8, and the southern one as in *kalpaluma*-, ll. 7-8, -*pālana*-, l. 10. The language is Sanskrit, and except for a verse in praise of the sun in the beginning and the usual benedictive and imprecatory stanzas at the end, the record is in prose throughout. The ignorance of the person who drafted it is disclosed by the innumerable mistakes of grammar which disfigure the record from the beginning to the end. He uses, for instance, -*amala-yasasah*-, l. 7 as the nominative of *amala-yasas* instead of the correct form *amala-yasāḥ*, seems to be ignorant of the rule that the words connected by *iva* must be in the same case, for he writes *Kalpaldrumam-iva... jan-ōpabhujyamāna-vibhavō*, ll. 7-8, *Janārdanam-iva... rājya*[b*], ll. 8-9, and employs wrong declensional forms like *Brāhmaṇ-ōttarām* for *Brāhmāṇ-ōttarān*, l. 17, -*dhikarik-ādīm* for -*dhi-kārik-adīn*, l. 18 etc., and incorrect compounds like *rajaḥśrī* for *rājyaśrī*, l. 29, *apahritam-*

¹ Bühler gives the royal name as *Nikumbhallasakti*, but as shown above, (p. 112), *Nikumbha* was only a *biruda* and the proper name was *Allasakti*. A grant of the same king recently discovered in Khandesh calls him *Nikumbhallasakti*, (*N. I. A.*, Vol. I, p. 747).

² These were the plates of the Gujarat Rāshtrakūṭa Dhruva II, dated Śaka 798, *Ind. Ant.* (Vol. XII, pp. 179 ff.) and those of the Gujarat Rāshtrakūṭa Kṛishṇa, dated Śaka 810 (*ibid.*, Vol. XIII, pp. 65 ff.).

³ The ancient name of this place was *Umvara*, see l. 50 of the Bagumrā grant No. 1 of Indra III, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IX, p. 32.

⁴ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XII, p. 179.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 265.

asēsha-bala-rājya for *apahrit-asēsha-bali-rājya*, ll.8-9. Besides these, there are several mistakes of *sandhi* and omissions and transpositions of syllables and words which are pointed out in the foot-notes to the transcribed text. As regards orthography, we find that *ri* is used instead of the vowel *ṛi* in several places, see, e.g., *-prithu-*, l. 1, *-āvrīta-*, l. 30, *krishṇ-*, l. 33; the letter preceding and following *r* is correctly repeated in *-vikram-ākkṛānta-*, l. 4, *-kriy-ōtsarppaṇ-*, l. 21, *saruv-ādāna*, l. 23 etc., but wrongly in *varshsha-*, l. 34.

The plates were issued by the illustrious *Prithivīvallabha*, *Nikumbha Allaśakti* of the family of *Sēndraka* kings, who was the son of the illustrious lord of men, *Ādityaśakti*, and the grandson of the lord of men, the illustrious *Bhānuśakti*. No place of issue is mentioned in the grant. The object of the inscription is to record the grant of the village *Balisa* in the *āhāra* of *Trēyaṇṇa*. The donee was *Bappasvāmin* of the *Bhāradvāja gōtra* and the *Mādhyandina śākhā* of the *Vājasaneyā* or *White Yajurveda*. He was then a resident of *Vijay-Āniruddhapurī*. The purpose of the grant was to provide for the maintenance of *bali*, *charu*, *vaiśvadeva*, *agnihōtra* and other rites. The *Dātaka* was *Śrīvallabha Bappa* and the scribe the *Sandhivigrahādhipikṛita Dēvadinna*.¹ The grant was written by the order of a *Mahābalādhipikṛita* whose name is imperfectly written here, but who was probably identical with the illustrious *Vāsava* mentioned with the same title in the *Kāsārē* grant. We learn from lines 38-39 that the scribe, *Dēvadinna*, was his younger brother.

The date of the grant is expressed in words as the *fifteenth (tithi) of the bright (fortnight) of Bhādrapada in the year 406* of an unspecified era. Like the date of the *Kāsārē* plates, this date also must be referred to the *Kalachuri* era. According to the epoch of 248-49 A.C., it would correspond, for the expired year² 406, to the 10th August 656 A.C. In the absence of the necessary details it does not admit of verification.

Of the place-names in the present grant *Trēyaṇṇa* was identified by Dr. Bühler with the village *Tēn* near *Bārdōli* in the *Surat District* of *Gujarat*. It is evidently identical with *Trēnna* which is mentioned as the headquarters of an *āhāra* in the *Bagumrā plates*³ of *Dhruva II* of the *Gujarat Rāshtrakūṭa* branch and with *Tēnna* mentioned in the *Bagumrā plates* (second set)⁴ of the *Rāshtrakūṭa* king, *Indra III*. In the latter grant the place is said to be situated near *Kammañijja* in the *Lāṭa* country and was bounded on the east by *Vāraḍapallikā*. This description completely agrees with the situation of *Tēn* which is only about 15 miles south-east of *Kāmṛēj*, the modern representative of *Kammañijja*, and lies only about a mile to the west of *Bārdōli*, the ancient *Vāraḍapallikā*. *Balisa*, the village granted in the present plates, is plainly identical with *Valiśā* or *Baliśā* which is mentioned as defining the western boundary of the village *Tēnna* in the *Bagumrā plates* (second set) of *Indra III*. It can be identified with the modern *Wanēsa* which lies about two miles south-west⁵ of *Tēn*. *Vijay-Āniruddhapurī* cannot be identified, but it must have been situated not very far from *Tēn*. It is mentioned as the place of issue in the *Surat plates*⁶ of *Vyāghrasēna* and was probably the capital of the *Traikūṭakas*.

¹ He is the writer of the *Kāsārē* plates (No. 25, above). Both *Vāsava* and *Dēvadinna*, again, figure in another grant of *Allaśakti* found in *Khandesh* (*N.I.A.*, Vol. I, p. 749).

² If the year was current, the date of the grant would correspond to the 22nd August 655 A.C.

³ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XII, p. 181.

⁴ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IX, p. 36.

⁵ The identification was suggested by Dr. Bühler who pointed out that 'the change of *la* to *na* is very common in *Gujarāṭi*, e.g., in *naḥān* for *labān*.' *Wanēsa* is not, however, to the south-east of *Tēn* as stated by Bühler.

⁶ Above, No. 9; see p. 27.

TEXT¹

First Plate

- 1 सिद्धम्² [1*] प्रथमदिकसरसीप्रिथु³ पंकजं गगनवारिधिविद्रुमपल्लवं (वम्) [1*] त्रिदश[रक्त]-
जपाकुसुमं नवं
- 2 दिशतु वो विजयं रविमंडलं[लम्]⁴ ॥ [१॥*] स्वस्ति [1*] मेरुमहीधरविजर⁵ स्थिररुचिरसमुन्नते
विकसि-
- 3 तमहति यशसि⁶ सेन्द्रकराजा⁷ मन्वये नैकचानु (तु) दंतगजघ[टा]टोपसमर⁸ सङ्घट्टल-
- 4 व्यविजयो विजिताशेषरिपुगणः स्वभुजबलविक्रमाकक्रान्तमहीमंडलः प्रणताशे-
- 5 पसामन्तशिरोमुकु[ट*] निघृष्टपदपंकजः नयविनयसत्यशौचाचारदमदयादानदा-
- 6 [क्षि]ण्यश्रीसंपदुपेतो नरपतिः श्रीमद्भाणु(नु)शक्तिस्तस्य पुत्रस्तत्पादानुध्यातो (तः) शरदम-
- 7 लशशाकमंडलामलयशसः⁹ सवितारमिवोदयवन्तमनुरक्तमंडलं¹⁰ च कल्पलु-
- 8 ममि¹¹ बाभिविंछिताशेषजनोपभुज्यम (मा) नविभवो जनादूनमिवापहृतमशेषव[ल]-
- 9 राज्य¹² परचक्रानुरक्तलक्ष्मीकः श्रीमन्नरपतिः¹³ आदित्यशक्तिस्तस्य पुत्रस्तत्पादानुध्यातः[*]
- 10 श्रीमा[न्द]क्षिण[गुरु]बाहुदंडः प्रिथिवी¹⁴ पालनक्षमो व्यपगतसजलजल¹⁵ जलधर-
- 11 पटलव्योमतलगतशरदिन्दुकिरणधवलतरयशोविसा (ता) नलक्षिताभोधि य¹⁶ पर
- 12 परमगभीरो दिवद्विजाततवजनबंधवोपभुज्यमानविभवो¹⁷ भवसूनुरिवाप्र-
- 13 तिहत[ग]तिः¹⁸ शक्ति¹⁹ रिवोपात्तराज्यः समदद्विरदवरसलीलगतिरर्जुन इवाशेषसं-
- 14 ग्रामविजयी अनवरतविक्रमात्साहसकतपपनः²⁰ काम इव समदन²¹ युवतिजा (ज) न-

¹ From the lithograph accompanying Dr. Bühler's article in *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 263 ff., and ink impressions supplied by the authorities of the British Museum.

² Expressed by a symbol.

³ Read -पृथु-

⁴ Metre: *Drutavilambita*.

⁵ Read -गिजर- as in the Mundkhēḍē plates of *Jayaśakti* published in the *Prabhāta*, Vol. I, No. 12, p. 1 ff.

⁶ Read विकसितयशसि महति as in the Mundkhēḍē plates.

⁷ Read सेन्द्रकराजान-.

⁸ Bühler read समद and remarked, "The connection of समद 'furious' with a word not denoting an animal is most unusual. Probably it should stand before *gaja*." But the correct reading is *samara* as in the Mundkhēḍē plates.

⁹ The same reading occurs in the Mundkhēḍē plates. Read -मलयशाः.

¹⁰ Read सवितेवोदयवाननुरक्तमंडलश्च.

¹¹ Read कल्पद्रुम इवा-

¹² Read जनादून इवापहृताशेषवतिराज्यः.

¹³ Read श्रीमन्नर-

¹⁴ Read दक्षिणगुरुबाहुदण्डपृथिवी-

¹⁵ The *aksharas* जल are unnecessarily repeated.

¹⁶ The engraver wanted to incise -लक्षिताभोधिः धिया, but omitted the धिः by mistake and unnecessarily repeated the *aksharas* पर. In the corresponding passage, the Mundkhēḍē plates have लक्षिताभोधिपरापरः (पारावारः ?).

¹⁷ Read देवद्विजातिस्वजनबंधवोपभुज्यमानविभवो as in the Mundkhēḍē plates.

¹⁸ Bühler read इव प्रतिहृतारतिः, but the *akshara* वा in इवा is clear in his lithograph and the letter that follows *nā* is certainly *ga*, as *r* ends in a serif in the present record. The Mundkhēḍē plates have भवसूनुरिवाप्रतिहृतशक्तिः in the description of *Ādityaśakti*.

¹⁹ Read शक्ति-

²⁰ Read -विक्रमोत्साहशक्तिसंपन्नः.

²¹ Bühler reads समान-, but our reading is clear in his lithograph.

- 15 नयनन(नं)दनः श्रीमप्रोधिबीवल्लभनिकुम्भल्लशक्तिः¹ सव्वनिव यथा स(सं)वध्यमा-
 16 नका[न्*] राजराजस्थानीयचोरा(रो)द्वरणिकदांडपाशिकदूतगमगमिकभटच(चा)टसि(से)-
 17 वकादी[न्*] ब्राह्मणोत्तरां वणिग्दानपदामन्याश्च² विषय [प*]तिराष्ट्रग्रामरू(कू)-
 18 ट[टा] युक्तकमहतराधिकारिकादीमनयुत्यस्तु³ वो विदित(तं) मय(या)
 19 परलोकावेक्षत्वम(मं)गीकि(कु)त्य

Second Plate

- 20 मह[त्फ]लं⁴ [च] श्रुत्वा दतः⁵ त्रेयण्णाहारान्तर्गतविषये⁷ बलिसग्रामो
 21 बलिवरुवैश्वदेवाग्नी(ग्नि)होत्रादिक्रियोत्सर्पणात्थं(त्थं) मातापित्र(त्रो)रात्मनश्च पु-
 22 ण्ययशोव्रि(वृ)द्धये आच(चं)द्रावर्ता(वर्का)ण्णवक्षितित्थिति⁸समकालीनः पुत्रपो(पो)वान्वयक-
 म(मो)-
 23 पभोग्यः सभूतवातप्रत्ययोपरिकरः⁹ सव्वदानदित्यविष्टिप्र(प्रा)तिभेदिकापरिहीनः(णः)¹⁰
 24 भूमिच्छिद्रन्यायेनाच(चा)टभटप्रवेश्य[ः*] सोद्वङ्गः सपरिकरः¹¹ भाद्रपदपौर्णम[मा]स्यां विज-
 25 यानिरुद्धपुरीवास्तव्यभारद्वाजसगोत्रवाजि(ज)सनेयम[मा]ध्यंदिनसब्रह्मचारिणे बप्पस्वामि-
 26 न(ने) दीक्षितस्थित्ये¹² उदकातिसर्गणे प्रति¹³प्रतिपादितः [1*] यतोस्मद्वंशजे¹⁴रन्यैव्वा-
 27 गाम(मि)न्नि(नृ)पतिभिन्नलव(वे)णुकदलीसारं संसारं जलबुद्बुदोपमं च जीवितमवधार्यं
 28 शिरीषकुसुमसद्विशाचंपा¹⁵ च यौवन(नं) गिरिनदीसलिलगतवराणि चैश्वर्यं [य्या]णि प्रवस(ल)-
 29 पवनाहताश्वत्थपत्रचंचलां च रजःश्रीरित्यय¹⁶माकलय्यायमस्मद्वायोनुमंतवः(व्यः)
 30 प्रतिपालयितव्यश्च [1*] यो वाज्ञानपटलाव्रित¹⁷मतिराच्छिंशादाच्छिद्यमानं व(वा)नुमोदेत
 31 स पंचभिर्मह[हा]प[पा]तकैः सोपपातकैश्च संयुक्तः स्यादित्युक्तं च¹⁸ [भग]वता [पारा]शर्येण
 वे-
 32 दव्यासेन व्यासेन ॥ बहुभिर्व्वंसुधा भुक्का(क्ता) राजभिः सगरादिभिर्यस्य यस्य यदा भूमि[ः*]
 33 तस्य तस्य तदा फलं(लम्)¹⁹ ॥ [२॥*] विध्याटवीषु(ष्व)तोयासु शुष्ककोटरवासिनः [1*] क्रि-
 (कु)ष्णा[हयो हि] जायन्ते भूमिद(दा)-

¹ Read श्रीमत्प्रोधिबीवल्लभनिकुम्भल्लशक्तिः.

² Read -गमागमिक-.

³ Read ब्राह्मणोत्तरान् वणिग्दानपदान्याश्च.

⁴ Read -दीननुदस्यति । अस्तु.

⁵ Dr. Bühler reads महार्थं व(च), but महत्फलं is the correct reading which occurs also in the Mundkhēdē plates.

⁶ Read ततः. In the Mundkhēdē plates Mr. Chandorkar read शुद्ध ततः which also may be श्रुत्वा ततः.

⁷ The name of the *nishya* is inadvertently omitted here. Perhaps the intended reading is त्रेयण्णाहारविषयांतर्गत-.

⁸ Read -स्थिति-.

⁹ Read -प्रत्यायः- and delete परिकरः, as सपरिकरः occurs in the next line.

¹⁰ In the corresponding passage of Gurjara grants, (e. g., No. 16, l. 34, above), the expressions used are सव्वदानसंग्राह्यः सर्वदित्यविष्टिप्रातिभेदिकापरिहीणः.

¹¹ Read सोपरिकरः.

¹² Read दीक्षिताय, or perhaps दीक्षितस्थित्ये.

¹³ Delete प्रति.

¹⁴ Read -स्मद्वंशजे-.

¹⁵ Read -कुसुमसद्विशोपायं-.

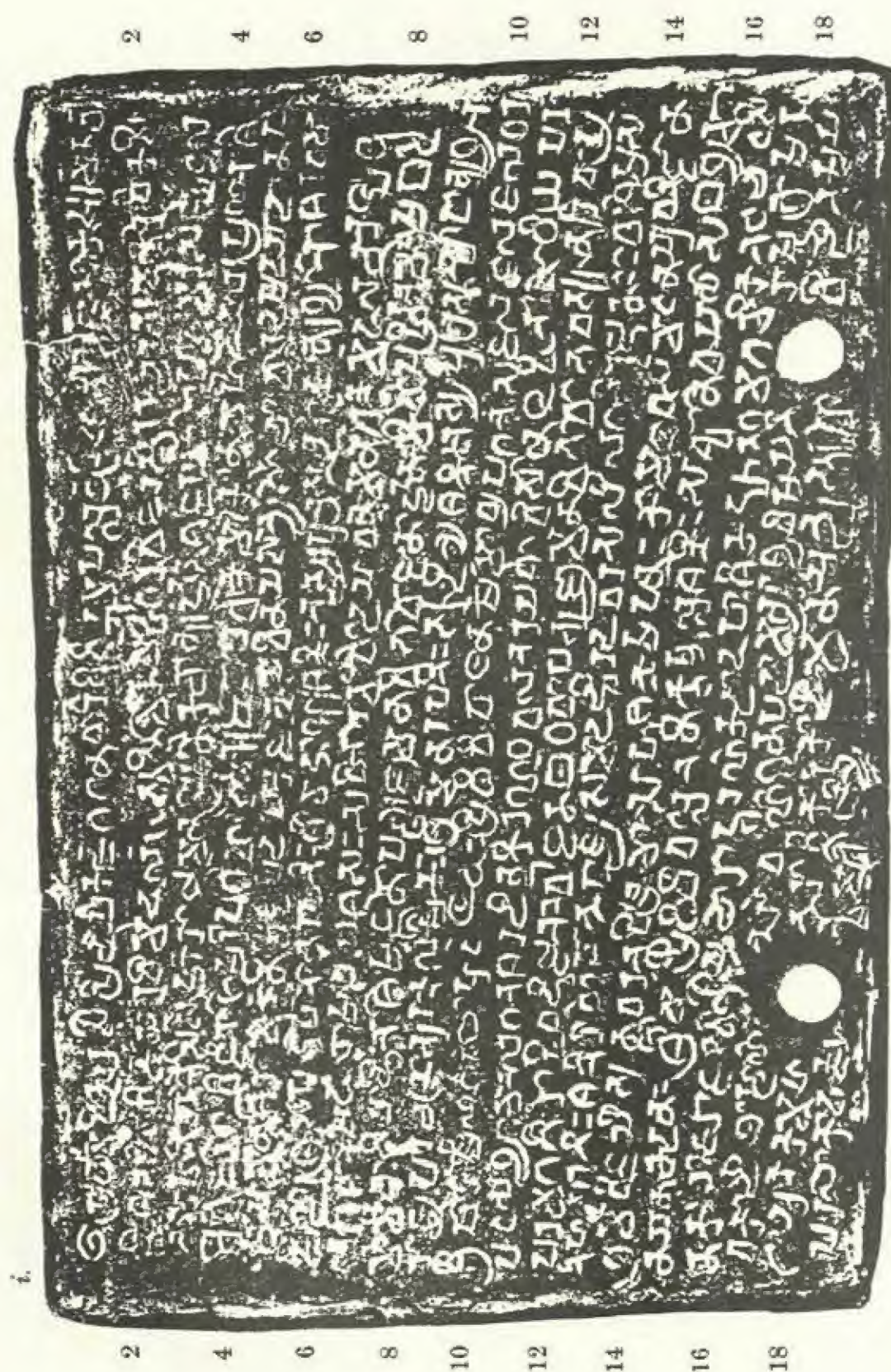
¹⁶ Read -चंचला च राज्यश्रीरितीद-.

¹⁷ Read -वृत्तमति-.

¹⁸ Read स्यादिति । उक्तं च.

¹⁹ Metre of this and the following three verses : *Anuṣṭubh*.

BAGUMRA PLATES OF ALLASAKTI: (KALACHURI) YEAR 406



ii.

Handwritten text in a script, likely Tamil, covering the central portion of the page. The text is arranged in approximately 18 horizontal lines. There are two circular holes visible on the left side of the manuscript fragment.

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- 34 [यं हरं*] ति¹ ये ।। [३॥*] षष्टिं वर्षं (वं) सहस्राणि स्वर्गे मोदति भूमिदः [1*] आच्छेत्ता
चा[नुमन्ता*] च तान्येव नरक(के)
35 वसे[त् ॥४॥ स्वदत्तां पर*] दत्ता(त्तां) वं(वा) यनाद्रष² युधिष्ठि(ष्ठि)र (1*) मही(हीं)
महिमतां [श्रेष्ठ दानाच्छ्रेयो*] नृपालनं(नम्) ॥ [५॥*]
36 यानीह दत्तानि पुरा नरेन्द्रैर्दानानि धर्म्मार्त्त्यय[श*]स्कराणि [1*] नि[भुक्तमाल्यप्रति*]मानि
तानि को
37 नाम [साधु]: पुनराददीत³ ॥ [६॥*] संवत्सरशतचतुष्टये षडुत्तरे [भाद्रपदशुद्ध]पञ्चदश्या-
(स्यां)
38 दूतकोत्र श्रीवल्लभव[प्प]: [1*] महाबलाधिक्रि(कृ)तमासमादेशाम⁴ लिखितमिदं तस्यैवानु-
39 [जे]न स(सं)घी(धि)विग्रहाधिक्रि(कृ)तदेवदिज्ञेनेति ॥

TRANSLATION

Success !

(Verse 1) May the orb of the sun, the large lotus of the lake of the first (*i.e. eastern*) quarter, the coral leaf of the ocean of the firmament, the fresh jasmine flower of the gods, grant you victory !

(Line 2) Hail ! In the great lineage of the *Sēndraka* kings, which is firmly established, excellent and elevated like the peak of the mountain *Mēru*, (*and*) whose fame has become expanded, (*there was*) the illustrious *Bhānuśakti*, the lord of men, who obtained victory in the clash of fight by means of the arrays of troops of many four-tusked elephants; who conquered the multitude of all his foes; who obtained the circle of the earth by the might and prowess of his arms; whose lotus-like feet were scratched by the diadems on the heads of all feudatories who bowed to him; who was endowed with political wisdom, modesty, truthfulness, purity, character, self-restraint, compassion, liberality, courteousness and excellent fortune.

(L. 6) His son (*was*) *Ādityaśakti*, the illustrious lord of men, who meditated on his feet; whose glory was spotless like the orb of the clear autumnal moon; who, being possessed of prosperity and having (*his*) kingdom devoted to him, resembled the sun which (*also*) rises and has a red orb; who, with his wealth desired and enjoyed by all people, was like the wish-fulfilling tree; who took away the kingdoms of all powerful (*kings*) as *Janārdana*⁵ took away the entire kingdom of *Bali*; and whose fortune was fond of the enemies' kingdoms.⁶

(L. 9) His son, the illustrious *Prithivīvallabha*, *Nikumbha Allaśakti*,—who meditates on his feet, who is glorious (*and*) is capable of protecting the earth with his staff-like right arm; whose canopy of glory, which is whiter than the rays of the autumnal moon (*shining*) in

¹ The *akṣharas* marked with an asterisk in rectangular brackets in this and the following lines have been almost completely damaged by rust.

² Read यलाद्रष.

³ Metre: *Indravajrā*.

⁴ Perhaps like the scribe, this officer also was the same as in the *Kāśārē* plates. If so, the reading should be -वासवसमादेशात्.

⁵ *I.e.*, Vishnu in his dwarf incarnation. There is a play on the word *bali* meaning (1) 'a powerful prince' and (2) 'Bali, the king of demons'.

⁶ This means, as Bühler has suggested, that 'his Fortune was not contented with his empire, desired to possess those of his foes and induced him to conquer them'.

the sky from which water-laden clouds have disappeared, has stretched beyond the ocean; who is extremely deep in intellect, whose wealth is being enjoyed by gods, Brāhmaṇas, friends and relatives; who, like the son of Bhava,¹ has his progress unchecked; who, like Sakti,² has obtained a kingdom, whose gait is graceful like that of a choice rutting elephant; who, like Arjuna, has obtained victory in all battles; who is endowed with unfailing prowess, energy, and might; who, like Cupid, delights the eyes of love-lorn ladies³,—addresses the (following) order to all the kings, *Rājasthānīyas*, *Chaurōddharanīkas*, *Dāṇḍapāṣṭīkas*, *Dūtas*, *Gamāgamīkas*, *bhaṭas*, *chāṭas*, servants and so forth, merchants and residents of the Janapada, the foremost of whom are Brāhmaṇas, and others, heads of *vishayas*, those of *rāshṭras* and villages, *Ayuktakas*, *Mahattaras*, officials and others, according as it might concern them⁴:—

(L. 18) “Be it known to you that having regard to the other world and having heard of the great reward (*of gifts of land*), I have granted, on the full moon day of **Bhādrapada** with a libation of water, for the increase of the religious merit and fame of (My) mother and father and of Myself, the village **Balisa** situated in the *āhāra* and *vishaya* of **Trēyaṇṇa**,—together with duties on commodities manufactured or imported (*into the village*), with *udraṅga*, with *uparikara*, being exempt from all dues, gifts, forced labour, and special rights; which is not to be entered by *chāṭas* and *bhaṭas*, according to the maxim of waste land; which is to be enjoyed by a succession of sons and sons’ sons as long as the moon, the sun, the ocean and the earth will endure,—to the *dikshita* Bappasvāmin of the Bhāradvāja *gōtra*, who is a student of the Mādhyandina *sākhā* of the Vājasaneyā (or White Yajurveda) and a resident of the victorious **Aniruddhapurī**, for the maintenance of *bali*, *charu*, *vaiśvadēva*, *agnihōtra* and other (*religious*) rites.

(L. 26) Wherefore, future kings whether born in our family or others, having realized that worldly existence possesses as (*little*) worth as reeds, bamboos and plantain trees (*possess sap*), and that life is (*evanescent*) like a water-bubble, and having considered that youth is liable to fade like a *śirīsha* flower, that prosperity slips away like water of a mountain stream, and that fortune is as unstable as the leaves of an Aśvattha tree which is struck by a very strong wind, should consent to this our gift and preserve it! But he who with his mind shrouded by the veil of ignorance, confiscates it or allows it to be confiscated, shall incur the five great sins together with minor sins!”

(L. 31) And the holy Vyāsa, the son of Parāśara, the redactor of the Vēdas, has said—

(Here follow five benedictive and imprecatory verses.)

(L. 37) In the year four hundred increased by six, on the fifteenth (*tithi*) of the bright (*fortnight*) of **Bhādrapada**. The *Dūtaka* for this (*charter*) is **Srīvallabha Bappa**. By the order of the *Mahābalādhipikṛita* [Vāsava]⁵ this (*charter*) has been written by his own younger brother, the *Sandhivigrahādhipikṛita* **Dēvadinna**.

¹ I. e., Kārttikēya.

² The Purāṇas mention Śakti as a son of Vasishṭha by his wife Arundhati, but there is no particular legend about his having obtained a kingdom. If the reading is *Saktyaiv-āpāttarājyaḥ*, it would mean ‘who obtained his kingdom only by his prowess’.

³ Bühler’s rendering ‘who, like Cupid, is the joy of the eyes of the courtezans’ is incorrect. It was based on the mislection *samāna* for *sa-mudana*.

⁴ Bühler’s translation ‘however they may be connected with him’ does not appear to be correct. The royal order is addressed to all who may have anything to do with the donated village.

⁵ See above, p. 118, n. 1.

INSCRIPTIONS OF THE EARLY CHALUKYAS OF GUJARAT

No. 27; PLATE XX

NAVSARI PLATES OF YUVARAJA SRYASRAYA-SILADITYA:
(KALACHURI) YEAR 421

THESE plates were found at Navsāri, the headquarters of the Navsāri division of the Surat District, in the Bombay State. They were first edited, with a lithograph and a translation, by Pandit Bhagwanlal Indraji in the *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol. XVI, pp. 1 ff. They were subsequently published, with a photo-lithograph, by Dr. E. Hultzsch in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. VIII, pp. 229 ff. They are edited here from the same photo-lithograph.

Dr. Fleet has given the following description of the plates :—

"The copper-plates are two in number, each about 8½" long by 5" broad at the ends, and 4½" in the middle. The edges of them are here and there slightly thicker than the inscribed surfaces; but it would seem that this was accidental, and that the plates were intended to be smooth, without any fashioned rims. The plates are substantial; and the letters, though fairly deep, do not show through on the reverse side at all. The engraving is good. The interiors of many of the letters show marks of the working of the engraver's tool. The ring is about ⅜" thick and 1½" in diameter. It had been cut before the time when it came into my hands. The seal, which is soldered on to the ring in the usual fashion, is circular, about 1½" in diameter. It has, in relief on the surface of it, only the motto *Sri-āśraya*. The weight of the two plates is 2 lbs.; and of the ring and seal, 5½ oz.; total, 2 lbs. 5½ oz.¹"

The characters are of the western variety of the southern alphabets. There are small knobs at the top of the letters. *V* and *dh* appear closely similar in some places, compare, e.g., *v* in *vikrama*, l. 6 with *dh* in *yudhi*—in the same line; *b* is rectangular in *bala*-, l. 5 and roundish in *brahmachāri*, l. 15. A final consonant is indicated by a slanting stroke or a curve at the top, see *phalam*, l. 20. The sign of the *jihvā māliya* occurs in l. 12 and the numerical symbols for 400, 20 and 1 in l. 21.

The language is Sanskrit. Except for the *maṅgala ślōka* in praise of the boar incarnation in the beginning and one benedictive verse at the end, the record is in prose throughout. The inscription is very carelessly written. Not only have rules of *sandhi* been frequently neglected, but letters and even words have in some places been omitted, as will be seen from the transcribed text. The orthography shows the usual peculiarities such as the use of *ri* for *ri* as in *Mātristhāvira*, l. 15, and of the guttural nasal for the *anusvāra* in *viṇśaty*-, l. 21.

The plates were issued from Navasārikā by the Ymarāja (crown-prince) Sryāśraya-Śilāditya, the son of Dharāśraya-Jayasīmhavarman of the Chālukya family.² The Chālukyas, we are told, were sons (*i.e.*, descendants) of Hārītī and belonged to the Mānavya gōtra. They are said to have been brought up by the seven Divine Mothers, to have attained continuous prosperity through the protection of Kārttikēya and to have obtained the boar ensign. About Dharāśraya-Jayasīmha we are told that his prosperity

¹ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VIII, p. 230.

² As in the following grant (No. 28), the dynastic name occurs here as *Chalikya*.

was increased by his elder brother, the illustrious **Vikramāditya** who bore the *birudas* **Satyāśraya** and **Prithivīvallabha** and the titles *Mahārājādhirāja* and *Bhaṭṭāraka*. Vikramāditya is further described as the conqueror of the **Pallavas** and as a devout worshipper of Mahēśvara, who meditated on the feet of the illustrious **Nāgavardhana** and was the son of the illustrious **Pulakēśivallabha**. Vikramāditya and his father Pulakēśivallabha are plainly identical with Vikramāditya I and Pulakēśin II of the Early Chālukya dynasty. The former was the suzerain of Dharāśraya-Jayasinhha whom he placed in charge of South Gujarat. As for Nāgavardhana, Mr. A.M.T. Jackson thought that he was a successor of Pulakēśin II, and ruled in the period between 640 A.C. and 669-70 A.C. Pandit Bhagvanlal, on the other hand, accepted Dr. Fleet's opinion that Nāgavardhana may be the name of a god or *guru*.¹ The use of *paramamāhēśvara* in addition to *Nāgavardhana-pād-ānudyāta* as an epithet of Vikramāditya indicates that Nāgavardhana was probably the *guru*² of Vikramāditya I.

The **object** of the inscription is to record the donation of the village **Āsaṭṭi** in the **Kaṇhavalā āhāra** of the **Bāhirikā viśhaya**. The donee was the Brāhmaṇa Bhōgikka-svāmin of the Kāśyapa *gōtra*, a student of the Adhvarayu (vēda)³ who was residing at Navatātikā. The charter was written by the *Sāndhivigrahika*, the illustrious Dhanañjaya.

The date of the grant is given both in words and numerical symbols as the **thirteenth tithi of the bright fortnight of Māgha in the year 421** of an unspecified era. The grant was evidently made during the reign of Vikramāditya I, who is the last king mentioned in it with imperial titles and who flourished from about 634 A.C. to 690 A.C.⁴ Its date must, therefore, be referred to the Kalachuri era. According to the epoch of 248-49 A.C., it would correspond, for the expired year⁵ 429, to the 28th January 671 A.C. It does not admit of verification, but it clearly falls in the reign of Vikramāditya I.

As for the **localities** mentioned in the present grant, **Navasārikā** is clearly Navsāri where the plates were found. I identify **Kaṇhavalā**, the headquarters of the *āhāra* in which the donated village was situated, with Kaṇhi, 6 miles south of Bārdōli. The village **Āsaṭṭigrāma** was identified by Dr. Bühler with Astgām⁶ which lies only about 10 m. south-west of Kaṇhi. The **Bāhirikā viśhaya** of which Kaṇhavalā *āhāra* was a subdivision means the Outer District. It was probably so called with reference to the neighbouring one, *viśh.*, Antarmaṇḍali *viśhaya* mentioned in the Pārḍi plates of Vyāghrasēna, which bordered it on the east. To the north of Kaṇhavalā *āhāra* lay the Trēyaṇṇa *āhāra*, mentioned in the Bagumrā plates of Allaśakti⁷ and the Gujarat Rāshṭrakūṭa Dhruva⁸ which was probably another sub-division of the Bāhirikā *viśhaya*.

¹ *Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. I, Part I, pp. 111-2.

² Similarly in his Nāsik plates (below, No. 28, line 12) Dharāśraya-Jayasinhavarman is described as meditating on the feet of his parents and of the illustrious Anivārta. The latter was evidently his *guru*.

³ I. e., the Yajurveda.

⁴ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IX, p. 102. *Historical Inscriptions of Southern India*, p. 24.

⁵ If the year is applied as current, the date would correspond to the 9th January 670 A.C.

⁶ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVII, p. 198. Fleet objected to the identification on the ground that "in the Bombay Postal Directory the name is spelt 'Ashtgām,' which suggests Ashtagrāma, not Āsaṭṭigrāma". *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VIII, p. 231, n. 4. I find the name as Astgām in the Degree Map No. 46 H. Besides, the fact that Astgām is situated not far from Kaṇhi (ancient Kaṇhavalā), and no other village of a similar name can be traced in the neighbourhood, supports the identification proposed by Bühler.

⁷ Above, No. 26.

⁸ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XII, pp. 179 ff.

TEXT¹

First Plate

- 1 सिद्धम्² [1*] स्वस्ति [1*] जयत्याविष्कृतं विष्णोर्व्वाराहं क्षोभिताणं [व*]म् [1*] दक्षिणोन्न-
तद(दं)ष्ट्राग्रवि-
- 2 शा(श्रा)न्तभुवन(नं) वपुः³ (॥१॥*) श्रीमतां सकलभुवनसंस्तूय[मान*]मानव्यसगोत्रा-
णाम्(णां)
- 3 हारीतीपुत्राणां सप्तलोकमातृभिस्सप्तमातृभि[रभि*]वर्द्धितास⁴ कार्तिकेयप-
- 4 रिरक्षणप्राप्तकल्याणपरंपराणां भगवन्नाराय[ण*]प्रसादसमासादितवराहल-
- 5 ञ्छनिक्षणे रक्षणे वशेकृताशेष⁵महीभूतां चलिक्क्यानामान्वये⁶ निजभुजबलपराजिता-
- 6 खिलरिपुमहिपालसमेतिविरामयुधिष्ठोपमान⁷ सत्यविक्रम[:*] श्रीपुलकेशिवल्लभः [1*] तस्य
- 7 पुत्रः परममाहेश्वरमातापितृश्रीनागवर्द्धनपादानुद्धृष्टातश्रीविक्रमादित्यसत्य(त्या)-
- 8 श्रयपृथिवीवल्लभमहाराजाधिराजपरममाहेश्वरभट्टारकेन⁸ अनिवारितपौरुषा-
- 9 क्त⁹पल्लवान्वयेन ज्यायसा भ्रात्रा समवर्द्धितविभूतिर्द्धा(र्द्धं)राश्रयश्रीजयसिंह-
- 10 वर्म्मं(मर्मा) [1*] तस्य पुत्रः शरदमलसकलशशधरमरीचिमालावितानविशुद्धकीर्त्तिपताका-

Second Plate

- 11 विभासितलमन्तदिगतराहः¹⁰ प्रदाता रोजराज¹¹ [इ*]व रु[प*]लावण्यसौ-
- 12 भाग्यसम्पन्नः कामदेव [इव*] सकलकलाप्रवि(वी)णः पौरुषवान्विद्याधरचक्र-
- 13 वर्त्तिव¹² श्रयाश्रयश्रीशीलादित्ययुवराज(जो) नवसारिकामधिवसत्(न्) नवसारि-
- 14 काव(वा)स्तव्यकाश्यपसगोत्रगोमिस्वामिनः¹³ पुत्रः स्वा(सा)मन्तस्वामी । तस्य पुत्रा-
- 15 य¹⁴ मात्रि¹⁵स्थविर[:*] तस्यानुजभ्राता¹⁶ किक्कस्वामिनः¹⁷ भोगिक्कस्वामिने अध्वर्यु[स]ग्रहा-
चारि-
- 16 णे बाहिरिका¹⁸विषयान्तर्गतकण्हवलाहारविषये¹⁹ आसट्टिग्रामं सोद्वङ्गं सप-

¹ From the photo-lithographs facing p. 232 in *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VIII.

² Expressed by a symbol.

³ Metre: *Anushtubh*.

⁴ Read -वर्द्धितानां.

⁵ Read -वराहलाञ्छनेक्षणक्षणवशीकृताशेष- as in No. 28, below p. 129.

⁶ Read -मन्वये.

⁷ Read -रिपुर्महीपालसमिति रामयुधिष्ठिरोपमानः.

⁸ Read -भट्टारकेन.

⁹ Read -क्रान्त-.

¹⁰ Read -समस्तदिगन्तरालः.

¹¹ Read राजराज.

¹² Read -चक्रवर्त्तिव.

¹³ Both Pandit Bhagvanlal and Dr. Hultzsch read -सगोत्रागामिस्वामिनः, but I think the stroke connected with न properly belongs to गा, though owing to the carelessness of the writer or the engraver it is not connected with it.

¹⁴ Read पुत्रः. Dr. Hultzsch however construes this with भोगिक्कस्वामिने which occurs later on.

¹⁵ Read मातृ-.

¹⁶ Read तस्यानुजभ्रातुः.

¹⁷ Some word like पुत्राय is omitted here. Dr. Hultzsch proposes to supply शिष्याय.

¹⁸ Pandit Bhagvanlal read the name as *Thāharikā*, but in several other records we meet the round *b* as here.

¹⁹ The second विषये seems to be superfluous. Read कण्हवलाहारे. Pandit Bhagvanlal read the name as कण्हवलाहार-, but the subscript letter in the second *akṣara* is exactly like the fifth *akṣara* in this expression which is undoubtedly ह्य.

- 17 रिकरं उदकोत्सर्गपूर्वं मातापित्रोरात्मनश्च पुण्ययशोभिवृद्धये दत्तवान् [1*]
 18 वाताहतदीपशिखाचञ्चला(लां) लक्ष्मी(क्ष्मी)मनुस्मृत्य सर्व्वरागामिनृपतिभि घम्मदायो¹—
 19 नुमन्तव्यः [1*] बहुभिर्व्वसुधा भुक्ता राजभि[1*] सगरादिभि[1*] यस्य यस्य यदा भू—
 20 मि[1*] तस्य तस्य तदा फलम्² [11२॥*] माख(घ)शुद्धत्रयोदश्यां लिखितमिदं सान्धिविग्रह—
 (हि)कश्रीघन(नं)जयेन
 21 संवत्सरशतचतुष्टये एकविंशत्यधिके³ ४०० २० [१]⁴ [11*] सिद्धम्⁵[1*]

Seal

श्रीआश्वय [1*]⁶

TRANSLATION

Success! Hail!

(Verse 1) Victorious is Vishṇu's manifested boar form, which agitated the ocean, and which had the world resting on the tip of its projecting right tusk.

(Line 2) In the family of the illustrious Chalukyas,—who are of the Mānavya *gōtra* which is being praised by the whole world; who are the sons (*i.e.* descendants) of Hārītī; who were brought up⁷ by the Seven Mothers,⁸ who are the mothers of the seven worlds; who have obtained continuous prosperity through the protection of Kārttikēya; who have all kings submitting to them the moment they see the boar-emblem which was obtained by the grace of the divine (god) Nārāyaṇa,—there was the illustrious Pulakēśivallabha (II) who possessed unfailing prowess; who, by the might of his arms, vanquished all his foes; and who, in the assembly of kings, could be compared to Rāma and Yudhishthira.

(L. 7) His son (*i.e.*) Dharāśraya, the illustrious Jayasimha, whose prosperity has been augmented by his elder brother, the Prithivīvallabha, Mahārājādhirāja, and Bhaṭṭāraka, the illustrious Vikramāditya Satyāśraya, the devout worshipper of Mahēśvara, who meditates on the feet of his mother and father who were devout worshippers of Mahēśvara and (*on those of*) the holy Nāgavardhana, and who has overcome the family of the Pallavas by his unchecked prowess.

(L. 10) His son, Śryāśraya, the illustrious Śīlāditya, the crown-prince, who has brightened the regions between all quarters by the banners of his glory, white like the spreading multitude of rays of the spotless full moon; who is liberal like Kubēra, endowed with beauty, grace and loveliness like the god of love, proficient in all arts and valorous like the Emperor of the Vidyādhara;⁹—(*he*) residing at Navasārikā,

¹ Read —नृपतिभिर्घम्मदायो. Dr. Hultzsch proposed to read नृपतिभिरयमस्मदायो as in line 29 of the Surat plates (No. 29), but this is unnecessary.

² Metre: *Anuṣṭubh*.

³ Read एकविंशत्यधिके.

⁴ There are faint traces of the unit visible in the photo-lithograph.

⁵ Expressed by a symbol.

⁶ Read आश्वय.

⁷ *I.e.* made prosperous.

⁸ The seven divine mothers are named as Brāhmī, Māheshvari, Kaumārī, Vaiṣṇavī, Vārāhī, Indrāṇī and Chāmuṇḍā. Some enumerate eight divine mothers, adding Charchikā or Kālasaṅkarshīnī to the above list. See Kshirāsvamin's and Bhānuji Dikshita's commentaries on *Amarakōśa* I, 1, 35. Halāyudha says they are only seven in number.

⁹ *I.e.*, Naravāhanadatta, see *Kaṭhāsaritāsāgara*, p. 513.

NAVSARI PLATES OF YUVARAJA SRYASRAYA SILADITYA: (KALACHURI) YEAR 421

Seal



i.

2
 4
 6
 8
 10

2
 4
 6
 8
 10

2
 4
 6
 8
 10

ii.

12
 14
 16
 18
 20

12
 14
 16
 18
 20

has granted, with a libation of water for the increase of the religious merit and fame of (his) mother and father and of himself, the village Āsaṭṭi in the Kaṇhavaḷa āhāra¹ which is situated in the Bāhirikā viśaya, together with *udraṅga* and *uparikara*, to Bhōgikkasvāmin, (the son) of Kikkasvāmin, the younger brother of Mātṛisthavira (who is) the son of Sāmantasvāmin, (who is himself) the son of Gōmisvāmin² of the Kāśyapa *gōtra*, who is a student of the Adhvaryu (*Vēda*) and a resident of Navasārikā.

(L. 18) (This) religious gift should be consented to by all future kings, bearing in mind that wealth is as unsteady as the flame of a lamp struck by wind.

(Here follows a benedictive verse).

(L. 20) This (charter) has been written by the *Sāndhivigrahika*, the illustrious Dhanañjaya, on the thirteenth (*tithi*) of the bright (fortnight) of Māgha in the year four hundred increased by twenty-one, (in figures) 400 (and) 20 (and) 1. Success!

Seal

Śrīyāśraya

No. 28; PLATE XXI

NASIK PLATES OF DHARASRAYA-JAYASIMHA : (KALACHURI) YEAR 436

THESE plates were discovered at Nāsik the head-quarters of the Nāsik District of the Bombay State. They were brought to light by Rao Saheb G. S. *alias* Babasaheb Deshpande of Poona, who made them over to the Bhārata Itihāsa Saṁśōdhaka Maṇḍala, Poona. They have been published before, with lithographs, by Mr. G. H. Khare in the *Sources of the Mediaval History of the Deccan*, Vol. I (1930), pp. 8ff. I am grateful to the authorities of the Maṇḍala for permission to include them in this volume. I edit them here from excellent photographs kindly supplied by the Superintendent of the Archaeological Survey, Western Circle.

The copper-plates are two in number, each measuring 8" broad, 4.7" high and 1" thick. They are held together by a ring which passes through a hole .4" in diameter in the centre of the top of each plate. This ring has a circular seal with the legend *Śrī-Dharāśraya* in relief. The plates are inscribed on the inner side only. Their ends are raised into rims for the protection of the writing. A few *aksharas* have, however, been damaged by verdigris in lines 10-14 and 25-29, and some more have been completely lost by the breaking away of a small piece in the upper right corner of the first plate and the perforation of a large hole in lines 2-4. Fortunately, nothing of historical interest has been lost. The record consists of twenty-nine lines, of which fifteen are inscribed on the first, and the remaining fourteen on the second plate. The average size of the letters is .2".

The characters are of the western variety of the southern alphabets. They resemble in a general way those of the Ābhōṇa and other grants of the Early Kalachuris. The record has been carelessly written, the rules of *sandhi* and the distinction of long and short vowels not being properly observed in several places. Some *aksharas* have, again, been irregularly or imperfectly formed, see, e.g., *āmīndyāy-* for *āchchhīndyād-* in l. 21, and *-la (?) -tudēv-* for *-vaiśvadēv-* in l. 17. A final consonant is shown by a horizontal stroke at the top in *vasēt*, l. 24. The sign of the *upadhmānīya* occurs in l. 21, and the numerical symbols for 400, 30, 10 and 6 in l. 28.

¹ See above, p. 125, n. 19.

² *Loc. cit.*, n. 13.

The language is Sanskrit. Except for a verse in praise of the boar incarnation in the beginning and three benedictive and imprecatory verses at the end, the record is in prose throughout. The orthography shows the usual peculiarities of the doubling of a consonant after *r*, the use of the dental for the lingual sibilant in *varsa-*, l. 23, and that of the guttural nasal for the *anusvāra* before *h* in *Jayasīṃha-*, l. 13.

The record opens with the verse in praise of the boar incarnation of Viṣṇu, which generally occurs in the beginning of the grants of the Early Chālukyas.¹ This is followed by a description of the Chālukya family as in the preceding grant (No. 27). The first historical member of this family mentioned here is Kirtivarman (I). He bore the *biruda* *Prithivīvallabha* and the Imperial titles *Mahārājādhirāja* and *Paramēśvara*, and had his body sanctified by the *avabhritha* bath in an *Aśvamēdha* sacrifice. His dear son was the *Mahārāja*, the illustrious *Satyāśraya-Pulakēśivallabha* (II), who obtained the title of *Paramēśvara* by defeating the illustrious *Harshavardhana*, the lord of Uttarāpatha (North India). His son *Jayasīṃhavarman* granted the present plates. He is said to have obtained victory in several battles with four-membered armies² and to have vanquished and exterminated with his bright-tipped arrows, the entire army of *Vajjaḍa* in the country between the *Mahī* and the *Narmadā*. He was a devotee of a saintly person whose name has been partially lost in line 11. The ending *-śiva* which can still be read shows that he was an ascetic probably of the *Saiva*, as distinguished from the *Pāśupata*, sect. He is described as the author of a (Sanskrit) play entitled *Harapārvatīya*. As its name signifies, the play treated of some incident in the life of *Śiva* and *Pārvatī*, probably their marriage. *Jayasīṃha* is further said to have been meditating on the feet of his father, mother and the illustrious *Anivārīta*, who was probably his *guru*.

The object of the inscription is to record the grant, by *Jayasīṃha*, of the village *Dhōṇḍhaka* in the *Nāsikya viśaya* on the occasion of the *Vishuva* or vernal equinox which fell on the tenth *tithi* of the bright fortnight of *Chaitra*. The donee was the *Brāhmaṇa* *Trivikrama*, the son of *Prītiśarman*, who belonged to the *Bharadvāja gōtra* and the *Vājasaneyā śākhā*. The record was written by *Māna* (?), the son of the *Bhōjika* *Nāgabhaṭa*.

The inscription contains a date in line 28, which has not been noticed before. It is expressed in numerical symbols only, as the 10th (*tithi*) of the bright fortnight of *Chaitra* in the year 436 of an unspecified era. As *Dharāśraya-Jayasīṃha*, who made the present grant, was a son of *Pulakēśin II* who flourished in the first half of the seventh century A.C., this date must evidently be referred to the *Kalachuri* era. It corresponds, for the current *Kalachuri* year 436, to the 21st March 685 A.C., but as no week-day or *nakṣatra* is mentioned with it, it does not admit of verification. But the statement in line 19 that the grant was made on the occasion of the vernal equinox which fell on the same date, *i.e.*, on the 10th *tithi* of the bright fortnight of the month *Chaitra*, is important; for it gives us some details for verification. This *tithi* in the current *Kalachuri* year 436 ended 12 h. 45 m. after mean sunrise on the 21st March 685 A.C.³; but the *Vishuva* or *Mēsha-saṅkrānti* had occurred 5 h. 15 m. after mean sunrise on the previous day, *i.e.*, the

¹ The dynastic name occurs here as *Chalikya*. See also, above, No. 27.

² See below, p. 131, n. 1.

³ This is according to the epoch of 248-49 A.C., which suits other verifiable early dates of the era. In the expired year 436, the *saṅkrānti* occurred 11 h. 20 m. after mean sunrise on the 20th March 686 A.C., but the tenth *tithi* of the bright fortnight of *Chaitra* had ended ten days before, 16 h. 45 m. after mean sunrise on the 10th March 686 A.C.

20th March. The saṅkrānti thus did not take place during the *tithi* of the date, but such slight discrepancies in regard to the moment of saṅkrāntis are not infrequently met with. Besides, the auspicious moment (*puṇya-kāla*) of the Mēsha saṅkrānti extends to as many as fifteen *ghaṭikās* before and after the saṅkrānti¹. It would seem, therefore, that though the saṅkrānti took place a little before noon of the 20th March 685 A.C., the gift was made in the evening when the tenth *tithi* was current². Hence the latter is coupled with the saṅkrānti in the present grant³.

Of the geographical names occurring here, the rivers Mahī and Narmadā are too well-known to need identification. Nāsikya is plainly identical with Nasik, the well-known holy place in the Bombay State. Dhōṇḍhaka, the donated village, is, as already pointed out by Mr. Khare, clearly identical with Dhōṇḍgāon, 12 miles north by west of Nasik.

TEXT⁴

First Plate

- 1 सिद्धम्⁵ [1*] जयत्याविष्कृतं विष्णा(ण्णो)व्वा(व्वा)राहं क्षोभितार्णवं(वम्) [1*] द[क्षि]-
णोन्नतदंष्ट्रा[अ][विश्रा*]-
- 2 न्तभुवनं वपुः⁶ [11१11*] श्रीमतां सकलभुवनसा(सं)स्तूय[मानमा]न⁷व्य[सगोत्राणां*]
- 3 हारि(री)तीपुत्राणा(णां) सप्तलोकमातृभिस्सप्तमा[तृ][भिरभि*]वर्द्धितानां का[त्तिके]-
- 4 यपरिरक्षणप्राप्तकल्याणपरम्पराण(णां) भगव[न्नारा*]यणप्रसादसमा[सा]-
- 5 दित[वा]राहलांस(छ)नेक्षणस(क्ष)णवशि(शी)क(कृ)ताशेषमहीभृ[तां] च[लि]क्यना⁸कुलमल-
(लं)क-
- 6 रिष्णोरश्वमेधावभूय(ध)स्नानपावित्रिक्रित⁹गात्रस्य पृथिवि(वी)वल्लभमहाराजाधिरा-
- 7 जपरमेश्वरश्चि(श्री)र्कित्वर्मराजस्य¹⁰ प्रियात्य(त्तम)जा(ज) उत्तराप[या]धिपतिश्चि(श्री)हर्ष-
वद्ध(द्धं)नपरा-
- 8 जयोपल[ब्ध]परमेश्वरापरनामध(धे)य[*] सा(स)त्याश्रया(य)श्चि(श्री)पुलकेशिवल्लभमहा-
राजस्त-
- 9 त्सु[तोने]कचातुर्दन्तयुद्धलब्धविजयो महि(ही)नर्मदान्तरालधवलफलगि(शि)लि(ली)मु-
- 10 खजालविजितवि[नि]हतवज्जड¹¹समस्तसैन्या(न्यो) हरपाव्वंति(ती)यनाटककरणवि-
- 11 ख्यातकवि¹² शिवभट्ट(ट्टा)रका(क)भिक्षवयच्चनमुद्रा¹³विधानमसृणितकरत-

¹ Cf. मेघे सूर्यसङ्क्रान्तौ प्रागूर्ध्वं च पञ्चदश पञ्चदश घटिकाः पुण्यकालः । See *Dharmasindhu* (Nirṇayasāgar Press), p. 160.

² It began 12 h. 45 m. after mean sunrise on the 20th March 685 A. C.

³ For a similar case of a saṅkrānti occurring before the commencement of the stated *tithi*, see the date of the Bijapur stone inscription of the Western Chālukya Sōmēśvara II, *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXIII, pp. 115 ff.

⁴ From photographs.

⁵ Expressed by a symbol.

⁶ Metre: *Anuṣṭubh*.

⁷ The curve on *na* has been cancelled.

⁸ Read चलिक्क्यानां.

⁹ Read -गवित्रीकृत-

¹⁰ Read -कीर्तिवर्मराजस्य.

¹¹ In the photograph before me, this *akṣara* appears like *pa*, but it is clearly *da* in the lithograph accompanying Mr. Khare's article in *S. M. H. D.*, Vol. I, pp. 8 f.

¹² About four *akṣaras* are gone here.

¹³ Read शिवभट्टारकभिक्षवेच्चनमुद्रा-. The sign of the medial *ā* in *drā* is clear in Mr. Khare's lithograph.

- 12 लाजु(ञ्ज)लिः परम[ब्रह्म]ण्यः¹ मातापितृश्रीमदनिवारितपादानुद्धृतातो घरा-
 13 श्रयभि(श्री)जयसिद्धहवर्मराजः² सा(स)ध्वनिव विषयपा(प)तिग्रामकूट-
 14 महत्तराधिकादीन्समनुदर्शयति³ [1*] विदितमस्तु वो यथास्माभिन्ना(न्ना)सि-
 15 वयविषये ढोण्डकग्रामः सोद्रङ्गः सपरिवारः⁴ पूर्वाघाटनवि-

Second Plate

- 16 शुद्धः आचन्द्रावर्काणवक्षतस्थति⁵समकालीनः पुत्र[पौ]त्र(त्रा)न्द(न्व)य(यो)प-
 17 भोग्यः बलिचरु[ल]तुदेवा⁶ग्निहोत्रत्रियोत्सप(प)णाय मातापित्रोरा-
 18 त्मन[श्च] पुण्ययशोभिवृद्धये नासिक्ववास्तव्या(व्य)वाजसनेयभरद्वाजस-
 19 गो⁷त्राया(य) [ष्टि](प्री)तिशर्मपुत्रत्रा(त्रि)विक्रमाया(य) [चै]त्रमासशुद्धदशम्यां विषुए(वे)
 उदक-
 20 पूर्वं प्रतिपादितः [1*] या(य)तोस्मद्वंश्यैरन्यैर्वागामिनृपतिभिरयमस्मदायो-
 21 नुमन्तव्यःपालयितव्यश्च [1*] यो वाज्ञानतिमिरपटला⁸वृत्तमतिरामीन्द्राया⁹-
 22 च्छिद्यमानं वानुमोदेत स पञ्चभि[मं]हापातकैस्संयुक्तस्स्यादित्युक्तं¹⁰
 23 च भगवता वेदव्यासेन व्यासेन ॥ षष्टि(ष्टि) वसं(पं)सहस्राणि स्वाग्ने¹¹ मोदति भू-
 24 मिदः [1*] आच्छेत्ता चानुमन्ता च तान्यो(न्ये)व नरके वसेत्¹² ॥ [२॥*] विन्ध्याटवि(वी)ष्य-
 (ष्व)तोयासु
 25 शुष्ककोटरवासि[नः] (1*) कृष्णाहयो हि जायन्ते भूमिदायं हरन्ति ये ॥ [३॥*] व-
 26 हुभिर्व्वसुधा [भुक्ता] राजभिस्सगरादिभिः [1*] यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्त-
 27 स्य तस्य तदा फ [लं](लम्) ॥ [४॥*] पूर्व्वदत्तां [द्विजा*]तिभ्यो यत्नाद्रष(क्ष) युधिष्ठिर [1*]
 महीं महिम-
 28 ता(तां) श्रेष्ठ दा[नाच्छे]योनुपालनं(नम्) ॥ [५॥*] सं ४०० ३०¹³ ६ [चै] शु १० ॥
 लिखितमिदं न(ना)-
 29 गभट [भोगिक] पुत्रमा[ने?] नेति ॥

Seal

श्र(श्री)[ध]राश्रय [1*]¹⁴

¹ Read परमब्रह्मण्यो.

² Read -श्रीजयसिद्धहवर्मराजः.

³ Read -महत्तराधिकारिकादीन्समनुदर्शयति.

⁴ Usually the reading is सोपरिकरः.

⁵ Read -सितिस्थितिः.

⁶ Read -वैदवदेवा- as in other plates of the time.

⁷ There is a redundant *visarga* after गो.

⁸ There is a redundant dot after सा.

⁹ Read -राच्छिन्दादा-.

¹⁰ Read -स्यादिति । उक्तं.

¹¹ Read स्वर्गो.

¹² Metre of verses 2-5: *Anushtubh*.

¹³ This symbol is slightly different from the usual one for 30. It occurs exactly in this form on Kshatrapa coins. See the first and fifth symbols for 30 in Plate LXVI, *A. R. A. S. I.* for 1913-14.

¹⁴ Mr. Khare says that there are two lines on the seal, the second of which contains the *akshara* *śrī*, but I fail to see clear traces of any *aksharas* in that line. On the other hand, the first *akshara* of the legend appears to be an imperfectly preserved *śrī*, its upper curve denoting medial *ī* being now damaged. The following *akshara* *dba* is also partly mutilated by a depression which has since been formed in its place. It may be noted that the legend on the seal of the Surat plates (No. 29, below) of *Yuvārāja Śrīyāśraya Śilāditya* also is *Śrī-Dharāśraya*.

Seal



2
4
6
8
10
12
14

2
4
6
8
10
12
14

16	16
18	18
20	20
22	22
24	24
26	26
28	28

TRANSLATION

Success !

(Verse 1) Victorious is Vishṇu's manifested boar form, which agitated the ocean and which had the world resting on the tip of its projecting right tusk !

(Line 2) (*There was*) the *Mahārāja Satyāśraya*, the illustrious *Pulakēśivallabha* (II), who obtained the other title of *Paramēśvara* by vanquishing the illustrious *Harshavardhana*, the lord of *Uttarāpatha* ; who was the dear son of the *Prithivīvalabha*, *Mahārājādhirāja*, *Paramēśvara*, the illustrious *Kīrtivarmarāja*, who had his body sanctified by the *avabhṛitha* (*bath*) in an *Aśvamēdha* sacrifice ; who adorned the family of the illustrious *Chalikyas* who are of the *Mānavya gōtra*, which is being praised by the whole world ; who are the sons (*i.e.* descendants) of *Hāriti* ; who were brought up by the Seven Mothers who are the mothers of the seven worlds ; who have obtained continuous prosperity through the protection of *Kārttikēya* ; who have all kings submitting to them the moment they see the boar-emblem which was obtained by the grace of the divine (god) *Nārāyaṇa*.

(L. 9) His son, *Dharāśraya*, the illustrious *Jayasimhavarमारāja*,—who meditates on the feet of (*his*) mother, father and the illustrious *Anivārta* ; (*who is*) very pious ; who has obtained victory in several battles with four-membered¹ armies ; who defeated and exterminated with (*his*) bright-tipped arrows the whole army of *Vajjaḍa* in the country between the *Mahī* and the *Narmadā* ; the palms of whose folded hands were softened by performing the *mudrās*² for the worship of the religious mendicant *Bhaṭṭāraka-śiva*, a poet who has attained celebrity by his composition of the play *Harapārva-tīya*,—addresses all heads of the *vishayas* (districts), the headman of the village, *Mahattaras*, officials and others (*as follows*):—

(L. 14) “Be it known to you that for the increase of the religious merit and fame of (*Our*) mother and father and *Ourself*, We have granted, on (*the occasion of*) the *Vishuva* (vernal equinox) on the tenth (*tithi*) of the bright fortnight of *Chaitra*, by previously (*pouring a libation of*) water, the village *Ḍhōṇḍhaka* in the *Nāsikya vishaya*, together with the *udraṅga* and (*other*) appurtenances,—which has clear previously (*determined*) boundaries ; which is to continue as long as the moon, the sun, the oceans and the earth would endure ; which is to be enjoyed by a succession of sons and sons' sons ;—to *Trivikrama*, the son of *Pritīśarman* of the *Bharadvāja gōtra* and *Vājasanēya* (*śākha*), who is a resident of *Nāsikya*, for the performance of the (*religious*) rites of *bali*, *charu*, *vaiśvadeva* (*and*) *agnihōtra*.

(L. 20) Wherefore, future kings, whether born in our family or others, should consent to and preserve this our gift. Whoever, with his mind shrouded by the veil of the darkness of ignorance, would confiscate it or allow it to be confiscated, shall incur the five great sins !”

(L. 22) And it has been said by the holy *Vyāsa*, the redactor of the *Vēdas*—

(*Here follow four benedictive and imprecatory verses.*)

(L. 28) The year 400 (*and*) 30 (*and*) 6, (*the month*) *Chaitra*, the bright (*fortnight*), (*the lunar day*) 10. Written by *Māna* (?), the son of the *Bhōgika* *Nāgabhaṭa*.

Seal

The illustrious *Dharāśraya*.

¹ See *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXII, p. 178, n. 4. In line 3 of the Bagumrā plates of Allasakti, *cbāturdanta* qualifies *gaja* and has, therefore, to be taken to mean ‘four-tusked.’

² *Mudrā* is a particular position of fingers practised in religious worship.

No. 29; PLATE XXII

SURAT PLATES OF YUVARAJA SRYASRAYA-SILADITYA:
(KALACHURI) YEAR 443.

THESE copper-plates were found in the possession of a merchant at Surat, the chief town of the Surat District in the Bombay State. They were published together with the Navsāri plates of Pulakēśirāja¹ by Pandit Bhagvanlal Indraji in the *Verhandlungen des VII Internationalen Orientalisten-Congresses*, Arische Section, pp. 211 ff. His article on them was accompanied by a lithograph and a translation. I edit the inscription here from excellent ink impressions kindly supplied by the Government Epigraphist for India through the good offices of the Curator of the Oriental Institute, Baroda, where the plates are now deposited.

"The plates are two in number and measure 10½" by 7½". The outer sides are left blank; on the inner sides the lines run breadth-wise as on the Valabhī plates. Two rings, a plain one and one with a seal attached, held the plates together, passing through the holes in the bottom of the first and in the top of the second. The former has been lost, while the latter remains in its proper position. The seal has the shape of an inverted cone with a round top, 1½" in diameter....It bears the inscription *Śrī-Dharāśraya*, the name of the donor's father. Below this is the representation of a flower resembling a blown lotus'.² To judge from the impressions the plates are in a state of excellent preservation throughout.

The characters are of the western variety of the southern alphabets. They closely resemble those of the Navsāri plates of the same donor.³ There are small knobs at the top of letters. The initial *ē* which is open on the left closely resembles *l* which has everywhere a short vertical and is distinguished from it only by the absence of a knob at the top. The forms of the rare initial *ō* in *Osumbhalā*, l. 21, and of the looped *d* in *Sāpāḍīya*, l. 19 are noteworthy. The sign of the *jihvāmūliya* occurs in ll. 10 and 26, and that of the *upadhmāniya* in ll. 13, 14 and 29. Punctuation is marked by single or double dots, in ll. 1, 23, 36 etc., by a small circle in l. 32 and by the vertical strokes in ll. 1, 18 etc. The numerical symbols for 400, 40 and 3 occur in l. 36 and those for 10 and 3 in l. 37.

The language is Sanskrit. Except for two verses in the beginning, one in praise of the boar incarnation and the other glorifying the donor's suzerain Vinayāditya, and four benedictive and imprecatory ones at the end, the record is in prose throughout. It may be noted that the formal part of the grant contains in ll. 26-28 several expressions copied *verbatim* or with slight changes from the earlier Sēndraka records,⁴ and in ll. 28-29 some more taken from the Kalachurī grants.⁵ The record is correctly written almost throughout, solecisms being very few. As instances of the latter, we may notice that the gender of *punyē* in l. 25 does not agree with that of the noun *tithau* which it qualifies, and the affix of the comparative is prefixed (and not suffixed) to the adjective *subhaga* in l. 31. As regards orthography, we may note that the class-nasal is almost always used in place of the *anusvāra*; the *visarga* after *vikrama* in l. 2 is dropped in accordance with *vārttika* on Pāṇini, VIII. 3. 36; the guttural nasal is incorrectly used for *anusvāra* in *Narasīṅha*, l. 2,

¹ No. 30, below.² P. V. O. C., pp. 211-212.³ Above, No. 27.⁴ In place of *nala-vēṇu-kadali-sāraṁ* in l. 27 of the Bagumrā plates of the Sēndraka Allāśakti (No. 26, above), the present plates have *kadali-garbha-sāraṁ*, the following expressions up to *rājya-lakṣmīḥ* (a variant for *rājya-trīḥ*) being the same in both.⁵ These are *śaśi-kara-ruchiraṁ*. *śaśaś=chicchibhubbhīḥ*. See Nos. 12, 14 and 15 above.

-*Jayasīṃha*-, l. 14 and -*chatvārīṇśad*-, l. 36; and the consonant following *r* and that preceding *y* and *r* are doubled in some places, see *Kārmmanēyō*-, l. 3, -*anuddhyātō*-, l. 11 and -*chakṛa*-, l. 15.

The plates were issued by the *Yuvarāja Śryāśraya-Śilāditya* from his victorious camp at *Kusumēśvara* near *Kārmaṇēya*. The record opens with the verse in praise of the boar incarnation of Viṣṇu, which generally occurs at the beginning of the inscriptions of the Early Chālukyas. The next verse eulogizes *Satyāśrayavallabha*, the illustrious *Vinayāditya*. In the prose portion which follows, we are told that in the family of the Chālukyas¹ there was the *Mahārāja Satyāśraya*, the illustrious *Pulakēśivallabha*, whose head was sanctified by the *anabhṛīṭha* bath in the *Bahusuvārṇaka* and *Aśvamēdha* sacrifices, and who obtained the war-standard of the illustrious *Harshavardhana*, the lord of the entire Uttarāpatha (North India). His son was the *Mahārāja*, the illustrious *Vikramāditya-Satyāśrayavallabha*, who exterminated the family of the Pallava ruler of Kāñchī, and conquered the three kingdoms.² His son was the illustrious *Prithivīvallabha*, *Mahārājādhirāja*, *Paramēśvara*, *Bhaṭṭāraka Vinayāditya-Satyāśraya*. His paternal uncle was *Dharāśraya*, the illustrious *Jayasīṃha*, who attained pure fame by his victories in many battles, and who was a devout worshipper of Mahēśvara. His son was the *Yuvarāja Śryāśraya-Śilāditya* who made the present grant.

The first three princes mentioned in ll. 3-12 of the present inscription with the title *Mahārāja* or *Mahārājādhirāja* are evidently Pulakēśin II, his son and successor, Vikramāditya I, and the son and successor of the latter, Vinayāditya, of the Early Chālukya Dynasty. The last of these, who is identical with the Vinayāditya glorified in the second verse in the beginning of this record, was clearly the suzerain of Dharāśraya-Jayasīṃha and his son the crown prince Śryāśraya-Śilāditya, when the present grant was made. The title *Yuvarāja* of the latter prince and the legend *Śrī-Dharāśraya* on the seal indicate that Jayasīṃha was then living and Śryāśraya was making the grant on his behalf.

The object of the present inscription is to record the grant of a field situated on the eastern boundary of the village *Ōsumbhalā* in the *āhāra* and *vishaya* of *Kārmaṇēya* to the Brāhmaṇa, the *dikṣhita* *Matrīśvara*, the son of the Brāhmaṇa *Naṇṇasvāmin*, who belonged to the *Sāṇḍilya gōtra* and the community of the Chaturvēdins of *Kārmaṇēya* and was a religious student of the *Kāṇva sākhā* of the *Adhvaryu*, i.e., *Yajurveda*. In connection with the boundaries of the field is mentioned the village *Allūraka*. The purpose of the grant was to provide for the maintenance of the five great sacrifices. The *Dūtaka* was the *Balādhikṛita Ammagōpa*. The charter was written by the *Balādhikṛita Chēlla*.

The grant is dated in ll. 36-3, both in words and numerical symbols, on the fifteenth tithi (*paurṇamāsī*) of the bright fortnight of Śrāvaṇa in the year 443 of an unspecified era. As the known dates of Vinayāditya range from 687 to 693 A.C., the date of the present grant must be referred to the Kalachuri era. According to the epoch of 248-49 A.C., it would correspond, for the expired³ year 443, to the 23rd July 693 A.C. It does not admit of verification for want of the necessary details.

Of the localities mentioned in the present grant, *Kārmaṇēya* was identified by Pandit Bhagvanlal⁴ with *Kamrēj*, about 10 m. north-east of Surat. Further, Dr. Bühler has shown⁵ that *Ōsumbhalā* is modern *Umbhēl*, about 7 miles south of *Kamrēj*, and

¹ The dynastic name occurs as *Chalukya* in this and the next grant (No. 30).

² These were the Chēra, Chōla and Pāṇḍya kingdoms of South India.

³ If the year is applied as current, the date would correspond to the 2nd August 692 A. C.

⁴ *P. V. O. C.*, p. 215. *Kammanijja*, the Prakrit form of the place-name, occurs in the Bagumrā plates (two sets) of Indra III, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IX, pp. 32 and 36.

⁵ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVII, p. 198.

Allūraka which bounded it on the east is still called Alurā and lies about 4 miles from Umbhēl. Kusumēśvara, which has so far remained unidentified, is probably Kōsmārā, about 6 m. south-west of Kamrēj¹ and 3 m. north-west of Umbhēl.

TEXT²

First Plate

- 1 सिद्धम्³ [1*] जयत्याविष्कृतं विष्णोर्व्वाराहङ्क्षोभिताण्णवम् । दक्षिणोन्नतदंष्ट्राग्रविश्रान्तभुवनं
वपुः⁴ ॥ [१॥*]
- 2 नरसिङ्गह⁵विक्रम स्तुतविमलयशा जगति विजयते वीरः[1*] स्थिरबलविनयादित्यः सत्याश्रयव-
- 3 ल्लभः श्रीमान्⁶ ॥[२॥*] स्वस्ति [1*] काम्मणेयोपकण्ठकुसुमेश्वरावासितविजयस्कन्धावा-
राच्छ्रीमतां स-
- 4 कलभुवनसंस्तूयमानमानव्यसगोत्राणां हारीतीपुत्राणां सप्तलोकमातृभिस्तप्तमा-
- 5 तृभिरहरहरभिवर्द्धितानाङ्गार्त्तिकेयपरिरक्षणप्राप्तकल्याणपरम्पराणाम्भगवन्नाराय-
- 6 णप्रसादसमासादितवराहलाञ्छनेक्षणक्षणवशीकृताशेषे (प) महीभृताञ्चलुक्यानाङ्कु-
- 7 लमलङ्कुरिष्णुव्यंहुसुवर्णकाश्वमेघयागावभृथस्तानपवित्रीकृतशिरा नृगनहुषययाति-
- 8 धुन्धुमाराम्बरीषप्रतिमस्सकलोत्तरापथेश्वरश्रीहर्षवर्द्धनलब्धयुद्धपताकस्सत्याश्रय-
- 9 श्रीपुलकेशिवल्लभमहाराजस्तस्य सुतस्तत्पादानुद्ध्यातोनिवारितवीर्य्यविलङ्घितान्या-
- 10 लङ्घ्यारिभूपालवल्लभाञ्चीपुरीशपल्लवान्वयप्रमाथी परिगृहीतत्रैराज्यराज्यः श्री-
- 11 विक्रमादित्यसत्याश्रयवल्लभमहाराजस्तस्य पुत्रस्तच्चरणानुद्ध्यातो विनयाद्यसाधारणरा-
- 12 जगुणालङ्कृतो विनयादित्यसत्याश्रयश्रीप्रियवी⁷वल्लभमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरभट्टा-
- 13 रकस्तस्य पितृव्यस्यानेकसमरविजयसमुद्भूतविशुद्धकीर्त्तेः परममाहेश्वरस्य घराश्र-
- 14 यश्रीजयसिङ्गह⁸वर्मणः पुत्रस्तच्चरणकमलाराधनपरो नयप्रतापविजृम्भितान्यमहीपा-
- 15 लचक्रस्सकलकलाप्रवीणो रतिचतुरविलासिनीजनमनोहारिरूपलावण्यसौभाग्यस-
- 16 मेतो विद्याधरचक्रवर्त्तीव श्याश्रयश्रीशीलादित्ययुवराजस्सर्व्वानेव राजसामन्तविष-
- 17 यपतिग्राभोगिकमहत्तरादीन्यथासम्बद्धमानकान्समाज्ञापय-
- 18 त्यस्तु वत्संविदितम् ॥ मया मातापित्रोरात्मनश्च पुण्ययशोभिवृद्धये

Second Plate

- 19 काम्मणेयचातुर्व्विद्यशालासामान्यशाण्डिल्यसगोत्राध्वर्य्युकाण्वस-
- 20 ब्रह्मचारिणे ब्राह्मणनणस्वामिपुत्रदीक्षितमातृश्वराय⁹ भूमिच्छिद्र-

¹ This identification may be opposed on the ground that it is not near enough to Kamrēj to suit the statement in the present grant, but we must remember that Tēnna, which is described as situated near Kammanijja in the Bagumrā plates (second set) of Indra III, is as much as 13 miles distant from it.

² From impressions kindly supplied by the Government Epigraphist for India.

³ Expressed by a symbol.

⁴ Metre: *Anuṣṭubh*.

⁵ Read नरसिङ्गह—.

⁶ Metre: *Āryā*.

⁷ Read -पृथिवी—.

⁸ Read -श्रीजयसिङ्गह—.

⁹ Read -मातृश्वराय.

SURAT PLATES OF YUVARAJA SRYASRAYA SILADITYA (KALACHURI) YEAR 443

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- 21 न्यायेन कार्मण्येयहार¹विषयान्तर्गतोऽसुम्भलाग्रामे² पूर्वस्यां सीम्नि क्षेत्रं यस्य पूर्वतः अ-
 22 ल्लूरकग्रामसीमा ।³ दक्षिणतः शमीवृक्षवल्मीकतडाकिकापालिः पश्चिमतोऽम्बिलकावृक्षौ उत्त-
 23 रतो मल्लावितडाकपालिमधुकतडाकिकाग्रामदेवीक्षेत्रसीमा ।⁴ एवमेतच्चतुःसीमाभ्य-
 24 न्तरप्रतिष्ठितम्पञ्चमहायज्ञादिविद्योत्सर्पणाय पुत्रपौत्रान्वयभोग्यमाचन्द्रावर्कणिवक्षति-
 25 स्थितिसमकालीनं सर्वदित्यविष्टिप्रातिभेदिकादिपरिहीनं⁵ पुण्ये तिथौ⁶ श्रावणपौर्णमास्या-
 26 मुदकातिसर्गेण प्रतिपादितम् । यतोऽस्मद्वृक्षै⁷रन्यैर्वर्गाभिर्भद्रनृपतिभिः⁸कदलीगर्भसारं
 27 संसारं जलवृद्धदोष[म*]⁹ञ्च जीवितमवधार्य शिरीषकुसुमसदृशापायञ्च यौवनं गिरिनदीस-
 28 लिलगत्पराणि चक्षुर्याणि ।¹⁰ प्रबलपवनाहताश्चत्पत्रचञ्चला च राजलक्ष्मीरिति शशिकर-
 29 चिरं स्यान्तु यशश्चिचौषुभिरयमस्मद्दायोनुमन्तव्यः¹¹पालयितव्यश्च [।*] यो वाज्ञानतिमिरपटला-
 30 वृतमतिराच्छिन्नादाच्छिद्यमानं वानुमोदेत ।¹² स पञ्चभिर्महापातकैस्सोपपातकैश्च संयुक्तः
 31 स्यादपि चोक्तमृषिप्रवेकेन¹³ विकच[कु] वलयदलनिकरतरसुभग¹⁴वपुषा सत्यवतीनन्दनेन भग-
 32 वता वेदव्यासेन व्यासेन । षष्टि वर्षसहस्राणि स्वर्गे भोदति भूमिदः [।*] आच्छेत्ता चानुमन्ता च
 33 तान्येव नरके वसेत्¹⁵ ॥ [३॥*] विन्ध्याटवीष्वतोयासु शुष्का¹⁶कोटरवासिनः [।*] कृष्णाहयो
 हि जायन्ते भूमिदा-
 34 यं हरन्ति ये ॥ [४॥*] बहुभिर्वसुधा भुक्ता राजभिस्सगरादिभिर्यस्य¹⁷ यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य
 तदा फ-
 35 लं(लम्) ॥ [५॥*] पूर्वदत्तां द्विजातिभ्यो यत्नाद्रक्ष युधिष्ठिर । महीम्महिमतां श्रेष्ठ दानाच्छ्रे-
 योनूपालनं(नम्) ॥ [६॥*]
 36 संवत्सरशतचतुष्टये त्रिचत्वारिंशदधिके श्रावणशुद्धपौर्णमास्या(स्याम्) ॥ संवत्सर ४००
 ४० ३ श्रावण-
 37 शु दि १० ५ [।*] दू[त]को बलाधिकृताम्मगोपः [।*] लिखितञ्च बलाधिकृतचेल्लेनेति ॥

Seal

श्रीधराश्रय [।*]

TRANSLATION

Success !

(Verse 1) Victorious is Vishṇu's manifested boar form which agitated the ocean and which had the world resting on the tip of its projecting right tusk !

(V. 2) Triumphant in the world is the illustrious Satyāśrayavallabha-Vinayāditya of firm valour, a hero of renowned (and) stainless fame, who is like Narasimha in heroism !

¹ Read कार्मण्येयहार-.

² Read -गतौसुम्भलाग्रामे.

³ The mark of punctuation here is superfluous.

⁴ Read -परिहीनं.

⁵ Read पुण्यतिथौ.

⁶ Read -स्मद्वृक्षै-.

⁷ The mark of punctuation is superfluous here.

⁸ Read स्यात् । अपि चोक्तमृषिप्रवरेण.

⁹ Read -निकरसुभगतर-.

¹⁰ Metre of this and the following three verses: *Anuṣṭubh*.

¹¹ Read शुष्क-.

¹² Read -स्सगरादिभिः । यस्य

¹³ Read त्रिचत्वारिंशदधिके.

(Line 3) From the victorious camp fixed at Kusumēśvara near Kārmaṇēya,¹—

Adorning the family of the illustrious Chalukyas,—who are of the Mānavya gōtra; which is being praised by the whole world; who are the sons (*i.e.*, descendants) of Hārītī; who were brought up² day by day by the Seven Mothers who are the mothers of the seven worlds; who have obtained continuous prosperity through the protection of Kārttikēya; who have all kings submitting to them the moment they see the boar-emblem which was obtained by the grace of the divine (god) Nārāyaṇa,—there was the Mahārāja the illustrious Pulakēśivallabha (II), whose head was sanctified by the *avabhṛitha*³ bath in the *Bahusvārṇaka* and *Aśvamēdha* sacrifices; who is equal to Nṛiga, Nahusha, Yayāti, Dhundhumāra and Ambarisha; who has won the war-standard from the illustrious Harshavardhana, the lord of the entire Uttarāpatha⁴ (North India).

(L. 9) His son (*was*) the Mahārāja, the illustrious Vikramāditya (I), Satyāśrayavallabha, who meditated on his feet, who, by his irresistible valour, vanquished the armies of hostile kings unconquerable by others; who exterminated the family of the Pallava (*king*), the lord of the city of Kāñchī, and who conquered the three kingdoms.

(L. 11) His son (*is*) the illustrious Prithivīvallabha, Mahārājādhirāja, Paramēśvara, Bhāṭṭāraka Vinayāditya-Satyāśraya, who meditates on his feet and is adorned by humility and other uncommon royal excellences.

(L. 13) The son of his paternal uncle, the illustrious Dharāśraya-Jayasimhavarman, whose pure fame has sprung from his victories in many battles, and who is a devout worshipper of Mahēśvara,—(*viz.*) the crown-prince the illustrious Śryāśraya-Śīlāditya,—who is intent on worshipping his lotus-like feet; who has defeated⁵ the armies of other kings by his political wisdom and valour; who is proficient in all arts; who, like the Emperor of the Vidyādhara⁶, is endowed with beauty, grace and loveliness, attractive to the minds of coquettish women clever in amorous sports,—addresses the (*following*) order to all kings, feudatories, heads of *vishayas*, *Bhōgikas* of villages, *Mahattaras* and others, according as they may be concerned⁷ :—

(L. 18) “Be it known to you (*that*) for the increase of the religious merit and fame of (*My*) mother and father and of Myself, I have granted with a libation of water on the holy day, (*viz.*) the full-moon day of Śrāvaṇa, a field on the eastern boundary of the village Ōsumbhalā situated in the *āhāra* (*and*) *vishaya* of Kārmaṇēya,—to the east of which is the boundary of the village Allūraka; to the south, a *śamī* tree, an ant-hill (*and*) the dam of a small tank; to the west, two *ambīlakā*⁸ trees; to the north the dam of the *mallāvi* tank, the small tank called *Madhuka*, (*and*) the boundary of the field dedicated to the village goddess,—the field lying within these four boundaries, which is to be enjoyed by a succession of sons and sons’ sons, according to the maxim of waste land, as long as the moon, the sun, the ocean and the earth will endure, exempt from all gifts, forced labour and

¹ The sentence is continued below in the words ‘the son of his paternal uncle’ in l. 13.

² *I.e.*, made prosperous.

³ *I.e.*, the final bath, taken after the sacrifice is over.

⁴ Rājasekhara (*K. M.*, p. 94) says that the country beyond Prithūdaka (modern Pēhoā in the Karnal District of the Panjab) is *Uttarāpatha*. Here, however, the whole of North Ind’ia is meant.

⁵ *Vijrīmbhita* ‘expanded, manifested’, appears to be used here in the unusual meaning of ‘defeated’. Pandit Bhagvanlal, however, translates the expression as ‘who has pleased the multitude of other kings’.

⁶ This is Naravāhanadatta.

⁷ Pandit Bhagvanlal translates *yathā-sambadhyamānakān* by ‘wherever posted’.

⁸ These are tamarind trees according to Pandit Bhagvanlal.

special rights,—to the *dikshita* Matriśvara, the son of the Brāhmaṇa Naṇṇasvāmin, who is of the Sāṇḍilya *gōtra* and a student of the Kāṇva (*śākhā*) of the Adhvaryu (*i.e.*, Yajurvēda), and belongs to the community of the Chaturvēdins of Kārmaṇēya, for the performance of the five great sacrifices and other (*religious*) rites.

(L. 26) Wherefore, gracious kings, whether born in our family or others, having realized that wordly existence possesses as (*little*) worth as the interior of a plaintain tree (*possesses sap*), and that life is (*evanescent*) like a water-bubble, and (*having considered*) that youth is liable to fade like a *śirīṣa* flower, that prosperity is as fleeting as the water of a mountain stream, and that royal fortune is as unstable as the leaves of an *aśvattha* tree which is struck by a very strong wind, and being desirous of accumulating lasting fame lovely like moon-beams, should consent to and preserve this our gift. He, who with his mind shrouded by the veil of the darkness of ignorance, confiscates it or allows it to be confiscated, will incur the five great sins together with the minor sins.”

(L. 31) And it has been said by the holy Vyāsa, the son of Satyawatī, the best of sages (*and*) the redactor of the Vēdas, whose body was more lovely than an assemblage of the petals of a full-blown lotus :—

(*Here follow four benedictive and imprecatory verses.*)

(L. 36) On the full-moon day in the bright (*fortnight*) of Śrāvaṇa in the year four hundred increased by forty three—the year 400 (*and*) 40 (*and*) 3, (*the month*) Śrāvaṇa, the bright (*fortnight*), (*the lunar day*) 10 (*and*) 5. The *Dūtaka* (*of this charter is*) the *Balādhikṛita Ammagōpa*. And (*this charter*) has been written by the *Balādhikṛita Chēlla*.

Seal

The illustrious Dharāśraya.

NO. 30; PLATE XXIII

NAVSARI PLATES OF PULAKESIRAJA : (KALACHURI) YEAR 490.

THESE copper-plates, two in number, were sent to Pandit Bhagvanlal Indraji by a Parsi gentleman of Navsāri. They were published, with photo-types and a translation, by Pandit Bhagvanlal in the *Verhandlungen des VII Internationalen Orientalisten-Congresses*, Arische Section, pp. 211 ff. They are edited here from the same photo-types. The plates are now deposited in the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay.

The plates, which are inscribed on the inner sides only, measure each $11\frac{1}{2}$ " by $9\frac{1}{2}$ ". They are held together by two rings, one of which has a seal, showing two figures in relief, 2" in diameter, which, according to Pandit Bhagvanlal,¹ were intended to represent the donor's parents. The seal bears the legend *Śrī-Avanijanāśrayaḥ*, on the left of the male figure. Except for some letters here and there which have become much worn, the inscription is fairly well preserved. The record consists of fifty-one lines, of which twenty-five are inscribed on the first plate, and the remaining twenty-six on the second. The average size of the letters is .12".

The characters belong to the western variety of the southern alphabets and resemble those of the grants of Śrīyāśraya Silāditya. As regards individual letters, we may notice that the rare *jh* occurs in *śarajha*-, l. 23; the subscript *th* has a notch in *sthātavyam*-, l. 41, but not in *-sthityā* in the same line; the superscript *r* is horizontal like the *mātrā* for medial *ē* in *-vimardyamāna*-, l. 26; and the sign for | occurs in *-Kāñchaḷē* and *-Gōvindaḷi*-, in l. 38. A

¹ P. V. O. C., p. 212. Pandit Bhagvanlal did not notice the legend on the seal.

final consonant is indicated by its short form with a horizontal line at the top, see *vasēt*, 1.45. The sign of the *jihvāmūliya* occurs in ll. 7, 16, 28 and 30, and that of the *upadhmanīya* in ll. 7, 10, 14, 17 and 20. The sign-manual of the donor is in the northern characters with wedges at the top.

The language is good and, on the whole, correct Sanskrit. The fierce fight with the Arab invaders is graphically described in ll. 23-33. It is noteworthy that in its eulogistic part the inscription contains in ll. 18-19 one long compound expression, copied for the first time from Gurjara records. No such borrowing from Gurjara grants is noticed in the earlier inscriptions of the Sēndrakas, nor even in those of Pulakēśin's elder brother Sryāśraya-Silāditya. Except for the *maṅgala ślōka* in praise of the boar incarnation and four benedictive and imprecatory verses at the close, the record is in prose throughout. As regards orthography, we find the consonant following *r* doubled in many cases, see, e.g., *Vishṇōr=vvārāham*, 1.1, *-Kīrttivarmma-*, 1.6, etc. The guttural nasal is used for the *anusvāra* before *ś* in *-nistriṇśa-*, 1.19, *gh* for *h* in; *Jayasiṅgha-*, 1.17 and the *jihvāmūliya* for *sh* in *-nīhikrayīkṛita-*, 1.28. The vowel *ri* is used for *ri* in *-nistriṇśa-*, 1.8 and vice versa in *-Prīhivī-*, 1.34. On the other hand, the somewhat rare *sandhis* in *-vaksha-sthala*, 1.22, and *-dashṭōshṭha-*, 1.28, are in accordance with the *vārttikas* on Pāṇini's rules VIII, 3, 36 and VI, 1, 94 respectively.

The plates were granted by the illustrious **Avanijanāśraya-Pulakēśirāja** of the Gujarat branch of the Early Chālukyas. The inscription opens with the usual verse in praise of the boar incarnation. Then comes the genealogy of the donor. In the family of the Chālukyas¹ who are described here as in the grants of Sryāśraya-Silāditya,² there was the *Prithivīvallabha*, *Mahārājādhirāja*, *Paramēśvara*, the illustrious **Satyāśraya-Kīrtivarmarāja**, whose body was sanctified by the *avabhṛitha* bath in an *Aśvamēdha* sacrifice. His son was the illustrious **Satyāśraya-Pulakēśivallabha**, who was a devout worshipper of Mahēśvara and obtained formidable power by his defeat of the illustrious **Harshavardhana**, the lord of the Uttarāpatha. His son was the *Paramabhāṭṭāraka*, the illustrious **Satyāśraya-Vikramāditya** who also was a devout worshipper of Mahēśvara. He regained his kingdom with the help of his excellent horse *Chitrakaṇṭha* and vanquished the three kingdoms, Chēra, Chōla and Pāṇḍya. His younger brother was the *Paramabhāṭṭāraka*, the illustrious **Dharāśraya-Jayasimhavarमारāja**, who was a devout worshipper of Mahēśvara. His son was the *Paramabhāṭṭāraka*, the illustrious **Jayāśraya-Maṅgalarasarāja**, who was a devout worshipper of Mahēśvara, and reconquered his own dominions by the might of his arms. His younger brother, the *Paramabhāṭṭāraka*, the illustrious **Avanijanāśraya-Pulakēśirāja**, who was a most devout worshipper of Mahēśvara, made the present grant.

Of the six princes mentioned above, the first three, Kīrtivarman, Pulakēśivallabha and Vikramāditya, are plainly identical with Kīrtivarman I, Pulakēśin II and Vikramāditya I respectively, of the Early Chālukya Dynasty. The next three, viz., *Dharāśraya-Jayasimha*, *Jayāśraya-Maṅgalarasarāja* and *Avanijanāśraya-Pulakēśin*, though here mentioned with the high-sounding title *Paramabhāṭṭāraka*, were of a feudatory rank and owed allegiance to the Imperial house of Bādāmi. The name of Sryāśraya-Silāditya, whose Navsāri and Surat plates bear earlier dates, is omitted here, probably because he predeceased his father *Dharāśraya-Jayasimha*.

In ll. 23-33 the record describes graphically the Arab invasion of the Chālukyan kingdom and the fierce fight which was fought in the *vishaya* of Navasāri. We are told

¹ See above, p. 133, n. 1.

² Nos. 27 and 29, above.

that the Tājika army which had conquered the Saindhava, Kachchhēlla, Saurāshtra, Chāvōṭaka, Maurya, Gurjara and other kings, invaded the district of Navasārikā during the course of its campaign to conquer all southern kings. There they were opposed by Avanijanāśraya-Pulakēśin. A fierce battle was fought, in which Pulakēśin won a decisive victory. Thereupon the illustrious Vallabha-narēndra, who was plainly the contemporary Chālukya suzerain, in token of his appreciation of Pulakēśin's heroism, conferred upon him the following four titles, viz., *Dakṣiṇāpathasādhāra* (the Pillar of the Deccan), *Chalukkekulāṅkāra* (the Ornament of the Chalukya family), *Prithivīvallabha* (the Lover of the Earth), *Anivartakanivartayitṛi* (the Repeller of the unrepellable).

The vigorous style of the description of the battle, which is unique in inscriptional literature, suggests that the present record dated K. 490 was composed soon after it was fought. Again, as shown above, in its eulogistic portion, the record has, for the first time, incorporated a passage which is known to occur only in Gurjara grants. This makes it probable that it was composed after the Gurjara kingdom was annexed. The last date of the Gurjara is K. 486 (736 A.C.). The Arab invasion must therefore be dated during the period K. 486-490 (736-739 A.C.)¹ and may have taken place in 737 A.C. The contemporary Chālukya Emperor, who appreciated Pulakēśin's heroism, was probably Vikramāditya II (circa 734-747 A.C.).

The object of the present inscription is to record the grant of the village Padraka in the *āhāra* and *vishaya* of Kārmaṇēya on the Mahākārttikī (*i.e.*, the full-moon day of Kārttika) for the performance of *balī*, *charu*, *vaiśvadeva*, *agnihōtra* and other rites. The donee was the Brāhmaṇa Gōvindaḷi, the son of the Dvivēda Brāhmaṇa Kāñchaḷē, who belonged to the Vatsa *gōtra* and was a student of the Taittiriya *śākhā*. He had emigrated from Vanavāsī.

The grant was intended to be dated both in words and numerical symbols, but the former have, for the most part, been omitted through inadvertence, and the date is given in numerical symbols as the fifteenth tithi of the bright fortnight of Kārttika in the year 490. Like the dates of Śrīyāśraya-Silāditya's grants, this date must be referred to the Kalachuri era. According to the epoch of 248-249 A.C., it would correspond, for the expired² year 490, to the 21st October 739 A.C. It does not admit of verification.

As for the geographical names occurring in the present grant, Vanavāsī, from which the donee had emigrated, is a well-known place of the same name in North Kanara. Navasārikā and Kārmaṇēya have been already shown to be identical with the modern Navsāri and Kamrēj.³ The village Padraka may be represented by the modern Pārdi, 4 miles east of Navsāri.

TEXT⁴

First Plate

- 1 सिद्धम्⁵ [१*] जयत्वाविष्कृतं विष्णोर्वीराहं क्षोभिता[णं]वं(वम्) । दक्षि[णोन्नतदं]ष्टाग्र-
[वि]श्रा[न्त]भुवनं व[पुः]⁶ ॥ [१॥*]

¹ The Prince of Wales Museum plates of Jayabhata IV were dated towards the close of the Kārttikādi Kalachuri year 486, while the present inscription was incised in the beginning of the Kalachuri year 490. Hence there is a difference of only three years between the Christian equivalents of the two dates.

² If the year is applied as current, the date would correspond to the 1st November 738 A. C. There was a lunar eclipse on that day, but there is no mention of it in the present grant.

³ Above, pp. 124 and 133.

⁴ From the photo-types accompanying Pandit Bhagwanlal's article.

⁵ Expressed by a symbol.

⁶ Metre: *Anuṣṭubh*.

- 2 श्रीमतां सकलभुवनसंस्तूयमानमानव्यसगोत्राणां स[प्तलोक]मातृभिस्स[प्तमातृभि]रभिव-
 3 द्दिता[नां] [का]त्तिकेयपरिरक्षणप्राप्तकल्याणपरंपराणां भगवन्नारायणप्रसादसमासादि-
 4 तवराहलांछनेक्षणक्षणवशीकृताशेषभूभृतां चलुक्यानां कुलमलंकरिष्णु[रस्वमेघा]वभूत¹-
 5 स्नानपवित्रीकृतगात्रोनेकनरपतिमकुटतटघटितमणिगणकिरणसमु[ल्लसितो]द्योतित²चर-
 6 णकमलयुगलस्सत्याश्रयप्रिथिवी³वल्लभ⁴महाराः⁵जाधिराजपरमेश्वरश्रीकीर्तिवर्मराजस्तस्य
 7 सुतस्तत्पादानुध्यात⁶परम⁷देवताविश[शे]षवद्वंदनीयतमस्सकलशास्त्रार्थतत्त्वज्ञ⁸कारिक-
 8 रनिष्ठुरप्र[कोष्ठ]करकलितनिशितनिस्तुंश⁹प्रहारदलितप्रमुखागतवैरिवारणकुंभस्थलोच्छल-
 9 त्प्रत्यग्रधवलनिर्मलमुक्ताफलप्रकरकुंभस्तवकसमभ्यर्चितसमरधरित्रीतलः श्रीमदुत्तराप-
 10 [याधि]पतिश्रीहर्षवद्वंदनपराजयोपलब्धोप्रताप¹⁰परममाहेश्वरोपरनामा सत्याश्र-
 11 यः¹¹ श्रीपुलकोशिवल्लभस्तस्य सुतस्तत्पादानुध्यातोनेकनरपतिसामन्तमकुटकोटिघृष्टचर-
 12 णारविन्दयुगलो मेरुमलयमन्दरविध्यसमानधैर्योहरहरभिवद्वंदमानवरकरितुरगरथ-
 13 पदातिबलो मनोजवैकचित्रकंठाख्यप्रवरतुरंगमेषोपाज्जितस्वराज्य[*] विजितचेरचोलपां-
 14 ड्यक्रमागतराज्यत्रय¹²परममाहेश्वर¹³परमभट्टारकस्सत्याश्रयः श्रीविक्रमादित्यराजस्तस्या-
 15 नुजो विजितसकलारातिपक्षश्चतुर्दधिपय्यन्तमालामेखलायाः क्षितेर्मण्डनभूतो मत्ते-
 16 भकुंभमण्डलविदारण¹⁴केसरिकिशोरै¹⁵रिव विक्रमैकरसस्समस्तदिङ्मंडलप्रख्यातकीर्तिः प-
 17 [र]ममाहेश्वर¹⁶परमभट्टाः¹⁷रकधराश्रयः श्रीजयसिद्ध¹⁸वर्मराजस्तस्य सुतस्तत्पादानु-
 18 ध्यातस्सकलजनमनानंद¹⁹भूतोनेकसमरसंकटप्रमुखागतनिहतशत्रुसामन्तकुलवधू-
 19 प्रभातसमयवदितच्छलोद्गीयमानविमलनिस्त्रिंश²⁰प्रतापो निजभुजप्रभावोपाज्जितस्व-
 20 कीयभूभागमण्डल²¹परममाहेश्वर²²परमभट्टारकजयाश्रयश्रीमङ्गलरसरजस्तस्यानु-
 21 जस्तत्पादपंकजा[रा]धनानुध्यात[*] प्रतिदिनमुपचीयमानोदयः शैशवादेव समस्तगुणगणा-
 22 धिष्ठानभूतः स्वयंवरयैव राजलक्ष्म्या समासादितवक्षस्थलो धवल्यशोवितानविमलीकृतस-
 23 कलजगन्मण्डलः परममाहेश्वरः परमभट्टारकः शरज्ञ²³पिर²⁴मुद्गरोद्गारिणि तरलतरतारत-
 रवारिदा²⁵
 24 रि[तोदित]सैत्ववकच्छेल्लसौराष्ट्र[चा]वोटकमौर्यगूज्जरा[दि]रा[जे] निःशेषदाक्षिणात्यक्षिति-
 पतिजि-

¹ Read -धावभूय--.

² Read -तोद्योतित-.

³ Read -पृथिवी--.

⁴ The engraver first incised *b* and then corrected it into *bb*.

⁵ This *visarga* is superfluous.

⁶ Between परम and देवता there appear two dots horizontally placed which indicate that the engraver at first wanted to incise some letter there, but changed his mind afterwards.

⁷ Read -तत्त्वज्ञ--.

⁸ Read -निस्त्रिंश--.

⁹ Read -माहेश्वरः सत्याश्रयापरनामा.

¹⁰ Read -किशोर इव.

¹¹ This *visarga* is superfluous. Read -भट्टारक--.

¹² Read श्रीजयसिद्ध--.

¹³ Read -मनमानंदभूतो--.

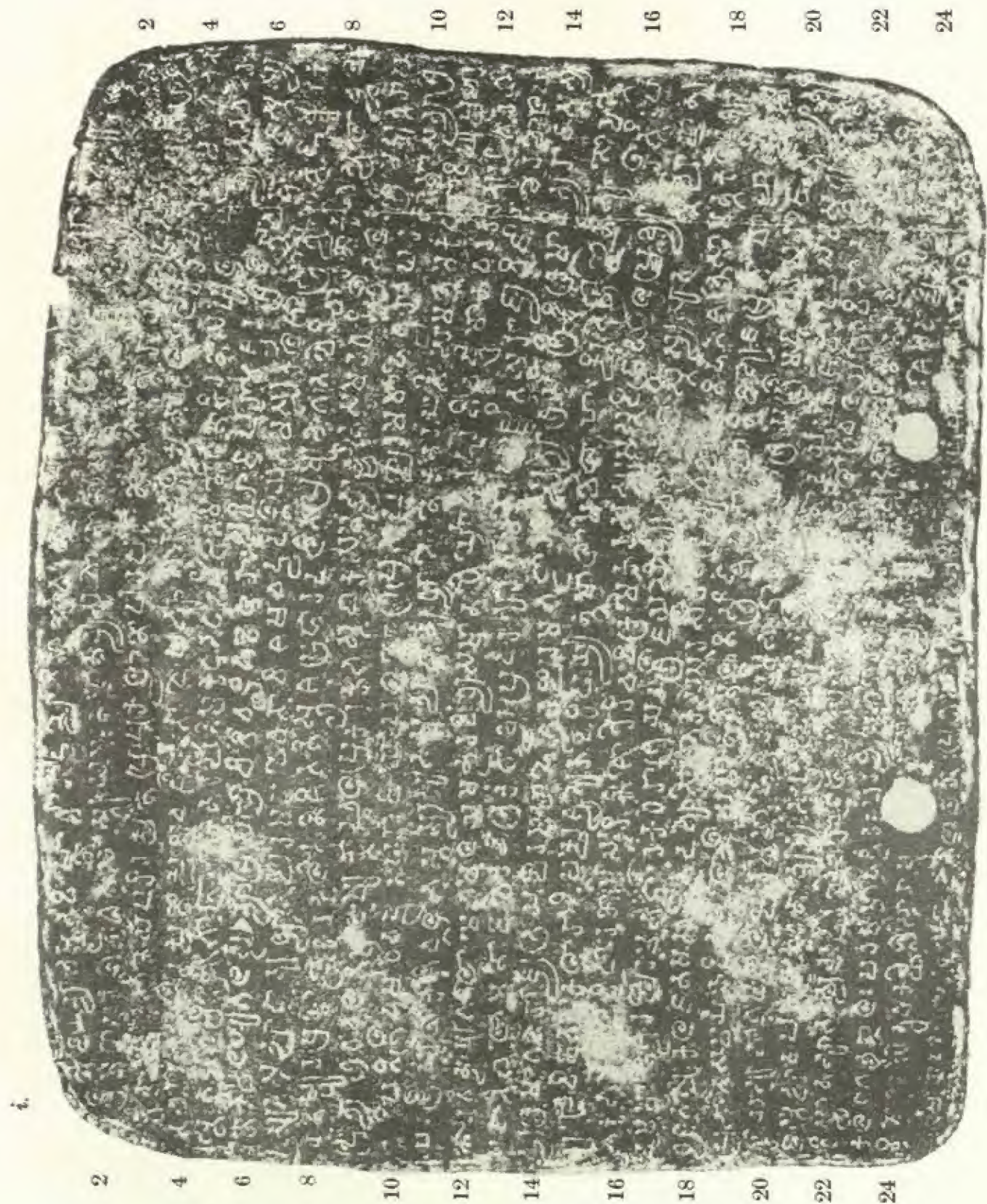
¹⁴ Read -निस्त्रिंश--.

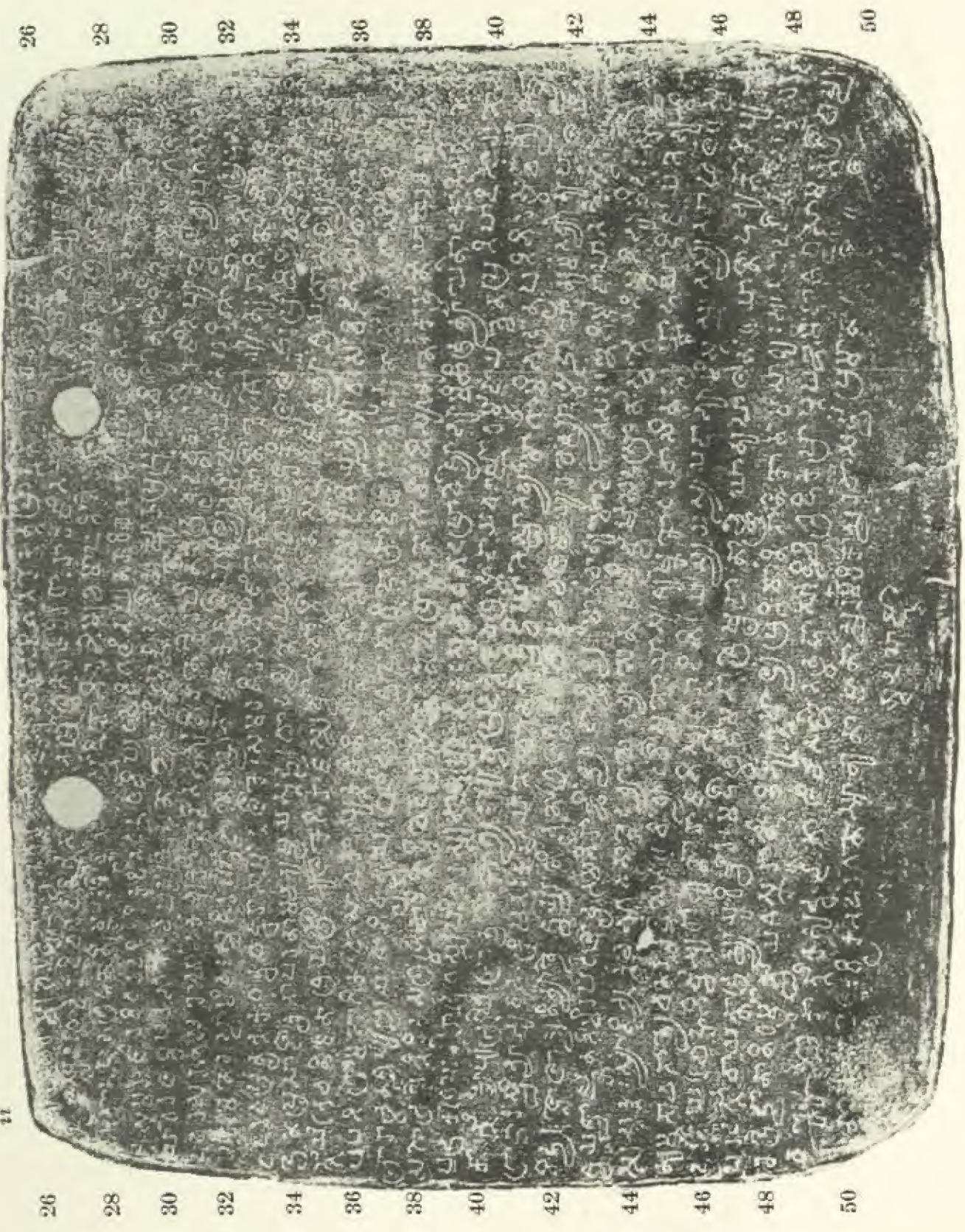
¹⁵ There appears only one dot after *jba*. Pandit Bhagvanlal, however, read शरज्ञ; and took it as referring to Pulakēśirāja.

¹⁶ Bhagvanlal read this word as सौर-. *Jhashira* is derived from √ *jhash* to hurt.

¹⁷ There is some mistake here. Perhaps the intended reading is तारतरासिदारितोदित-.

NAVASARI PLATES OF PULAKESIRAJA: (KALACHURI) YEAR 490





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Seal

From a photograph

- 25 [गो]प[या दक्षिणापथप्रवेशा]भिलाषिणि¹ ॥ प्रथममेव नवसारिकाविषयप्रसाधनायागते
[त्वरित]—

Second Plate

- 26 तुरगस्तरमुखरसुरोत्खातघर[णिधू]लिधूसरितदिगन्तरे कुन्तप्रान्तनितान्तविमर्द्यमानर[भसाभि-
धावि]तो—
27 द्रुटस्थूलोदरविवरविनिर्गतांत्रप्रोद्यु²तररुधिरधारारंजितक[वच]भीष[ण]वपुषि ।³ स्वामिमहा—
28 स[न्मा]नदानग्रहणनि⁴कयीकृत⁵स्वशिरोभिमुखमापतितैर[द]यदशनाग्रदण्डोष्ठ⁶पुटैरने—
29 कसमराजिरविवरवारि(वैरि)करिकटितटह⁷(?) विषटनविगलितघनरुधिरप[टल]पाटलितपटु—
कृपाणपट्टैरपि महा—
30 योर्ध्वरलब्धपरभागैः विपक्षक्षपणाक्षेपक्षिप्रक्षिप्ततीक्ष्णक्षुरप्र⁸प्रहारविलूनवैरिशिर⁹कमलगलनालैरा—
31 हवरसरभसरोमांचकंचुकाच्छादिततनुभिरनेकैरपि नरेद्रवद्वंद्वदारकैरंजितपूर्व¹⁰ ॥¹¹ व्यपगतमस्माक—
32 [मृ]णमनेन स्वामिनः स्वशिरःप्रदानेनाद्य तावदेकजन्मीयमित्येवमि[वो]पजातपरितोषानन्तरप्र—
हतपटुप—
33 टहरवप्रनृतकबन्धवद्वारासमंडलीके ।¹² समरशिरसि विजिते ताजिकानीके शौर्यानुरागिणा श्रीव-
ल्लभनरै—
34 द्रेण प्रसादीकृतापरनामचतुष्टयस्तद्यथा दक्षिणापथसाधारचलुक्किकुलालंकारप्रिथिवी¹³वल्लभानि—
वर्त्तकनिव—
35 तंयित्रवनिजनाश्रयश्रीपुलकेशिराजस्सर्वनिवात्मीयानस्मद्वं(नात्मवं)शजानन्यांश्च यथासंबध्यमान—
कान्विष
36 [य]पतिग्रामभोगिक ।¹⁴ वासावकायुक्तविनियुक्तकादीन्समनुदर्शयत्यस्तु¹⁵ वः संविदितं(तम्) ।
यथास्माभिर्मर्मातापि—
37 श्रोरात्मनश्च पुण्ययशोभिवृद्धये ।¹⁶ बलिचरुवैश्वदेवाग्निहोत्रादिक्रियोत्सर्पणात्¹⁷ ।¹⁸ वनवासि¹¹—
विनिर्गतवत्स—
38 सगोत्रतैत्तिरिक¹²सब्रह्मचारिणे द्विवेदब्राह्मणकाञ्चले¹³ ब्राह्मणगोविदलि¹⁴सूनुने¹⁵ । काम्मणेयाहार—
विषयांतर्गत—
39 पद्मकग्रामस्सोद्वंगस्सपरिकर¹⁶स्सदानप्रदानकः अचाटभटप्रावेश्यो भूमिच्छिद्रन्यायेनोदकातिसर्गण
महा—

¹ Bhagvanlal read भिलाषमाना, but the correct reading given here was suggested by Bühler. The following marks of punctuation are superfluous.

² Read -पुषुतर-.

³ This mark of punctuation is superfluous.

⁴ Read निष्कयीकृत.

⁵ Bhagvanlal read -दण्डोष्ठ-, but the medial vowel of the second *akshara* is certainly not *au*.

⁶ Perhaps हस्त is intended.

⁷ Bhagvanlal read -क्षुरप्र-, but the second *akshara* is clearly *ru*. Read -क्षुरप्र-.

⁸ The mark of punctuation here is superfluous.

⁹ Read -पृथिवी-.

¹⁰ Read समनुदर्शयति । अस्तु.

¹¹ Read वनवासी-.

¹² Read -तैत्तिरीय-.

¹³ Read -काञ्चलाय-.

¹⁴ This is probably the intended reading, though the last *akshara* of the name appears more like *di than ji*.

¹⁵ Read -सूनुवे. The following mark of punctuation is superfluous.

¹⁶ Read -स्सपरिकर-.

- 40 कार्तिक्यां पुत्रपौत्रान्वयभोग्यः पूर्वप्रदत्तदेवब्रह्मादायवज्जो धर्मदायत्वेन प्रतिपादितो(तः ।) यतोस्या—
 41 ग्रहारस्थित्या भुंजतः त्रिषतः¹ कर्षयतो वा न कैश्चिद्विधाते स्थातव्यमागामिभद्रनृपतिभिरस्मद्वंश्यै-
 रन्यैर्वा
 42 विद्युल्लोलान्यनित्यान्यैश्वर्याणि तृणाग्रलग्नजलबिन्दुचंचलमायुरवेक्ष्यास्मदायोनुमंतव्योनुपालयित-
 व्य—
 43 इच [1*] यश्चाज्ञानतिमिरपटलावृतमतिराच्छिंदादाच्छिद्यमानं² वानुमोदेत स पञ्चभिर्महा-
 पातकैस्सो[५]पातकै—
 44 स्संयुक्तः स्यादित्युक्तं³ च भगवता वेदव्यासेन व्यासेन । षष्टिर्वर्षसहस्राणि⁴ स्वर्गं तिष्ठति भूमिदः
 [1*] आच्छेत्ता चा—
 45 नुमंता च तान्येव नरके वसेत्⁵ ॥ [२॥*] विध्याटवीष्वतोयासु शुष्ककोटरवासिनः [1*] कृष्णाहयो
 हि जायन्ते भूमिदायं
 46 हर[न्ति] ये ॥ [३॥*] बहुभिर्वंसुधा भुक्ता राजभिस्सगरादिभिः[1*] । यस्य यस्य यदा भूमि-
 स्तस्य तस्य तदा फलं(लम्) ॥ [४॥*]स्व[द]त्तां
 47 परदत्तां वा यत्नाद्रक्ष्य⁶ युधिष्ठिर । महीन्महिमतां⁷ श्रेष्ठ दानाच्छ्रेयोनुपालनं(नम्) ॥ [५॥*]
 यानीह भुक्तानि⁸ पुरा न—
 48 रेंद्रैर्दानानि धर्म्मार्त्त्ययशस्कराणि [1*] निर्भुक्तमाल्यप्रतिमानि तानि को नाम साधुः पुनराददी[त]⁹
 ॥ [६॥*] सम्बत्सरश¹⁰—
 49 त ४०० ९० कार्तिकशुद्ध १० ५ [1*] लिखितञ्चैतन्महासान्धिविग्रहिकप्राप्तपञ्चमहाशब्द-
 सामन्तश्रीवप्प[भ]—
 50 [टि] [ना¹¹ महाबला]धिष्ठितहरगणसूनुना [1] न्यूनाक्षरमधिकाक्षरं वा सर्वं प्रमाणं(णम्) ।
 सिद्धम्¹² ॥ सिद्धम्¹² [11*]
 51 स्वयमाज्ञा [1*]
 Seal
 श्रीअवनिजनाश्रयः [1*]

TRANSLATION

Success !

(Verse 1) Victorious is Vishṇu's manifested boar-form which agitated the ocean and which had the world resting on the tip of its projecting right tusk !

(Line 2) Adorning the family of the illustrious **Chalukyas**,—who are of the *Mānavya gōtra*, which is being praised by the whole world; who were brought up¹³ by the Seven Mothers (*who are*) the mothers of the seven worlds; who have attained continuous prosperity

¹ Read कृषतः.² Read -दाच्छिद्यमानं.³ Read -स्यादिति । उक्तं च.⁴ Read षष्टिं वर्ष—.⁵ Metre of this and the following three verses: *Anushtubh*.⁶ Read -द्रक्ष.⁷ Read महीन्महिमतां.⁸ Read दत्तानि.⁹ Metre: *Indravajrā*.¹⁰ Read संवत्सर-. The writer has inadvertently omitted many words here. Read. संवत्सरशतचतुष्टये नवत्यधिके कार्तिकशुद्धपञ्चदश्यां संवत्.¹¹ Perhaps -भट्टिना was intended.¹² Expressed by a symbol.¹³ *I.e.*, made prosperous.

through the protection of Kārttikēya; (and) who have all kings submitting to them the moment they see the boar-emblem which was obtained by the favour of the divine (god) Nārāyaṇa,—(there was) the *Prithivīvallabha*, *Mahārājādhirāja*, *Paramēśvara*, *Satyāśraya*, the illustrious *Kīrtivarmarāja* (I), whose body was sanctified by the *avabhṛitha* bath in an *Aśvamēdha* sacrifice, (and) the pair of whose lotus-like feet shone and looked resplendent with the rays of clusters of jewels set on the sides of the crowns of many kings.

(L. 6) His son, who meditated on his feet, (was) the illustrious *Pulakēśivallabha* (II), whose other name was *Satyāśraya*; who was a devout worshipper of Mahēśvara; who was most adorable like a great and pre-eminent god; who knew the import and the principles of all *sūtras*; who worshipped the surface of the battle-field with clusters (of flowers poured out) from pots, in the shape of multitudes of fresh, white and spotless pearls from the frontal globes of attacking hostile elephants, which were rent with the strokes of the sharp sword wielded by his hand, the forearm of which was hard like an elephant's trunk; (and) who attained formidable power by defeating the illustrious *Harshavardhana*, the illustrious lord of Uttarāpatha (North India).

(L. 11) His son, who meditated on his feet, (was) the *Paramabhaṭṭāraka* *Satyāśraya*, the illustrious *Vikramādityarāja* (I), who was a devout worshipper of Mahēśvara; the pair of whose lotus-like feet were rubbed by the edges of the crowns of many feudatory princes; whose firmness was like that of the Mēru, Malaya, Mandara and Vindhya (mountains); whose army, (consisting of) excellent elephants, horses, chariots and foot-soldiers, was increasing day by day; who acquired his kingdom by means of his excellent and peerless horse, *Chitrakaṇṭha*, which had the speed of the mind; (and) who conquered the three hereditary¹ kingdoms *Chēra*, *Chōla* and *Pāṇḍya*.

(L. 14) His younger brother (was) the *Paramabhaṭṭāraka* *Dharāśraya*, the illustrious *Jayasimhavarmanarāja*, who was a devout worshipper of Mahēśvara; who conquered all allies of his enemies; who was an ornament of the earth which has the flowery girdle of the surrounding four oceans; who, like a lion's cub, rent open the frontal globes of rutting elephants; who took delight only in valour; (and) whose glory is well-known in the circuit of all quarters.

(L. 17) His son, who meditated on his feet, (was) the *Paramabhaṭṭāraka* *Jayāśraya*, the illustrious *Maṅgalarasarāja*, who was a devout worshipper of Mahēśvara; who was the joy of the minds of all people; the prowess of whose spotless sword was celebrated in songs in the guise of the morning lamentations of the virtuous wives of the hostile neighbouring kings who were killed when they opposed him in many dangerous battles², and who, by the might of his arms, acquired his own territory.

(L. 20) His younger brother, who is intent on propitiating his lotus-like feet, (is) the *Paramabhaṭṭāraka* *Avanijanāśraya*, the illustrious *Pulakēśirāja*, who is a devout worshipper of Mahēśvara; whose power is increasing day by day; who has, since his very childhood, become the abode of all good qualities; whose breast is occupied by the goddess of royal fortune who was quite free to choose her lord; who has made the whole-world spotless by spreading his white fame; who was favoured by the illustrious king *Vallabha* who is fond of heroism, with the following four titles, *viz.*, the Pillar of Dakṣiṇāpatha (South India), the Ornament of the family of the Chalukkis, the Beloved of the Earth, the Repeller of the unrepellable,

¹ With *kram-āgata* used here, compare *krama-prāpta* (inherited) in *krama-prāpta-nṛīpa-trīyaṇ* of the Vākātaka seals.

² This expression is copied from a Gurjara grant. See, *e.g.*, lines 26-27 of the Kaira plates (first set) of Dadda II-Prasāntarāja.

when the army of the Tājikas,—which poured forth arrows, javelins¹ and iron-headed clubs; which destroyed, with its rapidly brandished and glittering swords, the prosperous Saindhava, Kachchhēlla, Saurāshtra, Chāvōṭaka, Maurya, Gurjara and other kings; which, desiring to enter Dakṣiṇāpatha (South India) with a view to vanquish all Southern kings, came,² in the very first place, to conquer the *vishaya* of Navasārikā; which rendered the regions between the quarters dusky with the dust of the ground raised by the hard and noisy hoofs of its galloping horses; the bodies (*of warriors*) in which appeared dreadful as their armours were reddened by very large streams of blood (*gushing*) from the intestines which came out of the cavities of their big bellies, as they impetuously rushed forth and were completely pierced by spear-heads; which had not previously been vanquished even by numerous eminent chiefs among hosts of kings, who offered their heads in return for high honour and gifts they had received from their lord; who opposed it, biting mercilessly both their lips with the tips of their teeth; who, though they were great warriors and had their sharp swords reddened by the mass of blood that flowed when the sides of the loins and the trunks of hostile elephants were rent on several extensive battlefields, could not attain success; who cut off the necks of their enemies' heads, as though they were plucking the stalks of lotuses, hitting them with their horse-shoe-shaped sharp arrows which were quickly discharged for the destruction of their adversaries; whose bodies were covered with a coat of bristling hair on account of their martial spirit and excitement,—was defeated¹ in the forefront of the battle in which headless trunks began a circular dance to the accompaniment of the loud noise of drums beaten continuously in joy caused, as it were, by the thought "To-day at least we have, by laying down our heads, paid off the debt we owed to our lord in (*this*) one life!"

(L. 35) (He) addresses the (*following*) command to all his officers born in his family and others according as they may be concerned,—to the heads of *vishayas*, headmen of villages, residents, *Vāsāvakas*, *Āyuktas*, *Viniyuktakas* and others:—

"Be it known to you that for the increase of the religious merit and fame of (*Our*) mother and father and of Ourselves, we have given, as a religious gift with a libation of water on the *Mahākārttikī*, the village *Padraka* situated in the *āhāra* and *vishaya* of *Kārmaṇēya*,—together with *udraṅga* (*and*) *uparikara*, together with (*the right to*) minor and major gifts, not to be entered by *chāṭas* and *bhaṭas*, to be enjoyed by a succession of sons and sons' sons according to the maxim of waste land, exclusive of gifts previously made to gods and Brāhmaṇas,—to the Brāhmaṇa Kāñchaḷa who has studied two Vēdas, the son of the Brāhmaṇa Gōvindaḷi, of the Vatsa *gōtra*, who is a student of the Taittirīya *śākhā* (of the Black Yajurveda) and has emigrated from *Vanavāsī*.

(L. 40) Wherefore, none should cause an obstruction while he is enjoying, cultivating or causing it to be cultivated in the manner of an *agrahāra*. Gracious kings of the future, whether born in our family or others, considering that fortune is impermanent and unsteady like a flash of lighting, and that life is as inconstant as a drop of water adhering to the tip of a blade of grass, should consent to and preserve this Our gift. And he, who, with his mind obscured by the veil of the darkness of ignorance, will confiscate it or allow it to be confiscated, shall incur the five great sins together with the minor sins".

And it has been said by the venerable Vyāsa, the redactor of the Vēdas—

(*Here follow five benedictive and imprecatory verses.*)

¹ *Jbathira* is derived from *jhash* to hurt, and means some weapon like a javelin which could be thrown against the enemy.

² The subject is 'the army of the Tājikas', above, p. 143.

(L. 48) The year—hundred,¹ 400 (and) 90, (the month) Kārttika, the bright (fort-night) (the lunar day) 10 (and) 5. This (charter) is written by the illustrious Bappabhaṭṭi, the Mahāsāndhivigrahika and Sāmanta, who has attained the pañcamahāśabda and is the son of the Mahābalādhikṛita Haragaṇa. All (in this charter) (is) authoritative, whether (any) letters are wanting or redundant. Success! Success!

Our own command.

Seal

The illustrious Avanijanāśraya.

¹ Some words are inadvertently omitted here. See above p. 142, n. 10.

INSCRIPTIONS OF THE DYNASTY OF HARISCHANDRA

No. 31; PLATES XXIV-XXV

ANJANERI PLATES (FIRST SET) OF BHOGASAKTI : (KALACHURI) YEAR 461

THIS set of three copper-plates was discovered, together with two others¹ in 1936, in the possession of the Shid family of Anjanēri, a village near Trimbak in the Nasik District. The inscriptions were brought to my notice by Rao Bahadur K.N. Dikshit, Director General of Archaeology. The plates were kindly sent to me for examination by the Superintendent of the Archaeological Survey, Western Circle, who has also supplied me with their ink impressions.

The plates, except the first, are inscribed on both the sides. They measure each 12.5" broad and 8" high. Their ends are slightly raised or thickened for the protection of the writing. The inscription is in a state of excellent preservation almost throughout. On the outer side of the first plate is incised an ornamental lotus-like figure with a diameter of 3.6". On the second sides of the second and third plates there appear inscribed, in the midst of letters, the small figure of a boat running to the right and the large one of a conch² respectively. The plates are held together by two rings passing through the holes near their upper side. The ends of one of them are not soldered, while those of the other are secured into the bottom of a seal, having the shape of an inverted cone, the round surface of which, measuring 1.5" in diameter, contains in high relief, in the centre of a circle of knobs, the figure of a lion with the right front paw raised, and the tail twisted over his back. The weight of the plates together with the rings and the seal is 308 *tolas*. There are sixty-four lines in all, of which fourteen are inscribed on each side, except the second sides of the second and third plates which have thirteen and nine lines respectively. The size of the letters varies from .2" to .4". The letters on the second side of the third plate which were written subsequently and by another hand, are bolder and more deeply incised than those on the other sides.

The characters belong to the western variety of the southern alphabets. The letters are in most cases embellished with small circles as in the Bannahalli plates³ of the Kadamba king Kṛishṇavarman II. These circles appear not only at the top of letters like the box-heads in Vākāṭaka inscriptions, but also at the corners and lower ends; in *hā* of *-mahā-pātakaḥ*-, l. 46, for instance, as many as five circles are used to embellish the *akshara*. The letters in ll. 56-64, however, do not show these circles, but have instead knobs at their top as in other early inscriptions from the Nasik District. As regards individual letters we may notice that the rare lingual *ḍh* occurs clearly in *vōdhavyaḥ*, l. 48; the lingual *ḍ* shows in some places a looped curve as in the Kaira plates⁴ (of K. 380) of Dadda II, see *-maṇḍal-* l. 5, *-shaṇḍa-*, l. 19 and *khaṇḍa-*, l. 32; *b* is round in *brahmanya-*, l. 12, but rectangular

¹ These were the following grant of the same king and the grant (dated K. 460) of the Gurjara king Jayabhata III, (above, No. 22). The present plates have since been edited by Messrs. Vats and Diskalkar in the *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXV, pp. 225 f. and 292 f.

² The figure of the conch appears inverted with reference to the letters, because the inscription on that side is a post-script which was subsequently incised on the plate turned upside down. It may be noted that the figure of a conch is incised on the second side of the Lucknow Museum plate of Kirtipāla (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VII, plate facing p. 97), the first side of which contains the figure of the boat-incarnation of Viṣṇu.

³ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VI, the plates facing pp. 18-9.

⁴ No. 16, above.

with a notch on the top or the left side in other places; see *-bala-*, 1.9 and *-bōdhitō*, 1.20; similarly *th* is round in *-yūth-*, 1.18, but rectangular in *-sthit-*, 1.28; the initial *ē* is distinguished from *l* by lengthening its vertical or by giving it a turn to the right, see *ēva*, 1.11, and *ētām*, 1.49. The medial *ī* (long) as added to *r* appears in as many as three different forms, see *rūpaka* in ll. 36, 38 and 39. A final consonant is indicated by a horizontal line at the top, see *bhūbhrit*, 1.21. The sign for the *upadhmānīya* occurs in line 44 and the numerical symbols for 400, 200, 100, 60, 50 and 1 in lines 34, 38 and 39.

The language is Sanskrit. Except for the initial verse in praise of the boar-incarnation of Viṣṇu and four benedictive and imprecatory verses in ll. 50-53, the record is in prose throughout. The initial *maṅgala-ślōka* and the description of the Chālukya family that follows are taken from the records of the Early Chālukyas. The eulogy of the donor Bhōgaśakti *alias* Pṛithivīchandra is couched in an ornate *kāvya* style resembling that of the Gurjara and Sēndraka records. As regards orthography, we may notice that the consonant, which precedes or follows *r*, has been doubled, see e.g., *Viṣṇūr-vvārāhaṁ* 1.11, and *-parākkram-ākkram-*, 1.14; the guttural nasal is wrongly used in place of the *anusvāra* when followed by a sibilant or *h*, see *vaṇṣasy-*, 1.6; *śrī-Sīnhavarmma-* 1.9 *etc.*; the *visarga* is superfluously retained in *-ālanikārabhūtaḥ=śśarad-*, ll. 6-7, and wrongly elided when followed by a sibilant in ll. 49, 58 *etc.*

After the usual *maṅgala ślōka* in praise of the boar incarnation and the description of the Chālukya¹ family, the record mentions the *Mahārājādhirāja*, *Paramēśvara*, the illustrious *Vikramāditya*. It then proceeds to state that the illustrious *Svāmichandra*, who was an ornament of the family of *Hariśchandra* and was treated as his own son by the Chālukya Emperor *Vikramāditya*, ruled over the entire *Purī-Kōṅkaṇa* country comprising fourteen thousand villages.² His son was the illustrious *Simhavarmarāja*. The latter's son *Bhōgaśakti*, who had the second name *Pṛithivīchandra*, made the present grant. His eulogy, to which as many as fourteen lines (11-25) are devoted, is wholly conventional. The only important information we glean about him is that he was always devoted to the worship of Viṣṇu and, like *Bhīmasēna*, had gained his entire dominion by valour.

The royal order is addressed to (the residents of) *Gōparāshṭra*, *Eastern Trikūṭa*, *Āmrarājī*, *Mairikā*, the *Eastern and Western Mahāgiriḥāras* and *Pallusūḍhāmbaka* district extending as far as *Prētaḥrada* (?). The object of the inscription is to record the grant, by *Bhōgaśakti*, of eight villages, *viz.*, *Jayagrāma*, *Ambē-Avaṅgaṇa*, *Pālitta-pāṭaka*, *Kōkilākshaka*, *Kalahaka*, *Mudgāhitaka*, *Kshēmagiraka* and *Ānnagrāma*, for providing materials for the worship of the god *Nārāyaṇa*, for the repairs of his temple and for the maintenance of a *sattra* in the town of *Jayapura*. The god was named *Bhōgēśvara*, which suggests that he was installed by *Bhōgaśakti* and named after himself. The record next assigns, in ll. 35-39, certain rights, dues and taxes in favour of the god. The amount of taxes levied in each case is stated in *Kṛishṇarāja-rūpakas* which were plainly the silver coins of the Kalachuri Emperor *Kṛishṇarāja*. The record next enjoins that five or ten merchants (who were evidently elected as representatives of the town) should celebrate according to the prevailing custom, the annual *yātrā* festival of the god for a fortnight in the month of *Mārgaśīrsha*. The temple was entrusted to

¹ The dynastic name occurs as *Chalukya* here as in Nos. 29, 30, above, and 32, below.

² In some later inscriptions, the number of villages in North Kōṅkaṇa are stated to be fourteen hundred only, see, e.g., *chaturddasa-grāma-sat-ōpalakshita-Kōṅkaṇa* in line 56 of the *Bhādāna* grant of *Aparājita*, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. III, p. 274, and *Purī-pramukha-chaturddasa-grāma-sa(sa)ta-samanvītāṁ samasta-Kōṅkaṇa-bhuvāṁ samanvītāsati* in ll. 64-65 of the *Khārēpāṇ* plates of *Anantadēva*, *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. IX, p. 35.

(the representatives of) the town of merchants and they were enjoined to look after the service and property of the god. The merchants were in return exempted from the payment of octroi duties and the obligation to provide for the boarding (of royal officers). The charter was written by *Bharatasvāmin* who was a resident of *Kallivana*.

The inscription is dated in the year 461, expressed both in words and numerical symbols in l. 54. No era is specified, but the mention of the Early Chālukya king *Vikramāditya* (I) as the suzerain of *Bhōgaśakti*'s grand-father plainly indicates that it must be referred to the Kalachuri era. According to the epoch of 248-49 A.C., it would correspond to 709-10 A.C. if the year 461 was current, and to 710-11 A.C. if it was expired. It does not admit of verification for want of the necessary details.

The original royal order seems to have ended with l. 55, at the lower end of the inner side of the third plate. There is, however, a postscript added on the outer side of the same plate, which registers certain endowments of *Tējavarṃarāja*. He was presumably a royal officer in charge of the country round *Jayapura*¹. He donated a pasture-land in the village *Pālitapāṭaka* which was situated to the south of *Jayapura*. It was marked in four directions by boundary slabs with the figures of *Durgādēvi* and cows sculptured on them². He also deposited a hundred *rūpakas* with the guild of merchants in the town of *Jayapura*, the interest of which was to be spent in providing *guggula* (bdellium) for (the worship of) the god *Bhōgēśvara* every year.

The mention of *Kṛishṇarāja-rūpakas* or the silver coins of *Kṛishṇarāja* in the present record is interesting; for it shows that these coins of the Kalachuri king remained in circulation for more than a hundred and fifty years after *Kṛishṇarāja* who probably flourished from circa 550 to 575 A.C.

There are several geographical names occurring in the present grant, but few of them can now be definitely identified. *Purī* which in the present record is coupled with *Kōṇkaṇ*, probably to distinguish the latter from the Southern *Kōṇkaṇ*, has not yet been satisfactorily located. Some identify it with *Ghārāpurī*, but the identification is opposed on the ground that the island is too small for a capital. Besides, it shows no traces of fortifications. *Purī* seems to have been situated not far from *Sthānaka* or *Thāṇā*, as the *Silāhāra* king *Aparājita* retired to it when pressed by the enemy³. It may have been identical with *Rājpurī* in the former *Janjira* State, which is situated at the mouth of a large creek on the western coast.⁴ *Gōparāśhṭra* is mentioned in the *Nirpaṇ* plates of *Nāga-vardhana*⁵ and probably comprised the country round modern *Igatpurī*, as the village *Balēgrāma* situated in it has been shown to be identical with *Belgaon Tarhālā*, about 12 m. north-east of *Igatpurī*⁶. The genuineness of the *Nirpaṇ* plates has rightly been questioned⁷, but that need not make the proposed identification doubtful. In fact the mention of *Gōparāśhṭra* as a territorial division, on which a tax was levied for the maintenance of

¹ He figures in the other *Anjanēri* plates (No. 32, below) of this very king as the executor of the charter.

² It may be noted that a pillar found at *Sitābaldi* near *Nagpur* (now deposited in the Central Museum, *Nagpur*) which contains an inscription recording the gift of a pasture-land for the grazing of cows (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. III, pp. 304 ff.), has also the figures of some cows and calves in addition to those of the gods *Brahmā* and *Vishṇu* sculptured on it. The pillars mentioned in the present inscription were probably of a similar type with the figure of *Durgādēvi* sculptured on them.

³ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XL, p. 41.

⁴ *P. I. H. C.*, (Fourth session), pp. 86 f.

⁵ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. IX, pp. 123 f.

⁶ *E. H. D.*, p. 73.

⁷ *Bom. Gaz.*, Vol. I, Part II, p. 358, n. 1

a temple near Nasik shows that the identification is most probable. The identification of **Trikūṭa** the home-province of the **Traikūṭakas** has, for a long time, been a matter of controversy. That it was in **Aparānta** or North **Kōṅkaṇ** was of course known from the *Raghuvamśa* of **Kālidāsa**¹, but its exact location was uncertain. The mention of the Eastern **Trikūṭa** district in connection with and for the same purpose as **Gōparāshṭra** makes it plain that it comprised the western portion of the **Nasik District**. **Trikūṭa** was, therefore, probably the name of the range of hills that borders the **Nasik District** on the west. The districts of **Āmrārājī**, **Mairikā** the Eastern and **Western Mahāgīrihāras**, and **Pallusūdhāmbaka** cannot be definitely identified. **Mahāgīrihāra** may be identical with **Māhīrihāra** mentioned in lines 56-57 of the **Bhādāna** grant of **Aparājita**.² It must, in that case, have comprised the country round **Bhādāna** (near **Bhiwaṇḍi** in the **Ṭhāṇā District**). **Jayapura**, where the temple of **Bhōgēśvara** was situated, is probably represented by **Jarvar Budrukh**, 9 m. south by west of **Anjanēri**. Of the villages granted by the present charter, **Jayagrāma** may be **Jaikhērā** in the **Diṇḍōri tālukā**. Some of the other villages can be located in the vicinity of **Jaikhērā**. Thus **Ambē-Avaṅgaṇa** may be **Ambēgaon**, about 3 m. west by south, **Kokilākshaka**, **Kokar**, about 3 m. to the north-east, and **Kalahaka**, **Kaḷasgaon**, 2 m. east of **Jaikhērā**. **Mudgāhitaka** is likely to be **Maganpārā**, 5 m. north-west of **Jaikhērā**. **Kshēmāgiraka**, **Ānnagrāma** and **Pālittapāṭaka** cannot now be traced in the neighbourhood. **Kallivana**, which was the place of residence of the scribe **Bharatasvāmin**, is undoubtedly **Kalvan**³ in the **Nasik District**.

TEXT⁴

First Plate

- 1 सिद्धम्⁵ [1*] जयत्याविष्कृतं विष्णोर्व्वाराहं क्षोभितार्णवं(वम्) [1*] दक्षिणोन्नतदंष्ट्राग्र-
विश्रान्तभुवनं वपुः⁶ [11११*]
- 2 श्रीमतां सकलभुवनसंस्तूयमानमानव्यसगोत्त्राणां सप्तलोकमातृभिः सप्तमातृ-
- 3 भिरभिर्वदितानां⁷ १७ कार्तिकेयपरिरक्षणप्राप्तकल्याणपरंपराणां भगवन्नारायण-
- 4 प्रसादसमासादितवराहलाञ्छनेक्षणक्षणवशीकृताशेषमहीभृतां हारीतीपुत्राणां च-
- 5 लुक्यानामन्वये सकलमहीमण्डलैकतिलको महाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरः श्रीविक्रमादि-
- 6 त्यवल्लभस्तत्पादप्रसादोपजीवी स्वपुत्रनिर्व्विशेषो हरिश्चन्द्रवक्षस्यालंकारभूतः दशर⁸-
- 7 दुपगमप्रसन्नमण्डलश्चन्द्रमा इव प्रजानामानन्दकारी श्रीस्वामिचन्द्रो नाम राजा येने-
- 8 दं चतुर्दशग्रामसहस्रसंख्यं⁹ सकलमपि पुरीकोङ्कणं भुक्तमासीत् [1*] तस्य च राज्ञः¹⁰ श्रीस्वा-
- 9 मिचन्द्रस्य पुत्रो महाबलपराक्रमः श्रीसिद्धहवर्म¹⁰राजस्तस्यापि श्रीसिद्धहवर्म¹⁰राजस्य पुत्रः
- 10 चतुर्दधिलतरंगालिङ्गितायां पृथिव्यां चन्द्र इव विख्याततेजाः पृथिवीचन्द्रापरना-
- 11 मधेयो राजा श्रीभोगशक्तिर्व्योसौ बाल एव पूर्व्वजन्माभ्यासेन स्वयं समुत्पन्नज्ञानो

¹ Canto IV, vv. 58-9.² *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. III, p. 274.³ It is mentioned in No. 12, l. 21, above.⁴ From the original plates.⁵ Expressed by a symbol.⁶ Metre: *Anushtubh*.⁷ This mark of punctuation is redundant.⁸ Read हरिश्चन्द्रवंशस्यालंकारभूतदशर-⁹ It would be better to read चतुर्दशसहस्रसंख्यग्रामं.¹⁰ Read श्रीसिद्धहवर्म-

- 12 भगवतो वासुदेवस्याच्चनविधिं प्रति सततमभियुक्तो ब्रह्मण्यश्च ।¹ युधिष्ठिर इ-
 13 व नयविनयदयादानदाक्षिण्यादिभिर्गुणैरलंकृतः सत्यवादी च ।¹
 14 भीमसेन इव प्रकटपराक्क्रमाक्क्रान्ताशेषस्वराज्यभूमिमण्डलो महाब[ल]श्च

Second Plate : First Side

- 15 अर्जुन इव जनार्दनज्ञानोपदेशानुवर्त्ती समरविधिविशारदश्च
 16 बलदेव इव नृत्तगीतहसितविलसितक्रीडासुखोपभोगतत्परः
 17 क्षणं विक्रान्तश्च ।¹ प्रद्युम्न इव सकलयुवतिजनमनोहरं वपुर्दारयन्नपि² पर-
 18 कलत्रनिस्पृहः वनवा³रणयूथाधिपतिरिव सततमभिप्रवृत्तदानार्द्राकृतकरः पद्मो-
 19 त्पलकुमुदघण्डमण्डितः स्वादूदको जलाशय इव प्राणिनां तृष्णाविच्छेदकारी
 20 उदितदिवसकरकिरणप्रबोधितो महापद्माकर इव श्रियां निवासभवनं ।¹
 21 जलधिरिव रक्षितस्थितिरनेकभूभृत्पालनपरः[.] परमगम्भीरो महासत्त्वश्च⁴ ॥¹
 22 सततमेव देवकुलतटाकसत्प्रपाधर्मविक्रयानुष्ठानव्यसनी नारायणानु-
 23 स्मरणतत्परश्च ।¹ कौस्तुभमणिरिव विष्णोः पुरीकोङ्कणविषयस्यालंकारभूतः⁵ भारत-
 24 पुराणरामायणराजशास्त्रार्थतत्त्व⁶निपुणः प्राज्ञः पटुः पण्डितो मेधावी अप्रति-
 25 हत⁷बलपराक्क्रमोत्साहमन्त्रप्रभुशक्तिस्त्रिभुवनाङ्गकुशो राजा श्रीभोगशक्तिः सर्वा-
 26 नेवात्मीयपुत्रपौत्रप्रपौत्रादीं(दीन्) स्वभुजबलपराक्क्रमाधिष्ठितां(तान्) गोपराष्ट्रपूज्य-
 27 त्रिकूटाम्भराजीमैरिकामहागिरिहारद्वयपल्लुसूढा[म्ब]कविषयां(यान्) प्रेतहृदा⁸-
 28 मर्यादां(दान्) सर्वां(र्वान्) समाज्ञापयति [।*] अस्तु वो विदितं यथा सृष्टिस्थितिसङ्ग्रह⁹-
 कारणं

Second Plate : Second Side

- 29 देवातिदेवं सुरासुरगुरुं भगवंतं वासुदेवं मुक्त्वा नान्या विशिष्टदेवतास्ती-
 30 ति मत्वा जयपुरे भोगेश्वरप्रतिष्ठिताय¹⁰ पुराणपुरुषाय परमात्मने भगव-
 31 ते नारायणाय गन्धपुष्पधूपदीपसन्मार्ज्जनो¹¹पलेपक्रियार्थं ।¹² नृत्तगीतवाद्यो-
 32 पेतसंगीतकार्थं ।¹² सत्त्रार्थं खण्डस्फुटितसंस्कारार्थं च ।¹² मातापित्रोरात्मनश्च पुण्य-
 33 वृद्धये अष्टौ ग्रामा आदानानि च प्रतिपादितानि । तेषान्नामानि जयग्रामः¹³ अम्बे-
 34 अवङ्गणं ।¹² पालित्तपाटकः कोकिलाक्षकं¹⁴ कलहकः मुद्गाहितकः क्षेम-
 35 गिरकः आन्नग्रामश्च । आदानानि आपणेषु आचाराः करणे कोवेरं ।¹² सार्थवहित्वेषु
 36 प्रवेशे निर्गमे च प्रत्येकं रूपकः देवस्य यात्रोत्सवे दातव्यं¹⁵ गोपराष्ट्राम्भराजीमै-

¹ This mark of punctuation is superfluous.

² Read -द्वारयन्नपि.

³ वा, which was at first omitted, was incised in a smaller size later on.

⁴ Read महासत्त्व-.

⁵ Read -भूतो.

⁶ Read तत्त्व-.

⁷ Read मेधाव्यप्रतिहत-.

⁸ Perhaps प्रेतहृदमर्यादान् is meant.

⁹ Read -संहार-.

¹⁰ Probably प्रतिष्ठितभोगेश्वराय is intended.

¹¹ Read -सम्मार्ज्जनो-.

¹² This mark of punctuation is superfluous.

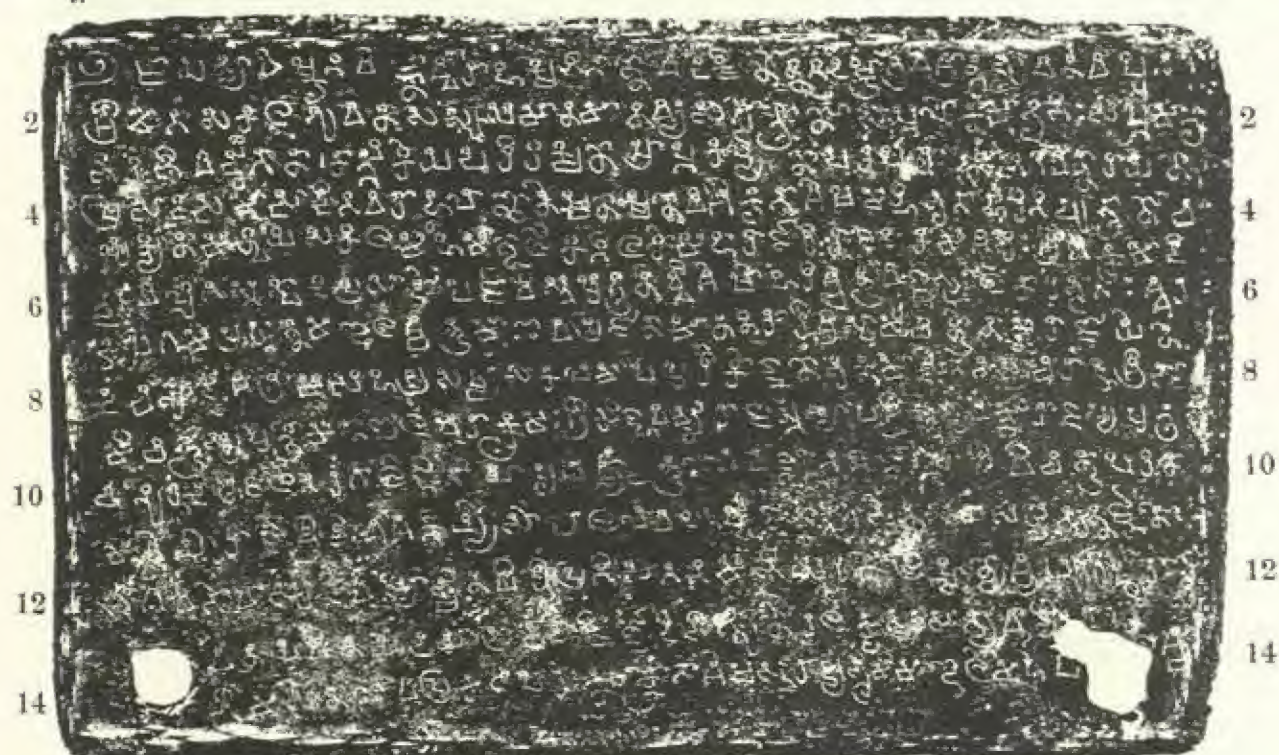
¹³ Here and in some places below, the rules of sandhi have not been observed.

¹⁴ After this word there is a figure of a boar running to the right.

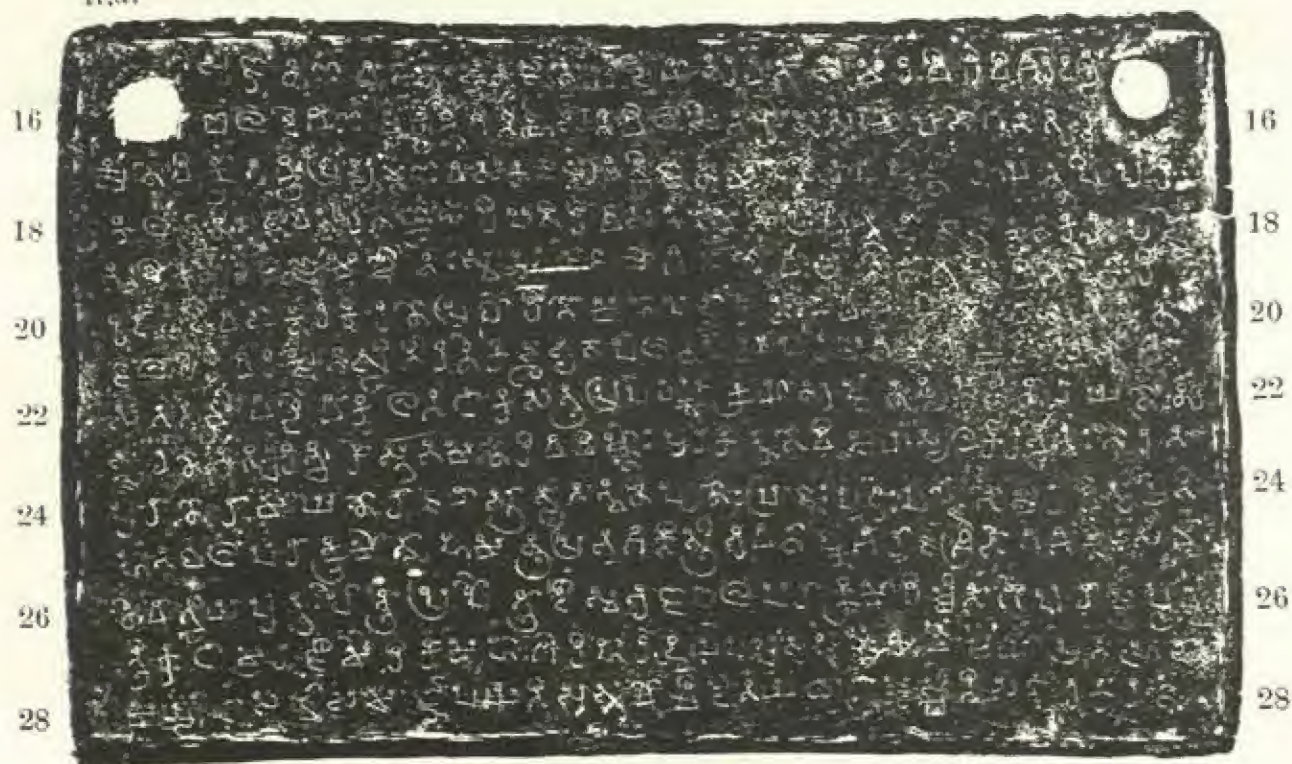
¹⁵ Read दातव्यः so as to agree with रूपकः or दातव्यानि corresponding to आदानानि.

ANJANERI PLATES (FIRST SET) OF BHOGASAKTI: (KALACHURI) YEAR 461

i.



ii.a.



ii, b.

30 30
32 32
34 34
36 36
38 38
40 40

iii, a.

42 42
44 44
46 46
48 48
50 50
52 52
54 54

Seal



(From Photographs).

- 37 रिक्ताविषयेषु ज्येष्ठिकाग्रामे मूटकः घृतसातिका च अनेनावतारेण इतरे-
 38 ष्वपि ग्रामेषु । पूर्व्वत्त्रिकूटविषये कृष्णराजरूपकशतं १०० ।¹ महागिरिहारे अपरे
 39 कृष्णराजरूपकशतद्वयं २०० पूर्व्वं शतं १०० पल्लुडम्ब² विषये [१*] कृष्णराजरूपकाः पञ्चाशत् ५० [१*]
 40 ये चाष्टौ ग्रामास्ते सर्व्वदानविष्टिप्रातिभेदिकापरिहीणाः अचाटभटप्रवेश्याः
 41 अभ्यंतरसिद्धिकाः आचन्द्राकर्णवक्षितस्थितिसमकालीनाः य-

Third Plate : First Side

- 42 तस्तस्मादस्मद्वंश्यैः प्रबलपवन[प्रे]³रितोद[धि]जलत[रं]ग[चं]चलं
 43 जीवलोकमवलोक्य अयमस्मदायोनुमंतव्यः पालयितव्यश्च
 44 वर्णिग्भिः पंचभिर्दशभिरपि नगरधर्ममवलंब्य मार्गशीर्षमासस्य पक्षमात्रं
 45 देवस्य विष्णोर्व्यात्त्रोत्सवस्सारयितव्यः [१*] यो वाज्ञानतिमिरावृतमतिराच्छिन्वादा-
 46 च्छिद्यमानं वानुमोदेत स पञ्चभिर्महापातकैस्संयुक्तः [१*] स्यात् [१*] यदेतद्दे-
 47 वकुलं तद्वणिङ्गनगराय निरूपितं (तम्) (१*) तैश्च सर्व्वैर्भगवतो देवस्य शुश्रूषा योगक्षेम-
 48 श्च वोढव्यः [१*] नगरस्य च स्थितिर्ल्लिख्यते । ये स्थानवासिनो वाणिजकास्तेषां शुल्कं जेमको
 49 वा कदाचिदपि नास्ति । य एतां स्थितिं भिनत्ति स पञ्चभिर्महापातकैः [१*] संयुक्तः [१*] स्या-
 दिति ।
 50 षष्टि वर्षसहस्राणि स्वर्गं मोदति भूमिदः [१*] आच्छेत्ता चानुमन्ता च तान्येव नरके वसेत् ॥⁴
 [२॥*]
 51 पूर्व्वदत्तां द्विजातिभ्यो यत्नाद्रक्ष युधिष्ठिर⁵ । महीं मतिमतां श्रेष्ठ दानाच्छ्रेयोनुपालनं (नम्) । [१३॥*]
 52 बहुभिर्व्वसुधा भुक्ता राजभिस्सगरादिभिः [१*] यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फलं-
 (लम्) ॥ [४॥*]
 53 विध्याटवीष्वतोयासु शुष्ककोटरवासिनः [१*] कृष्णाहयो हि जायन्ते भूमिदायं हरन्ति ये⁶ ॥ [५॥*]
 54 संवत्सरशतचतुष्टये एकषष्ट्यधिके ४०० ६० १ शासनं लिखितं कल्लिवन-
 55 वास्तव्येन भरतस्वामिना ॥

Third Plate : Second Side⁷

Inscription of Tējavarman

- 56 सिद्धम्⁸ [१*] स्वस्ति [१*] श्रीतेजवर्म्मराज्ञा⁹ जयपुरस्य दक्षिणायां¹⁰
 57 पालितपाटको¹¹ गोप्रचारो मुक्तः [१*] तस्य च प्र-
 58 माणं चतुर्दिक्षु दुर्गादेवि(वी)सहिताः [१*] शैलिमा¹² गावो(वः) स्थापिताः [१*] सीम-
 59 स्य(न्त)ः तदेव प्रमाणं¹³ तस्य गोप्रचारस्यार्थे [१*] भोगेश्वरदेवस्य भूमिनि-

¹ This mark of punctuation is superfluous.

² This name occurs as पल्लुसूडाम्बक in l. 27 above.

³ The *mātrās*, curves and *anusvāras* over the letters in square brackets in this line have been damaged by verdigris.

⁴ Metre of this and the following three verses: *Anushtubh*.

⁵ चि, which was at first omitted; was incised later on in a smaller size.

⁶ What looks like a curved stroke to the right on the top of y is accidental.

⁷ The lines are written on this side of the plate turned upside down.

⁸ Expressed by a symbol.

⁹ Read -राजेन.

¹⁰ Read दक्षिणस्यां.

¹¹ Read पालितपाटके

¹² शैलिमा is an incorrect form for शैल्यः. For the use of शैलीप्रतिमा in an inscriptional record, see line 4 of the Deopāṇi Viṣṇu image inscription, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 330.

¹³ मा which was first omitted is incised below.

- 60 ऋयार्थं जयपुरवणिङ्ग¹नगरस्य रूपकशतं² दत्तं (त्तम् ।*) तस्य च रूपक—
 61 शतस्य वृद्धिः गुग्गुलमूल्यं भोगेश्वरदेवस्य वर्षप्रतिवर्षं
 62 नगरेण यावदान्द्राक्कतारकं³ दातव्यं (व्यम् ।) यो वास्या—
 63 न्यया कर्ष्यति⁴ स पञ्चभिर्महापातकैस्संयुक्तो भ⁵—
 64 विष्यति ॥

TRANSLATION

Success !

(Verse 1) Victorious is Vishṇu's manifested boar-form, which agitated the ocean and which had the world resting on the tip of its projecting right tusk !

(Line 2) In the family of the illustrious **Chalukyas**,—who are of the *Mānavya gōtra* which is being praised by the whole world ; who are the sons (*i.e.*, descendants) of Hārītī, who were brought up⁶ by the Seven Mothers⁷ who are the mothers of the seven worlds; who obtained continuous prosperity through the protection of Kārttikēya; who have all kings submitting to them the moment they see the boar-emblem which was obtained by the favour of the divine (god) Nārāyaṇa,—(*there was*) the *Mahārājādhirāja*, *Paramēśvara*, the illustrious **Vikramāditya-vallabha**, the sole fore-head mark of the whole earth. Dependent on the favour of his feet and (*treated by him*) in no way different from his (*own*) son, (*there was*) a king named the illustrious **Svāmichandra**, an ornament of the family of **Hariśchandra**, who caused delight to the people like the moon whose orb has become clear on the advent of autumn, (*and*) by whom this entire Kōṅkaṇa (*country*) with **Purī** (*as the chief city*), the villages in which number fourteen thousand, was governed. A son of that king, the illustrious Svāmichandra, (*was*) the illustrious king **Simhavarman** of great strength and prowess.

(L. 9) Again, a son of that illustrious king **Simhavarman**, (*viz.*) the king, the illustrious **Bhōgaśakti**,—who, having, like the moon, well-known splendour on the earth embraced by the waves of the water of the four oceans, had the second name of **Prithivīchandra** (the Moon on the Earth); who, even as a boy, had knowledge spontaneously produced through the discipline of (*his*) previous life; who is always engaged in the worship of the divine (god) Vāsudēva, and is devoted to sacred knowledge ; who, like Yudhisṭhira, is adorned by excellences such as political wisdom, humility, compassion, charity and courteousness, and (*always*) speaks the truth ; who, like Bhīmasēna, has brought under his rule the whole territory of his dominions by (*his*) displayed valour, and is possessed of great strength ; who, like Arjuna, acts in accordance with the knowledge and teaching (*imparted*) by Janārdana,⁸ and is skilled in fighting ; who like Balarāma, is eagerly engaged in the enjoyment of the pleasures of dancing, singing, laughing, dallying, and sporting, and is (*also*) valiant in a moment; who, though, like Pradyumna, is possessed of a charming form attractive to the minds of all young women, has no desire (*for the enjoyment of*) another's wife ; who, like the leader of a herd of wild elephants (*which has his trunk always moistened with the continuously flowing rut*⁹), has his hand always wet through making

¹ The engraver at first wrongly incised the superscript letter as *b*, and later on altered it to *n*.

² त्, which was omitted at first is written below the line.

³ Read either यावच्चन्द्राक्कतारकं or आचन्द्राक्कतारकं.

⁴ Read करिष्यति.

⁵ There is the figure of a large inverted conch in the middle of lines 60-63.

⁶ *I.e.*, made prosperous.

⁷ See above p. 126, n. 8.

⁸ The reference here is to the teaching of the well-known work *Bhagavadgītā*, in which Kṛishṇa, (an incarnation of Janārdana), expounded his philosophy of selfless action.

⁹ The adjectival expressions in ll. 18-21 admit of a double interpretation owing to the use of *ślēṣha*.

INSCRIPTION OF TEJAVARMAN



gifts continuously; who, like a reservoir of sweet water beautified with clusters of day-lotuses, blue-lotuses and night-lotuses, (*which quenches the thirst of animals*), destroys the greed of living beings; who, like a large assemblage of lotuses, made to bloom by the rays of the rising sun (*which becomes an abode of beauty*), is the place of resort for Fortune; who, like the ocean (*that always keeps itself within bounds, is engaged in giving protection to several mountains, is very deep, and contains large aquatic animals*), has maintained established customs, is intent on giving protection to many princes, and is possessed of great serenity and courage; who is always occupied with the construction of religious works, (*such as*) temples, tanks, charitable feeding houses and water-sheds, and is intent on meditating on Nārāyaṇa; who is an ornament of Kōṅkaṇa with Purī (*as the capital*), even as the Kaustubha jewel is of Viṣṇu; who is proficient in (*understanding*) the import and principles of the *Bhārata*, the *Rāmāyaṇa* and (*the works on*) the science of politics; (*who is*) wise, clever, learned (*and*) intelligent; whose strength, prowess and powers derived from personal energy, counsel and royal position, are unimpeded; (*and who is*) the goad (*i.e., the controller*) of the three worlds—addresses the (*following*) command to all his sons, sons' sons and sons' sons' sons and so forth, (*as well as*) (*all people living in*) the *vishayas* of Gōparāśhṭra, Eastern Trikūṭa, Āmrarājī, Mairikā, both the Mahāgīrihāras¹ (*and*), Pallusūḍhāmbaka,² extending as far as Prēṭahrada, which have been acquired by the might of his arms and valour:—

(L. 28) “Be it known to you that realizing that there is no pre-eminent god except the divine Vāsudēva, the lord of (*both*) gods and demons, the supreme god of gods, the cause of the creation, preservation and destruction (*of the world*), (*I have*) donated for the increase of the religious merit of (*My*) mother and father and of *Myself*, the (*following*) eight villages and rights to the divine (god) Nārāyaṇa, the primeval Being and Supreme Spirit (*called*) Bhōgēśvara installed³ in Jayapura, for providing perfume, flowers, incense, light, bathing and anointing (*of the god*), for symphonic entertainment combined with dancing, singing and music, for (*maintaining*) a charitable feeding-house, and for repairing (*what may be*) damaged or broken. The names of them (*i.e., the villages*) are (*as follows*):—Jaya-grāma, Ambē-Avaṅgaṇa, Pālitapāṭaka, Kōkilākshaka, Kalahaka, Mudgāhitaka, Kshēmagiraka (*and*) Ānnagrāma. And the rights are (*as stated below*):— stalls in market places; *kōvēra*⁴ in a written document; a *rūpaka* to be paid for each cart⁵ of the caravan on ingress and egress (*at Jayapura*) at the time of the *yātrā* festival of the god; a basket⁶ (*of corn?*) and an offering of ghee in the principal villages⁷ in the *vishayas* of Gōparāśhṭra, Āmrarājī (*and*) Mairikā; in the same manner in other villages (*of the aforementioned districts*); in the *vishaya* of Eastern Trikūṭa, a hundred *rūpakas* of Kṛishṇarāja, (*in figures*) 100; in the Western Mahāgīrihāra, two hundred *rūpakas* of Kṛishṇarāja, (*in figures*) 200; in the Eastern (Mahāgīrihāra), one hundred (*rūpakas*), (*in figures*) 100; in the *vishaya* of Pallūḍhamba, fifty *rūpakas* of Kṛishṇarāja, (*in figures*) 50. As for the eight villages,

¹ These were the Eastern and Western Mahāgīrihāras as appears from ll. 38-39.

² This is to be taken as one name in view of Pallūḍhamba, mentioned in l. 39 below, with which it is plainly identical.

³ See above, p. 150, n. 10.

⁴ The meaning of this is not clear to me.

⁵ *Vahitra*, *lit.* an instrument of conveying, is clearly used here in the sense of a cart or some similar vehicle.

⁶ M. Williams on the authority of the *Kāraṇḍavyūha* gives *mūṭa* or *mūṭa* in the sense of a basket. The Arthūṇā inscription of Chāmuṇḍarāja (*Ep. Ind.*, XIV, p. 302) mentions the tax of a *mānaka* on each *mūṭaka* of salt. Cf. *mūḍā* in Marathi and *mūḍa* in Kannaḍa.

⁷ The reference to ‘other villages’ in the sequel shows that *Jyāsthikā-grāma* is used here in the sense of the headquarters of a *vishaya* etc.

they are all to be exempt from all dues, forced labour and special rights; (*they are*) not to be entered by *chāṭas* and *bhaṭas*, are to be self-contained,¹ (*and*) are to continue (*as donated villages*) as long as the moon, the sun, the ocean and the earth will endure.

(L. 41) Wherefore, our descendants, seeing that the living world is fickle like the waves of the ocean-water agitated by strong wind, should consent to and preserve this Our gift. (*And*) the merchants (*of the town Jayapura*), five or even ten (*in number*), should celebrate the *yātrā* festival of the god Viṣṇu for a whole fortnight in the month of Mārgaśīrsha. But he, who, with his mind shrouded in the darkness of ignorance, would confiscate it or allow it to be confiscated, would incur the five great sins. As for this temple, it is entrusted to the town of merchants.² They should all perform the service and take care of the property,³ of the god. The (*following*) regulation is laid down for the town:—The merchants residing at (*this*) place will never have to pay the octroi duty, or to provide for the boarding⁴ (*of royal officers*). He, who will violate this regulation, shall incur the five great sins.”

(*Here follow four benedictive and imprecatory verses*).

(L. 54) In the year four hundred increased by sixty-one, (*this*) charter was written by Bharataśvāmin a resident of Kallivana.

Inscription of Tējavarman

(L. 56) Success! Hail! The illustrious Tējavarmanrāja has relinquished a pasture-land in Pālittapāṭaka to the south of Jayapura. And in evidence of it, stone sculptures of cows, together with (*the image of*) the goddess Durgā, have been put up in (*all*) the four directions (*to mark*) its boundary. That is the defining limit of the pasture-land. For purchasing land (*in honour*) of the god Bhōgēśvara, a hundred *rūpakas* have been deposited with the merchant town of Jayapura. The interest on the hundred rupees should be paid by (*the guild of merchants in*) the town as the price of bdellium (*for the worship*) of the god Bhōgēśvara, year after year, as long as the moon, the sun and the stars will endure. He, who will do otherwise, shall incur the five great sins.

No. 32 ; PLATE XXVI

ANJANERI PLATES (SECOND SET) OF BHOGASAKTI

THIS is a set of two copper-plates discovered together with two others⁵ in the possession of the Shid family of Anjanēri near Trimbak in the Nasik District of the Bombay State. The inscription was brought to my notice by Rao Bahadur K.N. Dikshit, Director General of Archaeology. The plates were kindly sent to me for examination by the Superintendent of the Archaeological Survey, Western Circle, who has also supplied me with their ink impressions.

¹ The expression *abhyantara-siddhi* occurs in several grants, sometimes with a prefix like *tri-bhōga* or *sarva*, see *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIX, p. 271. It is generally used in the instrumental case denoting the manner in which the grant is made. *Abhyantara-siddhiyā* has been variously translated:—(1) by Dr. Fleet as ‘with (full) rights of enjoyment (*loc. cit.*); (2) by Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar as ‘with heart-felt devotion’ (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IX, p. 40), and (3) again by the same scholar as ‘for the purpose of internal adjudication’ (*ibid.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 257). The context shows that the expression is used here in the sense of ‘self-contained’, *i.e.*, the donated villages will not be dependent on others for the decision of law-suits *etc.*, but they will have full powers of adjudication. The same idea is expressed by *sa-daṇḍa-daś-āparādhaḥ* which sometimes takes its place. The Hānsōṭ plates of Bhartṛivādḍha have *sab-abhyantara-siddhi*; *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XII, p. 203.

² *Vij.*, the town of Jayapura.

³ *Yōga* means acquisition of new property and *kṣhēma*, preservation of what is acquired.

⁴ See p. 156, n. 2, below.

⁵ Nos. 22 and 31, above.

They are two copper-plates, the first of which measures 11.9" broad and 7.8" high, while the second, though of the same breadth, is slightly less in height. They are held together by two rings, 6" in diameter, passing through two holes at the top of each plate. The ends of the right-hand ring are not joined, but those of the left-hand one are secured into the socket of a seal having the shape of an inverted cone, 3" in length, on the round surface of which, about 1.7" in diameter, appears in high relief the figure of a lion in the midst of a circle of knobs. The lion closely resembles that on the seal of the cognate Anjanēri plates of K. 461. The weight of the plates, the rings and the seal is 178 *tolas*. The first plate is inscribed on one side only, and the second on both the sides. Their rims are slightly thickened with a corresponding depression running all round for the protection of the writing. The plates have suffered considerable damage by corrosion. There are a few holes in the third line on the first plate and near the lower edge of the second. Nearly twenty *aksharas* in l.27 and about a dozen in l.28 have been either partially or wholly damaged by the corrosion of the surface. Some of them, especially those in l.27 can, however, be supplied from the other Anjanēri plates of the same king. Further, lower down on the same side, several *aksharas*, especially in the middle of ll. 34-38, have been almost obliterated by wear and tear, but they can be read with patience and perseverance from their faint traces on the original plate. There are thirty-eight lines of writing in all, of which twelve appear on each inscribed side, except the first side of the second plate which has fourteen lines.

The characters closely resemble those in the cognate Anjanēri plates, except that the circles appear here only at the top of letters. The language is Sanskrit. Except for the introductory *maṅgala ślōka* in praise of the boar incarnation, which is borrowed from the inscriptions of the Early Chālukyas, the record is in prose throughout. Down to l.27 it is identical with the corresponding portion of the other Anjanēri plates, and shows the same palæographical peculiarities. As shown below, the object of the present inscription was not to record any religious gift but to register certain rights and privileges granted to merchants, and to lay down punishment for offences committed in certain towns and villages which were resettled by the king. The usual imprecatory and benedictive verses do not naturally find a place in this record.¹ Their absence does not, therefore indicate that the charter is incomplete. In fact the mention of the executive officer and the use of *iti* at the end of the last line shows that it was duly completed.

The inscription begins with a verse in praise of the boar incarnation. It then gives the usual description of the Chālukya² family and mentions the *Mahārājādhirāja Paramēśvara*, the illustrious Vikramādityavallabha. It proceeds to state that the illustrious Svāmichandra, an ornament of the family of Hariśchandra, who was treated like his own son by Vikramāditya, ruled over the whole Purī-Kōṅkaṇa, consisting of fourteen thousand villages. His son was the illustrious Siṃharāja, and the latter's son, the illustrious Bhōgaśakti who had the other name Prithivīchandra. The description of these kings is given exactly as in the other Anjanēri plates. Bhōgaśakti was always devoted to the worship of the god Vāsudēva, and was an ornament of the province Purī-Kōṅkaṇa.

From ll. 29-31 of the present grant we learn that the king Bhōgaśakti resettled the town Samagiripaṭṭana together with (its suburb) Chandrapurī as well as the villages—Ambayapallikā, Savāṇēyapallikā, Maurēyapallikā and Kaṁsāripallikā, which had previously been devastated. The name of the enemy, who had laid them waste, is not men-

¹ That it was customary to omit such verses in charters which registered only exemptions from toll *etc.*, is shown by the Khārēpāṭan plates of the Śilāhāra king, Anantadēva (Śaka 1016), *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. IX, pp. 33. ff. See also, *loc. cit.*, p. 38, n. 31.

² See above, p. 147, n. 1.

tioned. The object of the present charter, which was made over to Ēla *śrēṣṭhin*, Kara-puta *śrēṣṭhin*, and others of the afore-mentioned town, was to record the rights, privileges and exemptions granted to the merchants and other residents of the resettled town Samagiri, as well as to lay down fines in the case of certain offences committed by the residents and young merchants evidently of the same town. The merchants were, for instance, exempted from octroi duty in the whole kingdom; the property of those who died sonless was not to escheat to the crown;¹ the residents were not required to provide lodging and boarding for royal officers.² As for fines imposed for offences, we are told in ll. 34-38 that a violent offence against unmarried girls³ would be punished with a fine of 108 *rūpakas*, and that of adultery with 32 *rūpakas*. For an assault consisting of the boxing of the ears, a fine of sixteen *rūpakas*, and for that which resulted in an injury to the head, one of four *rūpakas* was laid down. If a young merchant had illicit intercourse with a labour woman, he was fined 108 *rūpakas* or whatever was fixed by eight or sixteen Mahallakas (respectable men) of the town. The charter was executed by the illustrious Tējavarmanarāja.

The inscription is **not dated**, but the mention of Tējavarmanarāja, who is clearly identical with the homonymous person mentioned in the other Anjanēri inscription, shows that it must have been incised within a few years on either side of the Kalachuri year 461 (710-11 A. C.).

As for the localities mentioned in the present plates, Samagiripaṭṭana cannot be traced, but it was probably situated near Chandrapurī, with which it is coupled in the present grant and which is probably represented by Chandrāchī Mēt, 12 m. south-west of Anjanēri. Savāṇēyapallikā may be Sāmuṇḍi and Kamsārīpallikā Karholi, five and six miles respectively, north by east of Chandrāchī Mēt. Maurēyapallikā may be Mōrwāḍī, 3 m. south-west of Nasik, but it is somewhat distant from Chandrāchī Mēt if the latter correctly represents Chandrapurī.

¹ The royal claim to the property of a person who dies sonless is mentioned in some charters as transferred to the grantee together with the donated village. See, e.g., the expression *kumārī-sābas-āputrādi dbana samanvitat* qualifying the name of the donated village in the Bhādāna grant of Aparājitatēva, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. III, p. 274. The *aputrikā-dbana* mentioned in line 12 of the Rajor inscription of Mathanadēva (*ibid.*, Vol. III, p. 266) is obviously a mistake for *aputra-dbana*. Readers of Sanskrit literature will recall a passage in Kālidāsa's *Śakuntala*, Act VI, where Dushyanta is informed by his minister that the property of a merchant, who died sonless, is to escheat to the crown.

² In ancient times it was considered to be the duty of villagers to provide for the boarding and lodging of touring royal officers and a small tax called *vasati-daṇḍa*, sometimes collected in kind, was levied for the purpose. In some charters the grantee is specifically exempted from it. Compare *a-kura-yōllaka-vinēsi-kbatṭā-vāsam a-dādha-dadbi-gabaṇam a-taṇa-kaṭṭha-gabaṇam* in the Pallava grants (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, p. 6; Vol. VI, p. 87); *a-kbatṭā-vās-andanam* in a Kadamba grant (*ibid.*, Vol. VI, p. 14) and *a-chār-āsana-charmm-āṅgārāḥ* in Vākāṭaka grants (*ibid.*, Vol. XXII, p. 173). The Paithan and Purushōttampurī plates of Rāmachandra mention the *vasati-daṇḍa*, (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIV, p. 318; *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXV, p. 218.)

³ The fine levied for *kumārī-sābas* is sometimes mentioned as transferred to the donee; see the expression in the Bhādāna grant cited above in note 1. The fines for the various offences are laid down here specifically to prevent the village authorities from extorting money from the offenders. For similar fines which village officers were empowered to impose, see Kōṭavumachgi inscription of Vikramāditya V, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XX, pp. 66 ff.

TEXT¹

First Plate

- 1 सिद्धम्² [1*] जयत्याविष्कृतं विष्णोर्व्वाराहं क्षोभितार्णवं(वम्) [1*] दक्षिणोन्नत[दं]ष्ट्राग्र—
- 2 विश्रान्तभुवनं वपुः³ [11१11*] श्रीमतां सकलभुवनसंस्तूयमानमान⁴मान—
- 3 व्यसगोत्राणां सप्तलोकमातृभिस्सप्तमातृभिरभिवर्द्धित[1]नां कार्तिके—
- 4 यपरिरक्षणप्राप्तकल्याणपरंपराणां भगवन्नारायणप्रसादस—
- 5 मासादितवराहलांछनेक्षणक्षणवशीकृताशेषमहीभृतां हारीतीपुत्रा—
- 6 णां चलुक्यानामन्वये सकलमहीमण्डलैकतिलको महाराजाधिराजपर—
- 7 मेश्वरश्रीविक्रमादित्यवत्सलभस्तत्पादप्रसादोपजीवी स्वपुत्रनिर्व्विशेषो
- 8 हरिश्चन्द्रवंशस्यालंकारभूतः शरदु[प]⁵शमप्रसन्नमण्डलश्चन्द्रमा इव प्र—
- 9 जानामानन्दकारी श्रीस्वामिचन्द्रो नाम राजा येनेदं चतुर्दशग्रामसहस्र—
- 10 संख्यं⁶ सकलमु(म)पि पुरीकोकणं भुक्तमासीत् [1*] तस्य च राज्ञः श्रीस्वामिचन्द्रस्य
- 11 पुत्रो महाबलपरावक्रमः⁷ श्रीसिद्धहवर्म⁸राजस्तस्यापि श्रीसिद्धहवर्म⁹रा[ज]¹⁰स्य
- 12 पुत्रश्चतुर्दधिवज्रतरंगालिगितायां पृथिव्यां चन्द्र इव

Second Plate: First Side

- 13 विख्याततेजाः[.] पृथिवीचन्द्रापरनामधेयो राजा श्रीभोगशक्तिः [1*] योसौ बाल
- 14 एव पूर्व्वजन्माभ्यासेन स्वयं समुत्पन्नज्ञानो भगवतो वासुदेवस्या[चर्च]¹¹नवि—
- 15 धिं प्रति सततमभियुक्तो ब्रह्मण्यश्च युधिष्ठिर इव नयविनयदयादानदाक्षि—
- 16 ण्यादिभिर्गुणैरलंकृतस्सत्यवादी च भीमसेन इव प्रकटपरावक्रमावक्रान्ताशेषस्वरा—
- 17 ज्यभूमिमण्डलो महाबलश्च अर्जुन इव जनाहंनज्ञानोपदेशवर्ती समरविधिविशा—
- 18 रदश्च बलदेव इव नृत्तगीतहसितविलसितक्रीडासुखोपभोगतत्परः क्षणं वि—
- 19 क्रांतश्च प्रद्युम्न इव सकलयुवतिजनमनोहरं वपुर्दारयन्नपि परकलत्रनि—
- 20 स्पृहः वनवारणयूथाधिपतिरिव सततमभिप्रवृत्तदानार्द्रीकृतकरः पद्मोत्पल—
- 21 कुं(कु)मुदपङ्कमंङितः स्वादूदको जलाशय इव प्राणिनां तृष्णाविच्छेदकारी उदितदिव—
- 22 सकरकिरणप्रबोधितो महापद्माकर इव श्रियो निवासभवनं जलवि(धि)रिव रक्षित—
- 23 स्थितिरनेकभूभृत्पालनपरः परमगंभीरो महासत्त्व(त्व)श्च सततमिव देवकुलतटा—
- 24 कसत्प्रप्राधर्मविक्रयानुष्ठानव्यसनी नारायणानुस्मरणतत्परश्च कौस्तुभम—
- 25 णिरिव विष्णोः पुरीकोकणविषयस्यालंकारभूतः भारतपुराणरामायण—
- 26 राजशास्त्रार्थतत्त्व(त्व)निपुणः प्राज्ञः पटुः पंडितो [मे]धावी अप्रतिहतबलपरा—

¹ From the original plates.² Expressed by a symbol.³ Metre: Anushubh.⁴ The *aksbaras* मान are unnecessarily repeated.⁵ This *aksbara* was at first closed at the top, but the mistake seems to have been corrected.⁶ Read चतुर्दशसहस्रसंख्यग्रामं.⁷ Read श्रीसिद्धहवर्म—.⁸ This *aksbara* is incised just above the ring-hole, and can be read clearly on the original plate.⁹ The *repha* of this *aksbara* is indistinct.

Second Plate : Second Side

- 27 [क्त्रमो]¹त्साहमन्त्रप्रभुशक्ति[स्त्रिभु]वनाङ्कशो [राजा श्रीभोगशक्तिः सव्वनिवात्मी*—]
 28 [य*]पुत्रपौत्रप्रपौत्रादीं(दीन्) विषयपतिग्रामभोगिकम्[हत्तरान् समाज्ञापय*]²—
 29 [ति*] विदितमस्तु वो यथा पूर्वमुत्सादितं [स]मगिरिपट्टनं चन्द्रपुरीसहि[तं]
 30 ³भव्यपल्लिकासवाण्यपल्लिकामौरेयपल्लिकात्रयसहितं कंसा—
 31 [रि]पल्लिका च मया समावासितं(तम्) । एलश्रेष्ठिकरपुटश्रेष्ठिप्रमुख—
 32 समस्तनगरस्य दत्तं(तम्) [1*] समगिरिवास्तव्यानां वणिजां चन्द्रार्ककालिकं शुक्लमादी—⁴
 33 यं समस्तराज्ये नास्ति [1*] अपरं च अपुत्रधनं नास्ति⁵ उमुरभेदः राजपुरुष[रि]—
 34 णामावासको जेमकश्च एतन्नास्ति [1*] कुमारीसाहसे⁶ रूपकाणामष्टोत्तरं
 35 शतं(तम्) । संग्रहणे⁷ द्वात्रिंशतिरूपकाः [1*] कर्णत्रोडणिकोयां⁸ षोडश रूपकाः[1*] शिर—
 36 स्फोटने च[त्वा]रि रूपकाः [1*] भा[रि]कायां वणिक्पुत्रस्याष्टोत्तरं शतं रूपकाणां
 37 नङ्गेगृहीतस्य⁹ [1*] यच्चाष्टौ षोडश वा नगरमहल्लका वि[चा]य्यं वदंते(ति) तदे—¹⁰
 38 तदेव प्रमाणं(णम्) । श्रीतेजवर्मराजेन एतदनुष्ठितमिति [11*]

TRANSLATION

Success !

[For a translation of ll. 1-28, see above, pp. 152-3.]

(Line 28) The illustrious Bhōgaśakti.....addresses (the following order to) all his sons, sons' sons, sons' sons' sons and so forth, (and to) the heads of *vishayas*, the *Bhōgikas* and *Mahattaras* of villages :—

(L. 29) "Be it known to you that I have settled (again) the Samagiripattana, which had been previously devastated, together with Chandrapurī (and) together with the three hamlets, (*vr̥*.) Ambēyapallikā, Savāṇēyapallikā (and) Maurēyapallikā, and also Kanisāripallikā. (This charter is) made over to the whole town, of which Ela *śrēshṭhin* and Karapuṭa *śrēshṭhin* are the chief (representatives). The merchants residing in Samagiri are not to pay octroi duty¹ in the whole kingdom as long as the moon and the sun will endure. Besides, there is not (to be escheat to the crown of) the property of a person who dies sonless. There is to be no distinction of wharfs.¹¹ There is (to be) no (tax for the) lodging and boarding of royal officers. For a violent offence against unmarried girls, (the offender will be fined) a hundred and eight rūpakas; for adultery, thirty-two rūpakas; for boxing of the ears, sixteen rūpakas; for injury to the head, four rūpakas. If (the offence is committed) against a labour-woman, a merchant's

¹ The *aksharas* in the square brackets in this and the following two lines have been damaged by rust. The starred ones in this line are supplied from the corresponding portion of the other Anjanēri plates (No. 31) of the same king.

² These nine *aksharas* and the first *akshara* of the next line have been restored conjecturally.

³ One *akshara* is damaged here. It may have been अ.

⁴ Read —मादेयं.

⁵ Read नास्ति.

⁶ Some letters in the middle of ll. 34-38 have become very shallow by wear and tear, but they can be read with perseverance on the original plate.

⁷ हृ which was at first omitted is written below the line.

⁸ Read —त्रोडणिकायां.

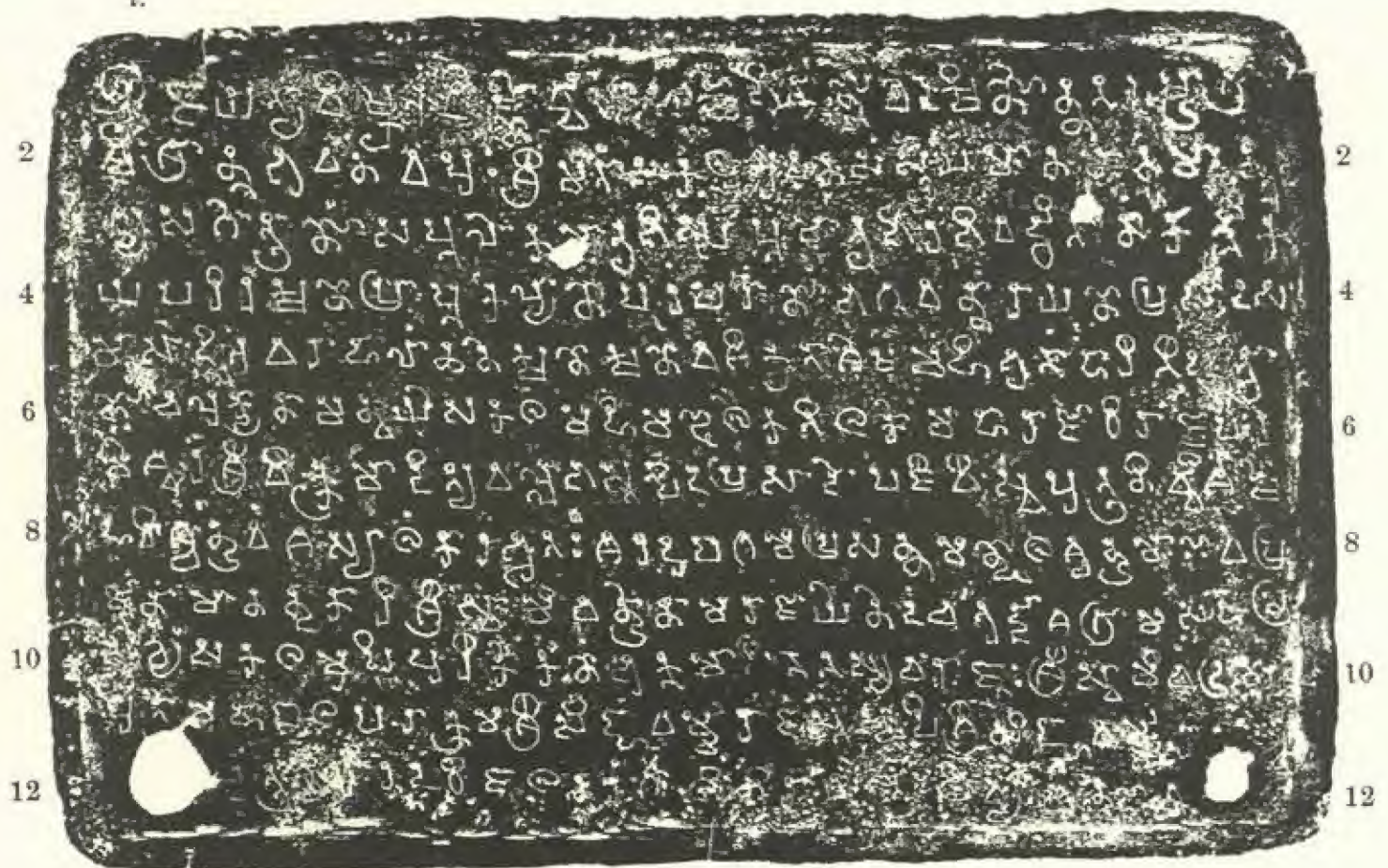
⁹ Perhaps नृगृहीतस्य is meant.

¹⁰ These two *aksharas* are redundant.

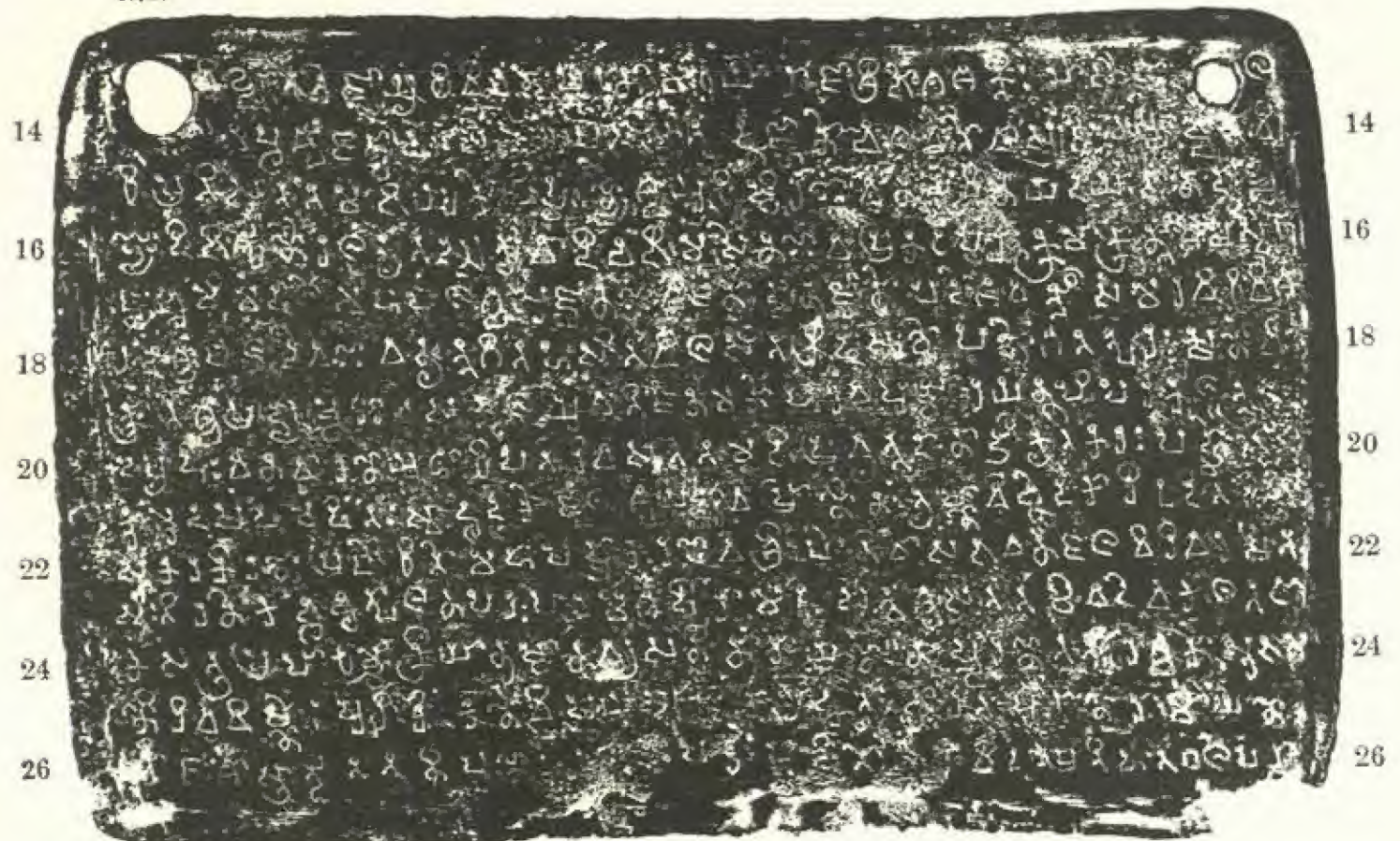
¹¹ The word used in the text is *umw* which is unknown to Sanskrit dictionaries. *Uma* occurs in Sanskrit lexicons in the sense of 'a wharf' or 'a landing place'.

ANJANERI PLATES (SECOND SET) OF BHOGASAKTI

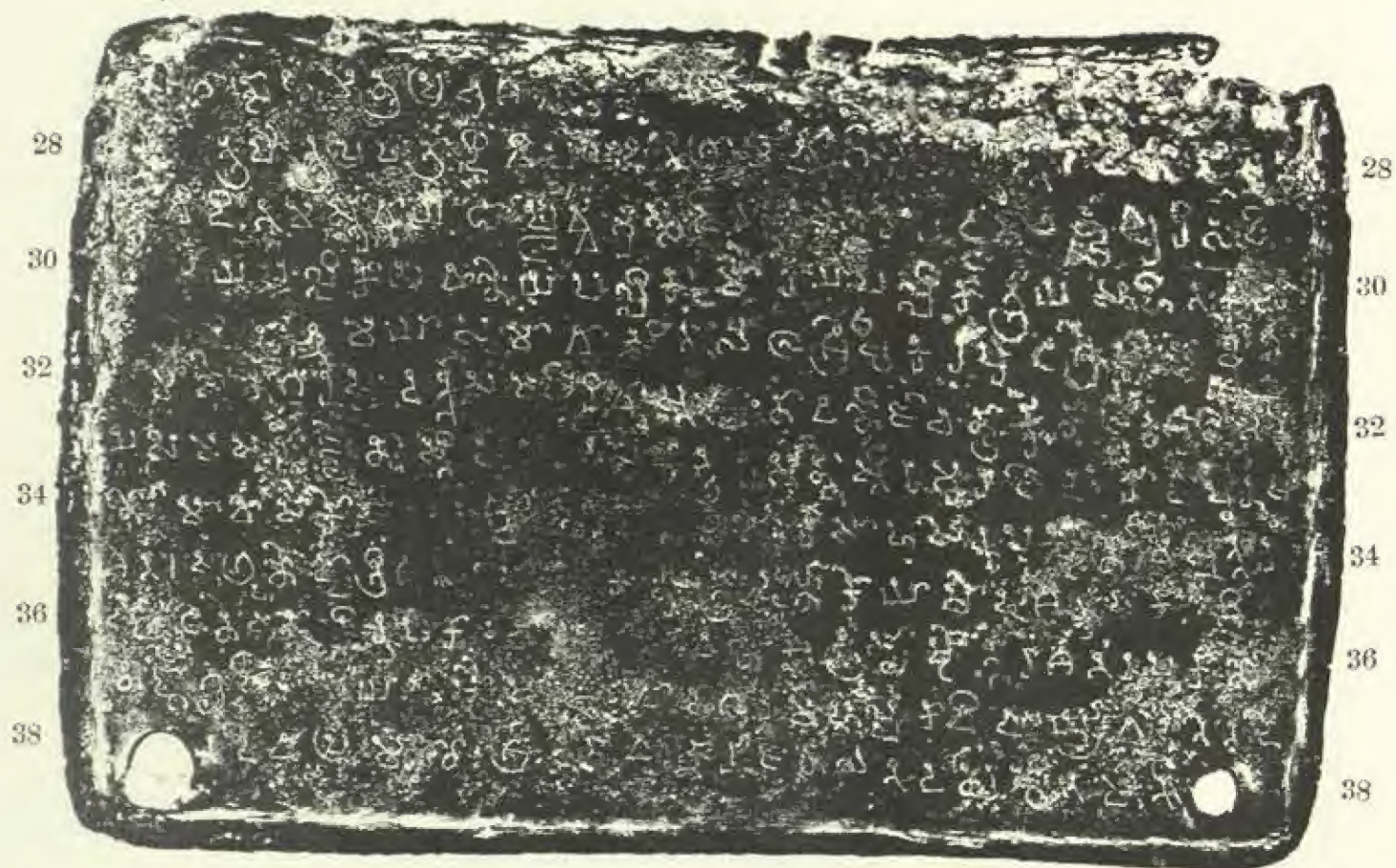
i.



ii.a.



ii, b.



Seal



(From Photographs).

son caught naked (?) will be fined one hundred and eight *rūpakas*. And whatever eight or sixteen Mahallakas (*respectable men*) of the town will declare after deliberation, will be the right standard (*of punishment*)."

This was executed by the illustrious Tējavarmarāja.

MISCELLANEOUS INSCRIPTIONS

No. 33; PLATE XXVII

SPURIOUS MANKANI PLATES OF TARALASVAMIN : (KALACHURI) YEAR 346

OF the two copper-plates which, as shown below, purport to record a grant of Taralasvāmin, one was discovered as far back as 1864 somewhere in the Saṅkhēḍā Tāluka in the Baroda District and has been edited with a lithograph, by Mr. H.H. Dhruva in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. II, pp. 19 f. This plate contained only the concluding portion of the grant, including the benedictive and imprecatory verses, the name of the writer and the date. The other plate, which was recently found in the possession of Patel Mathurabhai of Māṅkaṇī, a village in the Saṅkhēḍā Tāluka has been edited with a facsimile by Mr. A. S. Gadre in the *Important Inscriptions from the Baroda State*, Vol. I, pp. 4 f. This plate contains the earlier portion of the grant, viz., the genealogy of the donor, the name of the donee and the object granted. The text of the latter plate ends exactly where that of the former begins.¹ Their characters also completely agree. There is, therefore, no doubt that the two plates make one complete grant. The plate edited by Mr. Dhruva, the exact provenance of which has not been recorded, may therefore have come from Māṅkaṇī itself. That this grant is probably spurious was shown by me in an article published in the *Journal of the Ganganath Jha Research Institute*, Vol. II, pp. 389 f. I edit the record here from excellent ink impressions of both the plates, which I owe to the kindness of Mr. A.S. Gadre.

The plates measure 8" in breadth and 3.4" in height. The first weighs 17½ and the second 16¾ tolas. The writing on both is in a state of good preservation. The plates contain two holes, .2" in diameter, at the top, for the rings which must have originally held them together, but no ring or seal has been discovered. The record consists of twenty lines, of which ten are inscribed on the inner side of each plate. The average size of the letters is .15".

The characters belong to the western variety of the southern alphabets, and resemble those of the grants of the Gurjaras and Early Kalachuris. The only peculiarities worth noticing here are that the initial *i* consists of two curves, one below the other, in *iv=ōddhūta*-l. 3, while it has its usual form in *iva*, l. 7; the length of medial *i* is indicated by a dot in a circle or by a double curve, see *vīchī*-, l. 3; the curve of the subscript *t* is added to the right of its vertical in *bhuktā*, l. 15; the subscript form of *th* shows a notch in *-sthiti*-, l. 11; *v* is almost rectangular in *-vaiśvadēva*-, l. 10 and the subscript *m* is cursive in *nirmālya*, ll. 18-19. Punctuation is marked by a short horizontal stroke in l. 20 and by double vertical strokes in ll. 15-20.

The language is Sanskrit, and except for four benedictive and imprecatory verses, the record is in prose throughout. The orthography shows the usual peculiarities of the doubling of a consonant after *r* as in *-kīrttiḥ*, l. 4, the substitution of the guttural nasal for *anusvāra* in *-vaṅśair*-, l. 13 and *-chatvāriṅś-ōttarakē*, l. 20, and the use of *ri* for *ṛi* in *krishataḥ*, l. 12.

¹ The record on the first plate ends with *pañcha-mahā-yajña-kriy-ōsarppaṇ-ārttibam*, while that on the second plate begins with *ā-chandr-ārka-ārṇava-kṣiti-sthiti-samakālīnam*.

The plates purport to record the grant, by Taralasvāmin of the Kaṭachchuri (Early Kalachuri) family, of a rice-field situated on the northern boundary of the village Maṅkaṇikā. Taralasvāmin is described as the son of Mahārāja Naṇṇa and Dadā and the sister's husband of the illustrious Sūrya. The grant was made for the maintenance of the five great sacrifices. The donee was the Brāhmaṇa Jyēsthāsēna, who belonged to the Jātūkarṇa gōtra¹ and the Vājasaneyā śākhā. The record was written by the Sāndhivigrahika Āditya who was a Bhōgika. It is dated in the year 346, expressed both in words and in decimal figures. This is supposed to be the earliest epigraphic instance of the use of the decimal notation.²

The palaeography of the grant makes it probable that it belongs to about the seventh century A.C. Its date has been referred to the Kalachuri era. According to the epoch of 248-49 A.C., it would correspond to 594-95 A.C. if the year 346 was current, and to 595-96 A.C. if it was expired. As no further details are given, the date does not admit of calculation.

Taralasvāmin, who made the present grant, bears no royal title, though his father Naṇṇa is called Mahārāja. He may have owed allegiance to the Kalachuri king Saṅkaragaṇa whose Abhōṇa plates were issued just a year after the date of the present grant.³ That Gujarat was included in the dominion of Saṅkaragaṇa is clear from the Saṅkhēḍā plate of Sāntilla, which mentions him as the reigning king.⁴ Like Sāntilla, Taralasvāmin also seems to have been holding a subordinate position; for like the former, he addresses his order to a king's officers (rāja-pādīyas) as well as to his own. This king may have been Saṅkaragaṇa.

There are certain indications, however, which raise suspicion about the genuineness of this grant. Neither Taralasvāmin nor his father Naṇṇa is known from any records of the Early Kalachuris. Even supposing that they were collaterals and need not, therefore, have been mentioned in those records, it looks strange that unlike Sāntilla, Taralasvāmin does not name his suzerain who, as we have seen, was Saṅkaragaṇa. He and his father Naṇṇa are praised in extravagant terms which would have been more appropriate in the case of an independent king like Saṅkaragaṇa. Besides, we find that in this period Sāntilla also was holding this very part of Gujarat; for the village Tanḍulapadraka granted by him is identified with Tāndalā, about 16 miles from Saṅkhēḍā. It is, of course, possible to reconcile the two grants by supposing that Taralasvāmin either preceded or followed Sāntilla in the governorship of Gujarat, but in any case Taralasvāmin's silence about his suzerain remains inexplicable.

The decimal notation also, used in recording the date, causes suspicion about the genuineness of the grant; for not only in the period to which the record refers itself, viz., the end of the sixth century A.C., but for more than 150 years afterwards the prevailing custom in Gujarat as in other parts of India was to record dates in numerical symbols. The inscriptions of the Early Kalachuris, Gurjaras, Sēndrakas and Chālukyas,⁵ who held Gujarat from the sixth to the eighth century A.C., are invariably dated in this manner. Even

¹ The mention of this gōtra is interesting, for it shows that the name Jātūkarṇi of the mother of the famous Sanskrit dramatist Bhavabhūti was derived from it. See also *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXII, p. 108.

² *I. P.*, p. 85. See also Dr. Sukhtankar's article 'Palaeographic Notes' in *R. G. Bhandarkar Commemoration Volume*, pp. 319 f.

³ They are dated in K. 347.

⁴ In his grant Sāntilla not only describes his suzerain Saṅkaragaṇa, but also the latter's father Kṛishṇarāja.

⁵ See the dates of Nos. 12-30 above.

the Hānsōṭ plates¹ of Bhartṛivādḍha which were issued as late as V. 813 (756 A. C.) have their date expressed in numerical symbols. These plates were issued from Bharukachchha. Similarly the Āntrōli-Chhārōli plates² of the Rāshtrakūṭa Karka, who succeeded the Chālukyas in Southern Gujarat, use similar symbols to express their date Ś. 679 (757 A. C.). Except for the doubtful case of the present grant, the earliest record from North India which contains a date in decimal figures is the Shērgaḍh Buddhist inscription³ of the Sāmanta Dēvadatta, dated V. 847 or 791-92 A. C. It would seem, therefore, that the decimal notation began to supersede the numerical symbols in North India about the last quarter of the eighth century A. C.⁴ The present grant which purports to have been made as early as 595 A. C. and still has its date expressed in decimal figures, appears to be suspicious⁵.

There is another circumstance which strengthens the suspicion. The drafter of the present grant seems to have borrowed certain expressions from earlier Sēndraka grants. Compare, for instance, the expression *avanata-sāmanta-āmala-mukuta-maṇi-nighṛishṭa-charaṇa-yugal-āravindaḥ* in l. 1 of the present grant with *prapaṭ-āśēsha-sāmanta-śirō-mukuta[ni]-nighṛishṭa-pada-paṇikajāḥ* in ll. 45 of the Bagumrā plates of Allaśakti. Similarly, *Kalpatarur-iv=ōṇpabhujja(jya)mān-ākshīṇa-vibhavaḥ* in ll. 5-6 of this grant bears unmistakable resemblance to *Kalpaumam=(druma)=iv=ābhivānichhit-āśēsha-jan-ōṇpabhujyama(mā)na-vibhavō* in lines 7-8 of the Sēndraka grant.⁶ As these expressions occur in more than one genuine Sēndraka record, we cannot doubt that they originally belonged to them. The Sēndrakas were ruling in Gujarat in the second quarter of the seventh century. The present grant, which seems to have borrowed these expressions from Sēndraka records, could not therefore have been made in 595 A. C.

The evidence detailed above seems to point to the conclusion that the present plates were forged some time in the second half of the eighth century A. C. when the decimal notation came into vogue. The palæography of the grant as well as the shape of the numerical figures do not militate against this conclusion. These characters were probably current in Gujarat till the close of the eighth century A. C. The aforementioned Hānsōṭ plates of Bhartṛivādḍha dated V. 813 (756 A. C.) and the Āntrōli-Chhārōli plates of Karka, dated Ś. 679 (757-58 A. C.) are incised in similar characters. As for numerical figures, there are only three used in the present grant, viz., 3, 4 and 6. Of these, the symbol for 3 occurs in this very form in the Gōṇḍal plates (Set A),

¹ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XII, pl. facing p. 203.

² *J. B. B. R. A. S.*, Vol. XVI, pl. facing p. 108.

³ See the plate of the date in the *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIV, p. 351. The dates of some earlier inscriptions recorded in the Gupta era are supposed to be in decimal figures. (See, e.g., G. 347 of Bhandarkar's *I. N. I.* No. 1357, G. 365 of No. 1361 and G. 387 of 1368). But they cannot be verified for want of facsimiles. Besides, later dates from the same locality such as G. 386 of No. 1367, G. 403 of No. 1370, etc., are known to be in numerical symbols, which raises a strong presumption that the earlier dates also were in similar letter-numerals.

⁴ Dr. G. S. Gai has recently drawn attention to two earlier northern records, the dates of which are given in decimal figures, viz., the Sakrai stone inscription (V. 699) and the Dhiniki grant of Jāikadēva (V. 794), *Journal of the Ganganath Jha Institute*, Vol. VI, pp. 306 f. The evidence of both these records is, however, doubtful. The date of the former has also been read as V. 879 and V. 749 (*I. N. I.*, No. 23 and *An. Rep. Rajputana Museum* for 1933-34, p. 2), while the latter is regarded as a forged document, see *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVI, p. 198 and Vol. XIX, pp. 370-71.

⁵ Kaye also says that 'the ninth century A. C. is about the time when these symbols ceased to be fashionable for Indian inscriptions', *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XL, pp. 44-45.

⁶ Some other ideas such as fame being white like the moon and crossing the ocean are also common, but they are quite conventional and therefore afford no conclusive evidence of borrowing.

dated G. 405 (724-25 A.C.), while that for 4 occurs in a similar shape in the Kāsārē plates of Allāśakti (653 A.C.) and in a somewhat modified form in still later records such as the aforementioned Gōṇḍal plates. The symbol for 6 has a peculiar form rarely noticed elsewhere in early records as remarked by Mr. Kaye,¹ but a somewhat similar form of the numeral is seen in the Shērgadh inscription of Dēvadatta, dated V. 847 (790-91 A.C.) and the Ghumli plates of Jāika II, dated G. 596 (915 A.C.)². It seems therefore, that the Māṅkaṇī plates of Taralasvāmin was forged some time in the second half of the eighth century A.C.³ It affords no sure proof that the decimal notation was in vogue for Indian inscriptions as early as the sixth century A.C.

There is only one place-name mentioned in the present plates, *viṣṭ.*, Maṅkaṇikā⁴ which Mr. Gadre has already shown to be identical with Māṅkaṇī, where one of the plates was found.

TEXT⁵

- 1 सिद्धम्⁶ [1*] स्वस्त्यवनतसामन्तामलमुकुटमणिनिघृष्टचरणयुगलारवीदः (विन्दः) धन-
तुहिनरजतश-
- 2 ह्वकुन्दकुमुदेन्दुकरनिकरप्रताना⁷ वदातयशोधवलितदिगन्तरालः कटच्चुरि[कुल]वेशमप्रदीपः
- 3 श्रीमहाराजण्ण⁸स्तस्य सूनुः प्रभञ्जन⁹ इवोद्धूतवीची[च]लित¹⁰शब्दन्नस्तमीनकुलाकुल-
भ्रान्ति-
- 4 प्रशोभित¹¹सलिलविलंघितोदधिकीर्त्तिः शिवचरणकमलाराधनपरः श्रीसूर्यभावुकः
- 5 ददात्मजः शत्रुवनितावदनकमलशोभाम्लानिकरः कल्पतरुवोपभुज्ज (ज्य) मानाक्षीण[वि]भ-
- 6 वः स्वच्छो गाम्भीर्यवा¹²नकलितसारः स्थित्यतिक्रमभीरुदधिरिव विजितारातितमोजाल-
- 7 चन्द्रमा¹³ इव श्रीतरलस्वामी सर्वानेव स्वा¹⁴ राजपादीयांश्च बोधयत्यस्तु¹⁵ वः संवि[दित] यथा
- 8 मया मङ्गणिकाग्रामे उत्तरसीमिन् चतुर्दिशाघाटं वृ[ह*]न्मानेन ब्रीहिपिटक[वा]पं क्षेत्रं सशि-
- 9 वरं सोद्रा(द्र)ङ्गं भूतवातप्रत्यायरहितं¹⁶ जेष्सेन¹⁷ ब्राह्मणजातूकर्णसगोत्रवाजि (ज) सने-

¹ See Table, *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XL, p. 52.

² *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXVI, pl. facing p. 224. This date is expressed in decimal figures and not in numerical symbols.

³ Kaye also regards this inscription as doubtful, *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XL, pp. 53-54, n. 2.

⁴ The *Mahābhārata*, (Śalyaparvan, *Adhyāya* 38, vv. 38 f.) gives the story of the sage Maṅkaṇaka. The Navsāri plates of Karka II also mention the Maṅkaṇikābhukti, *J. B. B. R. A. S.*, Vol. XX, pp. 131 f.

⁵ From an ink impression supplied by Mr. A. S. Gadre.

⁶ Expressed by a symbol.

⁷ प्रतान is out of place here. It should rather be connected with यशः. Cf. यशःप्रतान- in the Kaira plates of Dadā, No. 16, l. 26.

⁸ Read ण्णः । तस्य.

⁹ It would be better to read विलंघितप्रभञ्जनोद्धूतवीचीचलितशब्दन्नस्तमीनकुलाकुलभ्रान्तिप्रशोभितसलिलोदधि-
कीर्त्तिः.

¹⁰ The first *akshara* of this word is indistinct. Mr. Gadre reads दलित which does not suit the context.

¹¹ Read प्रशोभित. Compare अम्भोषीनां . . . चटुलतिमिकुलशोभितान्तर्जलानां in the *Mudrārākṣasa*, III, 24. The two dots which follow सलिल are superfluous.

¹² Mr. Gadre reads गाम्भीर्यं, but I do not see any clear trace of the subscript *r* in the second *akshara* of this word. Read गाम्भीर्यं-.

¹³ Read -चन्द्रमा इव.

¹⁴ Read स्वान्.

¹⁵ Read बोधयति । अस्तु.

¹⁶ Mr. Gadre reads भूतवातप्रत्यायरहितं, but the *ā* stroke of *yā* in *pratyāyā* is quite clear. Besides, the expression, as read here, corresponds to समूतवातप्रत्यायं which often occurs in land-grants, see l. 23 of No. 26, above.

¹⁷ Read जेष्सेन. In the records of this period the word ब्राह्मण generally precedes the personal name. Besides, ब्राह्मणजेष्सेनाय should follow, not precede जातूकर्णसगोत्रवाजसनेयसब्रह्मचारिणे.

10 यसब्रह्मचारिणे बलिचरुवैश्वदेवाग्निहोत्रहवनपञ्चमहायज्ञक्रियोत्सर्पणार्थम्¹

Second Plate

- 11 आचन्द्रार्काण्यवक्षितस्थितिसमकालीनं पुत्रपौत्रान्वयभोज्यभुदकातिसर्गेण
 12 प्रतिपादितं मातापित्रोरात्मनश्च पुण्ययशोभिवृद्धये [1*] अतोस्य ब्रह्मदेयस्थित्या क्रियतः करि-
 13 पापयतो² वा न कौ (कै) दिचद्वधाषे (से) धे वर्त्तितव्यमागामिराजभिरस्मद्वृक्षैर्व्या³ सामान्यं भूमि-
 14 दानफलमवेत्यायमस्मदायोनुमन्तव्यः पालयितव्यश्चेत्युक्तं⁴ च भगवता व्या-
 15 सेन ॥ बहुभिर्वसु[धा] भुक्ता राजभिः सा(स)गरादिभिः⁵ [1*] यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य
 16 तदा फलं(लम्)⁷ ॥ [१॥*] प्रष्टि⁸वर्षसहस्राणि स्वर्गो मौदती⁹ भूमिदः [1*] आच्छेत्ता
 चानुमन्ता च तान्ये-
 17 व नरके वसे[त्*] ॥ [२॥*] विध्या(न्या)टवीष्वतोयासु शुष्ककोटरवासिनः [1*] कृष्णसर्पा-
 भिजायन्ते¹⁰
 18 ब्रह्मदेयापहारकाः[ः] ॥ [३॥*] यानीह दत्ता[नि] पु[रा] नरेन्द्रैर्दानानि धर्म्मार्थयशस्कराणि [1*]
 निम्मा-
 19 ल्यवान्तप्रतिमानि तानि को नाम साधु[ः] पुनराददीत¹¹ ॥ [४॥*] लिखितं चात्र सान्निवि-
 ग्रहिकेना-¹²
 20 दित्यभोगिकेन । संवत्सरशतत्रयं¹³ षट्चत्वारिंशद्वर्षोत्तर[र]के¹⁴ ॥ ३४६¹⁵

TRANSLATION

Success ! Hail ! (*There was*) the *Mahārāja Nanna*, a light in the house of the *Kaṭach-churi* family, the lotus-like pair of whose feet was scratched by the jewels on the bright-diadems of feudatories who bowed (*before him*), (*and*) whose fame, white like thick snow, silver, a conch, a *kumda* flower, a *kumuda*¹⁶ (lotus) and a mass of the moon's rays, brightened the space between the quarters.

(Line 3) His son, the illustrious *Taralasvāmin*,—whose fame has crossed the ocean, the water of which is agitated by the confused darting of fishes terrified by the roar of surging waves produced by wind ; who is intent on adoring the lotus-like feet of *Siva* ; who is the sister's husband of the illustrious *Sūrya* and the son of *Dadā* ; who has caused the beauty of the lotus-like faces of (*his*) enemies' wives to fade ; who resembles the wish-

¹ Mr. Gadre reads *mā*, but the *ā* stroke is not distinct. Besides, the smaller form of the letter shows that it is a final consonant.

² Read भोग्य-.

³ Read कृषतः कर्षयतो.

⁴ Read -स्मद्वृक्षैर्व्या.

⁵ Read पालयितव्यश्चेति । उक्तं.

⁶ The dot in the circle denoting the medial *i* of *di* and *bhi* seems to be due to a fault in the copper.

⁷ Metre of this and the following verse: *Anuṣṭubh*.

⁸ Read वष्टि.

⁹ Read मोदति.

¹⁰ Read कृष्णसर्पा हि जायन्ते.

¹¹ Metre: *Indravajrā*.

¹² Read -विग्रहिकेनादित्य-.

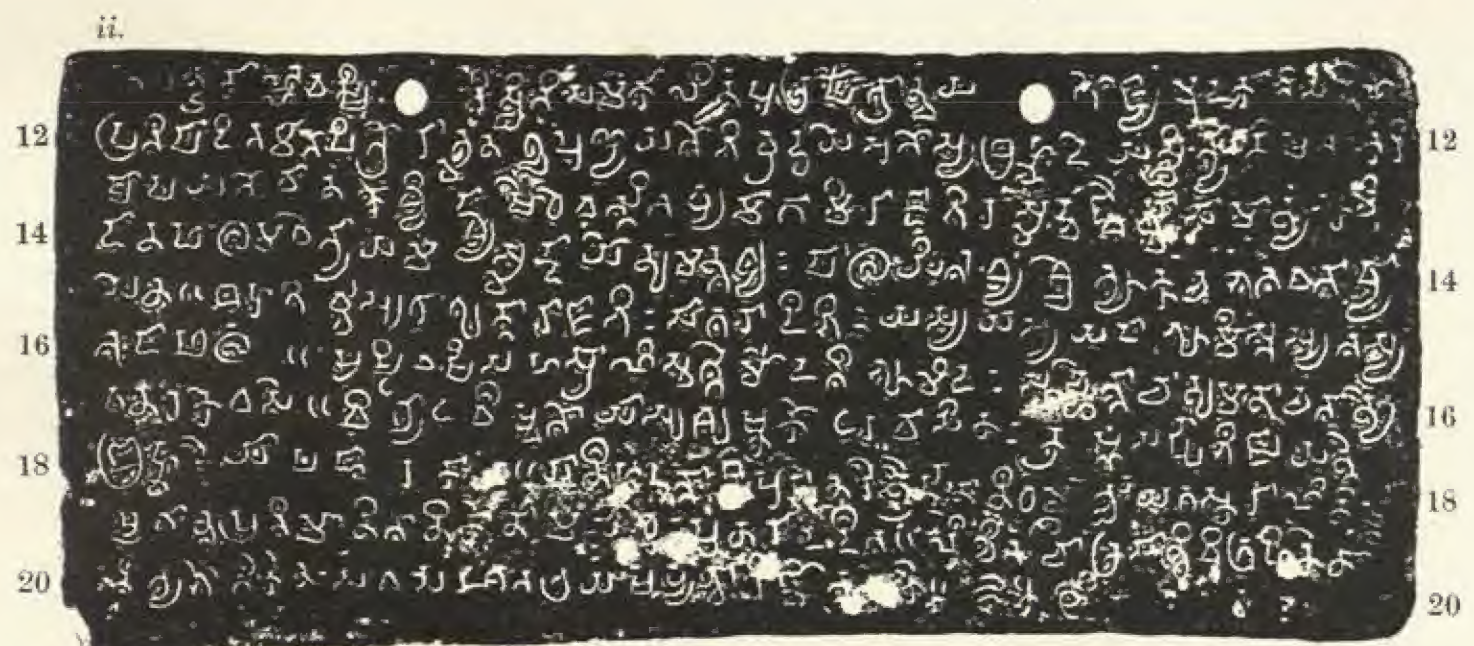
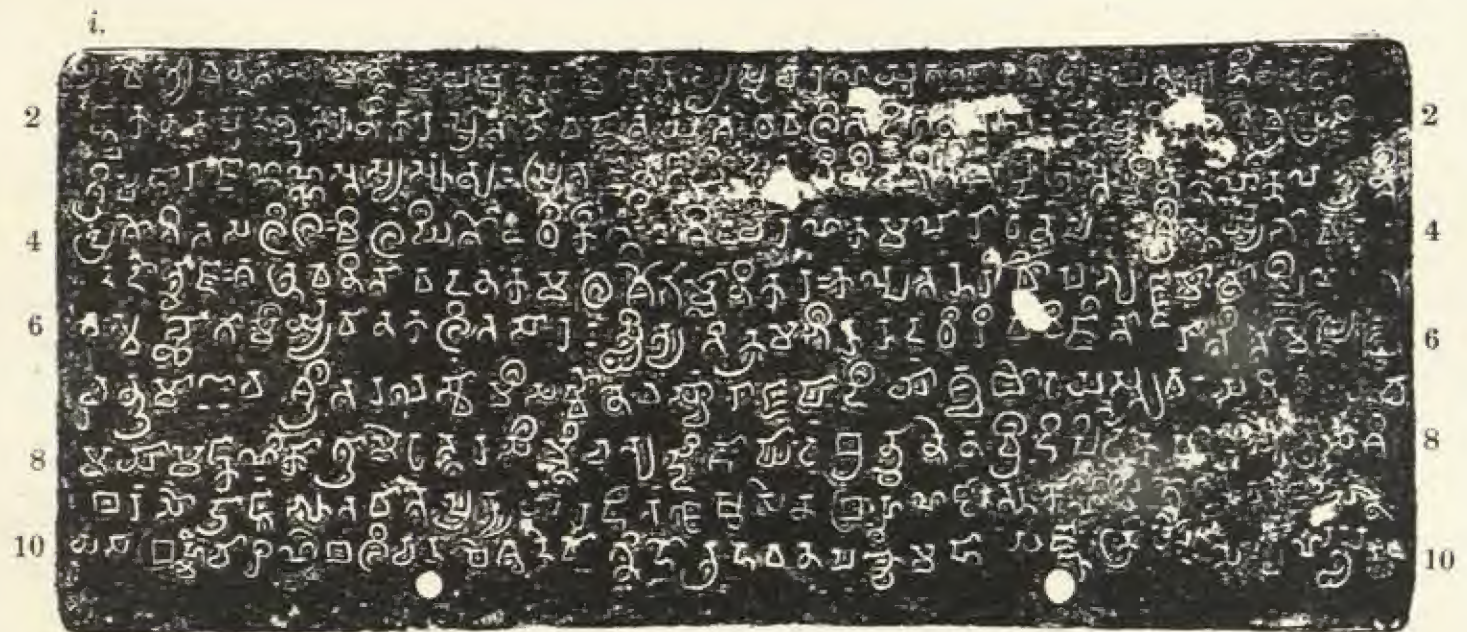
¹³ Read संवत्सरशतत्रये.

¹⁴ Read षट्चत्वारिंशद्वर्षे.

¹⁵ For this date which is written in decimal figures, see above, p. 161.

¹⁶ *Kumuda* is a white lotus.

SPURIOUS MANKANI PLATES OF TARALASVAMIN: (KALACHURI) YEAR 346



fulfilling tree as his undiminishing wealth is enjoyed (*by supplicants*); who resembles the ocean, being pure (*as the ocean is clear*), serene (*as the ocean is deep*), of ungauged strength (*as the ocean's wealth is unmeasured*), and afraid of transgressing the laws of moral conduct (*even as the ocean is afraid of overflowing the shore*); and who overcomes his foes even as the moon dispels a mass of darkness,—informs all his officers as well as those of the venerable King as follows:—

(L. 7) “Be it known to you that for the increase of religious merit and fame of (My) mother and father and of Myself, I have granted, with a libation of water, a field requiring for its seed-grains a *pitaka* of paddy by the large measure,—which is marked by boundaries in the four directions, (*and is situated*) on the northern boundary of the village *Mañkaṇikā*, together with *śibara* (*farm-house*) (*and*) *udraṅga*, octroi and excise duties, to be enjoyed by a succession of sons and sons’ sons as long as the moon, the sun, the ocean and the earth will endure,—to the Brāhmaṇa Jyēshṭhasēna of the Jātūkaṇḍa *gōtra*, (*who is*) a student of the Vājasaneya *śākhā*, for the performance of the five great sacrifices (*such as*) *bali*, *charu*, *vaiśvadeva* and *agnihōtra* offerings.

(L. 12) Wherefore, none should act in such a way as to obstruct him while he is cultivating it or causing it to be cultivated according to the manner of a gift made to a Brāhmaṇa. And future kings, whether born in Our family or others, considering that the reward of a gift of land is shared in (*by him who for the time being is the ruler of the land*), should consent and preserve this Our gift.”

(L. 14) And the holy Vyāsa has said:—

(*Here follow four benedictive and imprecatory verses.*)

(Line 19) This charter has been written by the *Sādhivigrahika*, the *Bhōgika* Āditya.

In the year three hundred increased by forty-six, (*in figures*), 346.

No. 34; Plate XXVIII

SPURIOUS KAIRA PLATES OF VIJAYARAJA : (KALACHURI?) YEAR 394

THESE copper-plates were found together with three other sets¹ of plates about 1827 in the town Kairā, the headquarters of the Kairā District in Northern Gujarat, Bombay State. They were published, with lithographs and a translation, by Prof. J. Dowson in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (New Series), Vol. I (1865), pp. 247 ff. They were subsequently edited with fresh lithographs and a translation by Dr. Fleet in the *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. VII, pp. 241 ff. The plates are now deposited in the Library of the Royal Asiatic Society, London. They are edited here from excellent photographs kindly supplied by the authorities of the Society.

Dr. Fleet has thus described the copper-plates:—“The plates are two in number, about 13½” long by 8½” broad. Their edges are slightly raised, so as to form a rim to protect the writing. They are pierced with holes for two rings; but the rings are not now forthcoming, and I cannot trace any mention of them, or of the seal that must have been on one of them.” The plates are in a state of good preservation. The record consists of thirty-four lines, of which twenty-one are inscribed on the first plate and the remaining thirteen on the second. The average size of the letters is .15”.

The characters belong to what Dr. Bühler has called the archaic variety of the southern alphabet², which is found used in the charters of the Early Chālukyas of Bādāmi.

¹ Two of these were Nos. 16 and 17 above. The third has not been traced.

² *J. P.*, p. 65.

As regards individual letters, we may notice that the initial *n* which occurs in *uktani*, l. 28, is closely similar to *t* as in *Vindhyātavi*-, l. 29; the loop of the initial *ē* is closed on the left, see *ēsha*, l. 10; the length of medial *ī* is denoted either by a curve curling to the left as in *-pīḍita*-, l. 7, or by a double circle as in *Hārīti*-, ll. 2-3; the curve of the medial *ri* is turned in some cases to the left, see, e.g., *-pīṭri*-, l. 8, *-vṛiddhayē*, l. 11, *-sadṛiṣ*-, ll. 26-27, and in others to the right, see *-kṛīpaṇa*-, l. 8, *-paṭal-āvṛita*-, l. 27; the stroke for the medial *ē* encircles the letter on the left, see *-anwayē*, l. 3; similarly the left-hand *mātrā* for the medial *ō* and the lower of the two *mātrās* representing medial *ai* also encircle their respective letters, see *-dāyō*-, l. 27 and *Vaiśākha*-, l. 11; in *narēndraiḥ*, l. 32, on the other hand, the two left-hand strokes of the medial *ai* are placed one beyond the other; the medial *ō* is, in some places, shown with a loop, see *sva-bāhu-balō*-, l. 6, and consequently medial *au* is bipartite; *kh* appears without a loop except in the last two lines of the record; *t* has a flat horizontal stroke at the top; neither *t* nor *n* is looped, except in their subscript forms, see, e.g., *-prasanna*-, l. 1, *-āgni*-, l. 24, *-samyukta*, l. 28 and *haranti*, l. 30; the subscript *th* is roundish in *sthity*-, l. 2 and curled in *-ndayasthō*, l. 4; the subscript *v* is distinguished from *y* only by its right arm not being raised to the top-line. In some cases *m* appears similar to *sh*, which has misled the engraver into incising *-nimēvi* for *-nishēvi* in l. 7. The final form of *n* occurs in l. 26, and that of *t* in ll. 28 and 29. The sign of the *upadhmāṇiyu* is seen in l. 32 and the numerical symbols for 300, 90, 10, 5 and 4 in l. 34.

The language is Sanskrit. As Dr. Kielhorn has already pointed out,¹ the description of the donor's family in the first two lines of the present inscription is identical with that occurring in the beginning of the grants of the Early Kaṭachchuris.² Again, the description of Vijayarāja in ll. 5-8 almost literally agrees with that of Śaṅkaragaṇa in the Kaṭachchuri grants.³ In copying the latter, the draftsman of the present inscription seems to have inadvertently omitted the expression *bhūri-draviṇa-viśrāṇan-āvāpta-dharma-kriyaḥ* after *samyak-prajā-pālan-ādhiḡgata* in l. 7. In its absence the latter expression cannot be satisfactorily interpreted. In the next two expressions *din-āndha-kṛīpaṇa-bhē(śa)raṇ-āgata-vatsalaḥ* and *yath-ābhilashita-phala-pradō* he has, to some extent, altered the original adjectives. Besides, in the formal part of the grant he has drawn upon some inscription, like the Bagumrā plates, of the Sēndrakas, for the expressions in ll. 25-27 of the present record agree almost literally with those in ll. 27-29 of the Bagumrā plates.⁴ That the writer had a very imperfect knowledge of the Sanskrit language is shown by the expression *-kūvalaya-tara-yaśasaḥ*, in which, while comparing Jayasimha's fame with a blue lotus (l), he adds the comparative affix *tara* to a noun and uses the wrong grammatical form *-yaśasaḥ* for *-yaśāḥ*. As regards orthography, we find the consonant following *r* doubled in some cases, and *ri* used for the vowel *ri* in *prithivyām*, l. 5.

The inscription refers itself to the reign of Vijayarāja, the son of Buddhavarman, who was himself the son of Jayasimha of the Chalukya dynasty. The plates purport to have been issued from the king's victorious camp at Vijayapura and to register the grant of the village Pariyaya which was situated to the east of Sandhiyara in the vishaya of Kāśākula. The land, or rather the revenue of the village, was divided into 55½ *pattikās*⁵ (shares) which were distributed among 63 Brāhmaṇas, each getting from one-half

¹ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VI, p. 296.

² Compare ll. 1-2 of the present inscription with ll. 1-3 of the Ābhōṇa plates of Śaṅkaragaṇa, above, No. 12.

³ Compare ll. 5-7 of the present record with ll. 10-13 of the Ābhōṇa plates, above, No. 12.

⁴ The draftsman has, to some extent, altered the original expressions and changed their order.

⁵ *Pati*, *pāti*, and *patti* occur in the Hīrabadagalli grant of the Pallava king Śivaskandavarman. Bühler derived them from Sanskrit *prāpti* 'produce' or 'income', see *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, p. 8, n. 17.

to three *pattikās*. The donees were all residents of **Jambūsara** and students of the **Kāṇva śākhā** of the **Vājasaneyā** or White Yajurveda. The purpose of the grant was to provide for the maintenance of *bali*, *charu*, *vaiśvadeva*, *agnihotra* and other rites. The grant was made on the **full-moon day of Vaiśākha in the year 394** of an unspecified era. Both the *tithi* and the year are expressed in words as well as numerical symbols. The *Dātaka* was the **Vāsāpaka Nanna**. The charter was written by the *Mahāsandhivigrahādhiprīta* **Khuddasvāmin** and incised by the Kshatriya **Mātṛisimha**.

Most of the places mentioned in the present grant were identified by Dr. Bühler.¹ **Pariyaya**, the granted village, is the modern Pariyā, seven miles east of Olpāḍ, the headquarters of the Olpāḍ *tālukā* of the Surat District. **Sandhiyara**, which lay to its west, is identical with Sandhiyar, two miles to the west of Pariyā. The *vishaya* of **Kāśākula**, in which these places were situated, must have comprised the country on the northern bank of the Tāpti. The same *vishaya* is mentioned in the Antrōli-Chhārōli plates, dated Śaka 679, of the Gujarat Rāshtrakūta prince Karkarāja.² I identify **Kāśākula** with the modern Kachchōl, 4 miles to the south-west of Olpāḍ. All these places are situated to the south of the Kīm which formed the northern boundary of the Chālukyan dominion in South Gujarat. **Jambūsara** still retains its ancient name unchanged, and lies about 30 m. to the north of Broach. **Vijayapura**, from which the plates purport to have been issued cannot be definitely identified. It may be either Vijāpur of the Panch Mahals, or the headquarters of the Vijāpur sub-division in the Baroda District.³ In either case it lies to the north of the Kīm and, therefore, outside the Chālukyan territory. We shall, therefore, have to suppose that Vijayarāja made the present grant in the course of a military campaign in the Gurjara kingdom.

The date of the present inscription does not admit of verification in the absence of the necessary details. The era to which it appertains has long been a matter of controversy. Fleet at first referred the date to the Śaka era and took it as equivalent to 472-3 A. C.⁴ He was inclined to identify Jayasimha who heads the genealogical list in the present grant with Jayasimha I of the Early Chālukya Dynasty, and as the Chālukyas in some of their later records represent themselves as having originally come from the north, he came to the conclusion that Vijayarāja and his ancestors were ruling in Gujarat until their power was subverted and their family expelled by the Gurjara kings or by the kings of Valabhī. Later on, Fleet abandoned this theory and proposed to identify⁵ the grandfather of Vijayarāja with Dharāśraya-Jayasimhavarman, who is represented in the Nirpan plates⁶ as a younger brother of Pulakeśin II, or with Dharāśraya-Jayasimhavarman who appears in the Navsāri⁷ and Balsār⁸ plates as a younger brother of Vikramāditya I. Consequently, he referred the date of the present grant to the Chēdi era and took it to correspond to 643 A. C. These identifications also are not free from difficulties. For, as regards the first, Fleet himself has doubted the genuineness of the Nirpan plates,⁹ from which alone we know of a brother of Pulakeśin II, named Dharāśraya-Jayasimha. As regards the second, Pandit Bhagvanlal

¹ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVII, p. 197.

² *J. B. B. R. A. S.*, Vol. XVI, pp. 105 ff.

³ *Bom. Gaz.*, Vol. I, part ii, p. 359, n. 3.

⁴ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VII, p. 242.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Vol. XII, p. 292.

⁶ *Ibid.*, Vol. IX, p. 123.

⁷ No. 27, above.

⁸ *J. B. B. R. A. S.*, Vol. XVI, p. 5.

⁹ *Bom. Gaz.*, Vol. I, part ii, p. 358.

pointed out¹ that if the date is taken to correspond to 642-3 A. C., Vijayarāja would be ruling about twenty-five years before his grand-uncle, Vikramāditya I, who flourished between 670 and 680 A. C.² The Pandit, therefore, proposed to refer the date to the Gupta era and take it as equivalent to 713 A. C. This presents no chronological difficulties. For, Dharīśraya-Jayasīmha, a younger brother of Vikramāditya I, was ruling at Navsāri in Southern Gujarat from 671 A. C. to 693 A. C.³ If Vijayarāja was his grandson, it is not improbable that he should be ruling twenty-one years after Jayasīmha's latest known date.

But the grant is probably spurious. As pointed out by Dr. R.G. Bhandarkar,⁴ it is not in the regular Chālukyan style. There is no invocation of the boar-incarnation in the beginning, and none of the princes mentioned in it receive any titles and *virudas* as in other genuine Chālukyan grants. In no other record of the Early Chālukyas, again, do we find such a wholesale borrowing from Kaṭachchuri grants. This cannot be attributed to the Gujarat draftsman's ignorance of the forms of Chālukyan records; for the earlier grants of Śrīyāśraya-Silāditya, which were drafted in Gujarat, are in the approved Chālukyan style. Pandit Bhagvanlal supposed⁵ that Jayasīmha might have conquered part of North Gujarat and sent his son Buddhavarman to rule over it; but, as shown above, the donated village was situated in the Surat District in South Gujarat. We have, therefore, to suppose that Vijayarāja was ruling over South Gujarat for some time between 693 A. C., the last known date of Śrīyāśraya-Silāditya, and 731 A. C., the date of his brother Maṅgalarasārāja. In that case this would be the only instance of the use of the Gupta era in South Gujarat; for, so far as our knowledge goes, the Kalachuri era was exclusively used in Gujarat down to the middle of the eighth century A. C. It is again noteworthy that the present grant was found with two others of Dadda II at Kairā and that many of the donees mentioned in it figure also in the latter grants.⁶ It is therefore, not unlikely that it was forged in favour of the descendants of those Brāhmanas by someone who was ignorant of the form of Chālukyan records.⁷ Its date 394 was intended to refer to the same era as the genuine Gurjara grants of K. 380 and K. 385, and thus to correspond to 693 or 694 A. C., when the

¹ *Ibid.*, Vol. I, part i, p. 110.

² Since then the beginning of Vikramāditya I's reign has been fixed in 654-55 A. C., *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IX, p. 102.

³ Above, Nos. 27 and 30.

⁴ *E. H. D.*, pp. 77 f.

⁵ *Bem. Gaz.*, Vol. I, part i, p. 110.

⁶ As many as twelve names are common to the three grants, viz., Ādityaravi, Indrasūra and Iśvara of the Bharadvāja *gōtra*, Āvuka of the Dhūmrāyaṇa *gōtra*, Bhaṭṭi and Drōṇa of the Daṇḍakīya *gōtra*, Viśākha, Dhara and Nandin of the Māṭhara *gōtra*, Dharmadhara of the Hārīta *gōtra* and Gōpāditya and Viśākha of the Vatsa *gōtra*. Again, the following persons mentioned in the Chālukya and Gurjara grants respectively are probably identical: Tāpīśūra and Tāviśūra of the Bharadvāja *gōtra*, Dāma and Dāmadhara of the Bharadvāja *gōtra*, Tāviśarman and Tāpiśarman of the Daṇḍakīya *gōtra*, Sēla and Śaila of the Kauṇḍinya *gōtra*, Vātraśarman and Vāṭaśarman of the Kauṇḍinya *gōtra*, Rāma and Rāmila of the Māṭhara *gōtra*.

⁷ On the back of the plates there is a cancelled inscription, for which, see Dr. Fleet's account in *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VII, pp. 251 ff. It contains the names of many donees figuring in the present record and has the same date as the latter, but its opening words indicate that it purported to be granted like the spurious plates of Dadda II from the Vijaya-vikshēpa (victorious capital?) Nāndipurī. It may have been realized after it was incised that the Chālukyas could not have ruled from Nāndipurī in K. 394 as the Gurjaras were in continuous occupation of the surrounding territory from at least K. 380 to K. 486. So the inscription was cancelled and another written on the back of the plates. The writers of the two inscriptions were different persons, for the characters in which they are incised differ in certain respects as shown by Dr. Fleet (*ibid.*, p. 251). For another reason conjectured by Dr. Fleet, see *loc. cit.*, p. 253.

Brāhmaṇa donees common to the three grants may have been living. That this date is impossible has been shown above. The borrowing of some expressions from the formal part of Sēndraka grants indicates that the present record must have been forged some time after the middle of the seventh century A. C.¹

TEXT²

First Plate

- 1 सिद्धम्³ [1*] स्वस्ति[1*] विजयस्कन्धावा[रात्]⁴ [वि]जयपु[रवासकात्] शरदुपगम-
प्रसन्नगगनतलविमलविपु[ले] विविधपु[र]पर[त्न]गुण-
- 2 निकरावभासिते महासत्त्वा(त्त्वा)पाश्र्वयद्व[र्]ल[ध्वे] गाभीर्यवति स्थित्यनुपालनपरे महोदधाविव
[मान]व्यसगोत्रा[णां] हा-
- 3 रीतिपुत्राणां स्वामिमहासेनपादानुध्यातानां चलुक्क्यानाम[न्व]ये व्यपगतसजलजलधरपटलगगन-
तलगतशिशिरकर-
- 4 किरणकुवलयतरयशसः⁵ श्रीजयसिहराजः[1*] तस्य सुतः प्रबलरिपुतिमिरपटलभि[द्व]रः सततमुद-
यस्यो नक्तन्दिब-
- 5 मप्यखण्डितप्रतापो दी(दि)वाकर इव वल्लभरणविक्रान्तश्रीबुद्धवर्मराजः [1*] तस्य सूनुः
प्रिधिव्या⁶मप्रतिरथः चतुरुदधिस[लि]ला-
- 6 स्वादितयशो⁷ धनदवरुणेन्द्रान्तकसमप्रभावः स्वबाहुबलोपात्तोर्जि[त]राजश्रीः⁸ प्रतापातिशयोपन-
तसमग्रसामन्तम-
- 7 ण्डलः परस्परपीडितधम्मा(र्म्मा)र्थकामनिमेवी⁹ प्रणतिमात्रसुपरितोषगंभीरोन्नतहृदयः सम्यवप्रजा-
पालनाधिगतः¹⁰ दीना-
- 8 न्धकृपणभे(श)रणागतवत्सलः यथाभिलषितफलप्रदो मातापितृपादानुध्यातः श्रीविजयराजस्सत्त्वा-
नेव विषयपतिराष्ट्र-
- 9 ग्राममहत्तराधिकारिकादीन्समनुदर्शयत्यस्तु¹¹ वस्संविदितमस्माभिर्यथा काशाकुलविषयान्तर्गत स-
न्धियरपूव्विण¹² परिय-

¹ For another similar spurious grant purporting to have been made by the Chalukya prince Buddhavarasa, the younger brother of Vikramāditya I, see *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIV, pp. 144 ff. Like the present grant, it has borrowed some expressions from the earlier Bagumrā plates of the Sēndraka Allāsakti, in ll. 10-11, and seems to have been forged in the second half of the seventh century A. C., as shown by Sten Konow, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIV, p. 146.

² From photographs kindly supplied by the authorities of the Royal Asiatic Society, London.

³ Expressed by a symbol.

⁴ Here and in many places below, the rules of *sandhi* have not been followed.

⁵ The draftsman evidently had before him the expression व्यपगतसजलजलधरपटलव्योमतलगतशरदिन्दु-किरणकुवलयतरयशोचितानलंघिताभोधि: in some Sēndraka record like Bagumrā plates of Allāsakti. He has blundered in substituting कुवलयतर for कुवलयतरयशा.

⁶ Read पृथिव्या-

⁷ Read -दशा.

⁸ Fleet's proposal to read राज्यश्री: is unnecessary.

⁹ Read निषेवी. Fleet read निमो(मो)ची, but the correct reading was pointed out by Kielhorn in *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VI, p. 296, n. 4.

¹⁰ The writer had before him the expression सम्यवप्रजापालनाधिगतभूरिद्रविणविश्राणनावाप्तचर्मक्रिय: in the Kāṭachchuri grants, but he inadvertently omitted the latter part of it. As it stands, it would be better to read it as सम्यवप्रजापालनरतः.

¹¹ Read समनुदर्शयति । अस्तु वः संविदितं यथास्माभिः.

¹² Read -पूव्वेण.

- 10 य एष ग्रामः सोद्वंगः सोपरिकरः सव्यं (व्यं) दित्यविष्टिप्रातिभेदिकापरिहीणः भूमिच्छिद्र¹न्यायेना-
चाटभटप्रावेश्यः जंबूस-
- 11 रसामान्यमा (वा) जसनेयकाण्वाध्वयं (य्यु) सन्नह्यचारीणां² मातापित्रोरात्मनश्च पुण्ययशोभि-
वृद्धये वैशाखपूर्णास्यामुदकाति-
- 12 सर्गणे प्रतिपादितः [1*] भरद्वाजसगोत्रादित्यरवेः³ पत्तिके द्वे इन्द्रशूराय पत्तिका ताविशूराय
द्वय[धं]पत्तिका [इं]श्वरस्याद्वयपत्तिका
- 13 दामाय पत्तिका द्रोणायार्धपत्तिका अत्तस्वामिने अर्धपत्तिका माइलायार्धपत्तिका षष्ठिदेवायार्ध-
पत्तिका सोमायार्धपत्तिका रामश-
- 14 र्मणेद्वयपत्तिका भाय्यायार्धपत्तिका द्रोणधरायार्धपत्तिका [1*] धूम्रायणसगोत्रावुकाय दिवर्ध⁴-
पत्तिका शूरायार्धपत्तिका ॥ दौण्डकीय-
- 15 सगोत्रभट्टेः पत्तिका समुद्राय दिवर्ध⁵पत्तिका द्रोणाय पट्टिका⁶त्रयं ताविश[र्म]णे पत्तिके द्वे
भट्टि[ने]द्वयपत्तिका । वत्राय पत्तिका
- 16 द्रोणशर्मणेद्वयपत्तिका द्वितीयद्रोणशर्मणेध्वपत्तिका ॥ काश्यपसगोत्रवप्स्वामिने तिस्रः पट्टिका
दुर्गशर्मणेध्वपत्तिका दत्ताया-
- 17 यार्धपत्तिका ॥ कौण्डिन (न्य) सगोत्रवादाया⁷ दिवर्ध⁸पत्तिका सेलाय पत्तिका द्रोणाय पत्तिका
सोमायार्धपत्तिका सेलायार्धपत्तिका
- 18 वत्रशम्म (र्म) णेध्वपत्तिका भायिस्वामिनेध्वपत्तिका ॥ माठरसगो[त्र]विशाखाय पत्तिका धराय पत्ति-
का नन्दिने पत्तिका कुमाराय पत्तिका
- 19 रामाय पत्तिका बाश्रस्या (श्राया) ध्वपत्तिका गणायार्धपत्तिका कोट्टुवायार्धपत्तिका भायि[भ]ट्टायार्ध-
पत्तिका नर्मणेध्वपत्तिका रामशर्मणेध्व-
- 20 पत्तिका ॥ हारितसगोत्रधर्मधराय दिवर्ध⁹पत्तिका ॥ वैष्णवसगोत्रभट्टिने पत्तिका ॥ गौतम-
सगोत्रधरायार्धपत्तिका अम्मधरा-
- 21 यार्धपत्तिका सेलायार्धपत्तिका ॥ शाण्डिलसगोत्रदामायार्धपत्तिका लक्ष्मणसगोत्राकर्कस्य पत्तिका [1*]

Second Plate

- 22 वत्ससगोत्रगोपादित्याय पत्तिका विशाखायार्धपत्तिका शूरायार्धपत्तिका भायिस्वामिनेध्वपत्तिका
यक्षशर्मा-⁸
- 23 ध्वपत्तिका ताविशूराय पत्तिका ककृ(कं)स्यार्धपत्तिका ताविशम्म (र्म) णेध्वपत्तिका शर्मणे⁹ध्वपत्तिका
कुमारायार्धपत्तिका
- 24 मात्रीश्वरायार्धपत्तिका बाटलायार्धपत्तिका [11*] एतेभ्यः सर्वेभ्यः बलिचरुवैश्वदेवाग्निहोत्रादि-
क्रियोत्सर्पणार्थं आचन्द्रार्कणवक्षि-
- 25 तिस्थितिसमकालीनः पुत्रपोत्रान्वयभोग्यः [1*] यत¹⁰स्मद्वंश्यैर[न्ये]र्वागामिभोगपतिभि-
स्सामान्यं¹¹ भूप्रदानफलेप्सुभिः तलवेणुकदलि-

¹ Read भूमिच्छिद्र-

² Read सन्नह्यचारिभ्यो ब्राह्मणेभ्यो.

³ The engraver first incised रविः and then thought of altering it to रवेः .

⁴ Read द्वयध्व-

⁵ Fleet read पत्तिका, but the second *akshara* is clearly *phi*.

⁶ Read वादाय. The following *akshara* which Fleet thought quite unintelligible is clearly *di*. The mark above it is of the subscript *m* in *Drōṇāśarmmaṇḍ* of the line above.

⁷ Read द्वयध्व-

⁸ Read यक्षशर्मणे.

⁹ The name of the Brāhmaṇa is inadvertently omitted here.

¹⁰ Read यतोस्मद्वंश्यै-

¹¹ The *anuvāra* on न्य is clear. Read सामान्यभूप्रदान-

SPURIOUS PLATES OF VIJAYARAJA: (KALACHURI) YEAR 394

i.

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ii.

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- 26 सारं संसारमुदधिजलवीचीचपलांश्च भोगान् प्रबलपवनाहताश्वत्थपत्रचंचलां च धियं कुसुमित-
शिरीषकुसुमसदृ-
27 शापायं च यौवनमाकलय्य अयमस्मद्दायोनुमन्तव्यः पालयितव्यश्च[1*] यो वाज्ञानतिमिरपटला-
वृतमतिराच्छिद्यदाच्छि-
28 द्यमानं वानुमोदेत स पञ्चभिर्महापातकैस्संयुक्तः[2*] स्यात् [1*] उक्तं च भगवता वेदव्यासेन
व्यासेन । पष्टि वर्षसहस्राणि स्व-
29 [गो] वसति भूमिदः [1*] आच्छेत्ता च्या(चा)नुमन्ता च तान्येव नरके वसेत्² [11.11*] विन्ध्या-
टवीष्वतोयासु शुष्ककोटरवासिनः [1] कृष्णाह-
30 यो हि जायन्ते भूमिदायं हरन्ति ये ॥[211*] बहुभिर्वसुधा भुक्ता राजभिस्सगरादिभिः [1*]
यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिः तस्य
31 तस्य तदा फलं(लम्) ॥[311*] पूर्वदत्तां द्विजातिभ्यो यत्नाद्रक्ष युधिष्ठिर [1*] महीं महिमतां
श्रेष्ठ दानाच्छ्रेयोनुपालनं(नम्) ॥[411*] यानीह
32 दत्तानि पुरा नरेन्द्रैः दानानि धर्मायंयशस्कराणि [1*] निर्व्वान्तमाल्यप्रतिमानि तानि को नाम
साधुपुनराददीत³ ॥[411*] संवत्सर-
33 तत्रये चतुर्नवत्यधिके वैशाखपौर्णमास्यां नम्रवासापकदूतकं लिखितं महासन्धिविग्रहाधिकृतेन सुह-
(हु?) स्वा-
34 मिना ॥ संवत्सर ॥⁴ ३०० ९० ४ वैशाख शु १० ५॥ क्षत्रियमातृसिंहेनोत्कीर्णानि⁵ [11*]

TRANSLATION

Success! Hail! From the victorious camp fixed at Vijayapura—

In the family of the Chalukyas, the sons (*i.e.*, descendants) of Hārīti, who are of the Mānavya *gōtra* and meditate on the feet of Svāmi Mahāsēna,—which (family),⁶ like the great ocean, is stainless and extensive like the firmament clear on the advent of autumn; which is made resplendent by the multitude of manifold excellences of the men (*born in it*), as the ocean is by the multitude of the rays of its gems; which is difficult to overcome, being the resort of men of great courage, as the ocean is difficult to cross, being the asylum of large animals; which is endowed with serenity and is intent on observing the rules of moral conduct, as the ocean is deep and is determined to remain within its bounds,—(*there was*) the illustrious Jayasimharāja whose fame was more (*splendid*) than a blue lotus⁷ under the rays of the moon in the expanse of the sky from which multitudes of water-laden clouds have disappeared.

(Line 4) His son (*was*) the Vallabha, Raṇavikrānta, the illustrious Buddhavar-marāja, who, like the sun, was ever-rising, had his brilliance undiminished both by night and by day, and destroyed his powerful foes, even as the sun dispels a mass of darkness.

(L. 5) His son, the illustrious Vijayarāja,—who has on the earth no adversary (*worthy of him*);⁸ whose fame has tasted the water of the four oceans; whose prowess equals

¹ Read -राच्छिन्ध्या-.

² Metre of this and the following two verses: *Anuṣṭubh*.

³ Metre: *Indravajrā*.

⁴ This mark of punctuation is superfluous.

⁵ Read -नोत्कीर्णम्.

⁶ The description of the royal family which follows is taken from the records of the Kaṭachchuris, see above, p. 41.

⁷ The writer should have said 'whiter than the rays of the moon *etc.*'. Compare above, p. 119, ll. 10-11.

⁸ The description is copied from Kaṭachchuri grants, see above, p. 41, ll. 10-15.

that of Dhanada (*i. e.*, Kubēra), Varuṇa, Indra and Antaka (*i. e.*, Yama); who, by the might of his arms, has acquired the fortune of powerful kings; to whom the whole circle of neighbouring kings has submitted, (*being subdued*) by his great prowess; who is engaged in the acquisition of religious merit, wealth and pleasure, which (*in his case*) never come into conflict with one another; whose serene and noble heart is highly pleased by mere submission; who is engaged in properly protecting his subjects;¹ who is kind to distressed, blind (*and*) poor people and those who seek refuge with him; who grants rewards as desired (*by supplicants*), (*and*) who meditates on the feet of (*his*) mother and father,—addresses all the heads of *vishayas*, the *Mahattaras* of *rāshṭras* and villages, officials and others (*as follows*):—

(L. 9) “Be it known to you that for the increase of the religious merit and fame of (*Our*) mother and father and of Ourselves, We have granted with a libation of water on the full moon day of Vaiśākha, this village (*namely*) **Pariyaya**, (*lying*) to the east of **Sandhiyara**, (*and*) situated in the *vishaya* of **Kāśākula**,—together with *udraṅga* and *uparikara*, exclusive of all gifts, forced labour and special rights, (*which is*) not to be entered by *chāṭas* and *bhaṭas* according to the maxim of waste land, (*and*) which is to be enjoyed by a succession of sons and sons’ sons as long as the moon, the sun, the ocean (*and*) the earth will endure—to all (*the following Brāhmaṇas*) who are students of the Kāṇva (*śākhā*) of the Vājaśaneyā Adhvaryu (Vēda)² and belong to the community (*residing*) at **Jambūsara**, for the maintenance of *bali*, *charu*, *vaiśvadēva*, *agnihōtra* and other religious rites. (*Their shares are as follows*):— To Ādityaravi of the Bharadvāja *gōtra* two *pattikās*;³ to Indrasūra, a *pattikā*; to Tāvisūra, two and a half *pattikās*; to Īśvara, half a *pattikā*; to Dāma, a *pattikā*; to Drōṇa, half a *pattikā*; to Attasvāmin, half a *pattikā*; to Māila, half a *pattikā*; to Shashṭhidēva, half a *pattikā*; to Sōma, half a *pattikā*; to Rāmaśarman, half a *pattikā*; to Bhāyya, half a *pattikā*; to Drōṇadhara, half a *pattikā*;—to Āvuka of the Dhūmrāyaṇa *gōtra*, two and a half *pattikās*; to Sūra, half a *pattikā*;—to Bhaṭṭi of the Daundakiya *gōtra*, a *pattikā*; to Samudra, two and a half *pattikās*; to Drōṇa, three *pattikās*; to Tāvisarman, two *pattikās*; to Bhaṭṭin, half a *pattikā*; to Vatra, a *pattikā*; to Drōṇaśarman, half a *pattikā*; to the second Drōṇaśarman, half a *pattikā*;—to Vappasvāmin of the Kāśyapa *gōtra*, three *pattikās*; to Durgasarman, half a *pattikā*; to Datta, half a *pattikā*;—to Vāda of the Kaundinya *gōtra*, two and a half *pattikās*; to Sēla, a *pattikā*; to Drōṇa, a *pattikā*; to Sōma, half a *pattikā*; to Sēla, half a *pattikā*; to Vatraśarman, half a *pattikā*; to Bhāyisvāmin, half a *pattikā*;—to Viśākha of the Māthara *gōtra*, a *pattikā*; to Dhara, a *pattikā*; to Nandin, a *pattikā*; to Kumāra, a *pattikā*; to Rāma, a *pattikā*; to Bāsra, half a *pattikā*; to Gaṇa, half a *pattikā*; to Kōrdduva, half a *pattikā*; to Bhāyibhaṭṭa, half a *pattikā*; to Narman, half a *pattikā*; to Ramaśarman, half a *pattikā*;—to Dharmadhara of the Hārīta *gōtra*, two and a half *pattikās*;—to Bhaṭṭin of the Vaiśṇava *gōtra*, a *pattikā*;—to Dhara of the Gautama *gōtra*, half a *pattikā*; to Ammadhara, half a *pattikā*; to Sēla, half a *pattikā*;—to Dāma of the Sāṇḍila *gōtra*, half a *pattikā*;—to Kārka of the Lakshmaṇa *gōtra*, a *pattikā*;—to Gōpāditya of the Vatsa *gōtra*, a *pattikā*; to Viśākha, half a *pattikā*; to Sūra, half a *pattikā*; to Bhāyisvāmin, half a *pattikā*; to Yakshaśarman, half a *pattikā*; to Tāvisūra, a *pattikā*; to Karka, half a *pattikā*; to Tāvisarman, half a *pattikā*; to —sarman,⁴ half a *pattikā*; to Kumāra, half a *pattikā*; to Matrīśvara, half a *pattikā*; to Bāṭala, half a *pattikā*.

¹ See above, p. 169, n. 10.

² *I. e.*, the *Yajurveda*.

³ Both the forms *pattikā* and *puttikā* occur in the text.

⁴ See above, p. 170 n. 9.

(L. 25) Wherefore, future rulers, whether born in our family or others,—who are desirous of acquiring the common reward of the gift of land, having realized that worldly existence possesses as (*little*) worth as reeds and bamboos (*possess sap*), that objects of enjoyment are as impermanent as the waves of the ocean-water, that fortune is as unsteady as the leaves of the *asvattha* tree struck by a strong wind, (*and*) that youth is liable to fade like a flower of a blossoming *śirīṣa* tree,—should consent to and preserve this our gift. He, who with his mind shrouded by the veil of the darkness of ignorance, confiscates it or allows it to be confiscated, shall incur the five great sins.”

(L. 28) And it has been said by the venerable Vyāsa, the redactor of the Vēdas:—
(*Here follow four benedictive and imprecatory verses*).

(L. 32) In the year three hundred increased by ninety-four on the full-moon day of Vaiśākha (*this charter*), of which the *Vāsāpaka*¹ Nanna is the *Dūtaka*, has been written by the *Mahāsandhivigrahādhikṛita* Khuddasvāmin. The year 300 (*and*) 90 (*and*) 4 (*the month*) Vaiśākha, the bright (*fortnight*), (*the lunar day*) 10 (*and*) 5. (*This charter has been*) incised by the Kshatriya Matṛisimha.

¹ *Vāsāpaka* (or *Vāsāpaka*) was apparently an officer whose duty was to arrange for the residence of touring royal officers and strangers, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XII, p. 202.

INSCRIPTIONS OF THE KALACHURIS OF TRIPURI

NO. 35; PLATE XXIX A

SAUGOR STONE INSCRIPTION OF SANKARAGANA I

THIS inscription, though listed in the first edition of R.B. Hiralal's *Inscriptions in C.P. and Berar*, published in 1916, was very briefly noticed only in the second edition of that work, published in 1931. It is edited here for the first time from the original stone which I examined *in situ* and from inked estampages kindly supplied by the Superintendent, Archaeological Survey, Central Circle, Patna.¹

At Saugor, the chief town of the Saugor District in the State of Madhya Pradesh, a number of sculptures were collected from the neighbouring places many years ago² and built up into small imitation kiosks in the four corners of the garden of a military mess-house. The inscription is incised on a slab of red sand-stone fixed on the top of a panel of the same kind of stone which is built into one of those kiosks. In the panel below, the principal figures are those of a man who has folded his hands in salutation and a woman, probably his wife, who has placed her right hand on the head of a small female figure, evidently their daughter, who also stands with folded hands. Behind the male figure appears a horse and behind the latter, another male figure, apparently a groom, holding the reins of the horse.³

The record has been very much worn away by exposure to weather. It consists of five lines, of which the last one commences in the centre. Several *aksharas* in the last three lines have become more or less indistinct. The average size of letters is 1". The characters are of the proto-Nāgarī alphabet resembling those of the stone inscription at Chhōṭi Deori.⁴ The form of the initial *i* is, however, different, since the curve below the two dots is here open at the top; *t* has not yet developed a vertical at the top; in its subscript form, the letter is laid on its side, see *-bhaṭṭāraka-* in l. 2; *j* still retains its three horizontal bars, see *-Mahārājādhirāja*, l. 1; *p* is open at the top while *v*, which resembles its upper portion, is closed, see *-pravarāddhamāna-*, l. 2; the lower end of the wedge of *r* is in some cases very much elongated, see *-Paramēśvara-*, l. 3. These palaeographic peculiarities indicate that the record probably belongs to the middle of the eighth century A.C.⁵ The language is Sanskrit and the record is in prose throughout. The orthography does not call for any special notice.

The inscription opens with an obeisance to Siva. It refers itself to the reign of the *Paramabhaṭṭāraka*, *Mahārājādhirāja*, *Paramēśvara* the illustrious Śaṅkaragaṇadēva, who meditated on the feet of the *Paramabhaṭṭāraka*, *Mahārājādhirāja*, *Paramēśvara*, the illustrious Vāmarājadēva.⁶ This is the oldest record in which the name of Vāmarājadēva is mentioned

¹ This inscription has since been edited by me in the *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXVII, pp. 163 f.

² *Saugor District Gazetteer*, p. 257.

³ For a photograph of this panel, see the plate facing p. 154 in *A Volume of Eastern and Indian Studies*.

⁴ No. 36, below.

⁵ Hiralal also called this inscription the oldest Kalachuri record (in Madhya Pradesh), but he referred it to the fourth quarter of the ninth century A.C., as he thought that the king Śaṅkaragaṇa mentioned in it was identical with the homonymous prince who was the son of Kōkalladēva [1]. See his *Inscriptions in C. P. and Berar* (second ed.), p. 49.

⁶ Hiralal doubtfully read this name as *Vāgharājadēva*, *ibid.*, p. 49. My personal examination of the record *in situ* has convinced me that the name is undoubtedly *Vāmarājadēva*.

with full Imperial titles.¹ The object of the inscription is to record some religious work done by a lady named *Kṛishṇādēvī* for the religious merit of her mother and father. This appears to have been a temple which, as the opening words show, was probably dedicated to *Śiva*. If this conjecture is correct, the panel with the present inscription at the top may have been originally put up at it. The male and female figures in the panel are evidently intended to represent the father and the mother of the donor who is herself represented by a small female figure between them. She calls herself the wife of the illustrious *Dēuka* who was the son of a king, whose name I have doubtfully read as *Rāvārya*. He was born in the family of *Kalāirēya* and was the *Paramēśvara* (Emperor) of *Kaśapura*.²

The inscription is not dated, but as shown above, it may be assigned on paleographic grounds to the middle of the eighth century A.C.

TEXT³

- 1 सिद्धिः⁴ [१*] ओं नमः शिवाय । [स्वस्ति] परमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिरा[ज]पर[मे]श्वरश्री-
वा[म⁵]राजदेवपा[दानु]—
- 2 [द्या]त ।⁶ परमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमे[श्व]रश्रीशङ्करगणदेवप्रवर्द्धमानविजयराज्ये क—
- 3 [श]पुरपरमेश्वरकलाहरेयवंशोद्भवज्योतिष(स्स)न्ततिरा[वा]र्यराजपुत्रश्रीदेउक[ः*] । तस्ये(स्यै)—
व भा—
- 4 र्या लोणियवंशे प्र[सूता राज्ञी] श्रीकृष्णा[दे]वी या [चै]तौ⁷ मातापितृपुण्ये⁸ क्षितितले कीर्ति
प्रख्या—
- 5 भयतिः¹⁰ ।¹¹ तवालो[का]म[ला इति] ॥

TRANSLATION

Success! Om! Adoration to Śiva! Hail! During the increasingly victorious reign of the *Paramabhaṭṭāraka*, *Mahārājādhirāja*, and *Paramēśvara*, the illustrious *Śaṅkaragaṇadēva*, who meditates on the feet of the *Paramabhaṭṭāraka*, *Mahārājādhirāja*, and *Paramēśvara*, the illustrious *Vāmarājadēva*—

(There is) the illustrious *Dēuka* the son of *Rāvāryarāja*, the mass of light sprung from the family of *Kalāirēya*, (who is) the *Paramēśvara* (Emperor) of *Kaśapura*. The wife of the same is the queen, the illustrious *Kṛishṇādēvī*, born in the family of

¹ In subsequent records the name almost invariably occurs as *Vamadēva*. See No. 48, l. 33; No. 50, l. 33 *etc.*

² *Kaśapura* may be a mistake for *Kāśīpurī* (Banaras).

³ From the original stone and inked estampages. I am obliged to Dr. B. Ch. Chhabra and Mr. N. Lakshminarayan Rao for the readings of a few words in this transcript.

⁴ Expressed by a symbol. I take the symbol to denote *siddhih* as that is the auspicious word used in the beginning of later records. See, e.g., Nos. 54 and 106.

⁵ The loop on the left of this *akṣara* has now become somewhat indistinct, but it is there.

⁶ This *daṇḍa* is superfluous.

⁷ The context requires a reading like *ch=aitan-*.

⁸ Read *-puṇyārtham*.

⁹ This line commences in the centre.

¹⁰ This *visarga* is superfluous.

¹¹ I am not certain about the reading of these eight *akṣaras* at the end. Perhaps, the intended reading is तव लोका अमला इति ।

Lōṇiya, who announces this meritorious work (*kīrtti*)¹ on the surface of the earth, for the religious merit of these, (*her*) mother and father. May you attain the stainless worlds !

No. 36 ; PLATE XXIX B

CHHOTI DEORI STONE INSCRIPTION OF SANKARAGANA I

THIS inscription was first brought to notice by General Sir Alexander Cunningham in his *Archaeological Survey of India Report* for 1883-1884. He again referred to it in the next year's report and published a lithograph of it.² The inscription was subsequently noticed by Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar in Cousens' *Progress Report of the Archaeological Survey of Western India* for 1903-4, p. 34 and by Rai Bahadur Hiralal in his *Inscriptions in the Central Provinces and Berar*.³ Though noticed several times, the inscription has defied all attempts at interpretation ; for, Cunningham was told that the language of the inscription was not Sanskrit. Dr. Bhandarkar also has remarked 'what the language of the inscription is cannot be made out.' The inscription is edited here from ink impressions supplied by the Director General of Archaeology.⁴

Chhōṭi Deori (Small Deori) is situated on the left bank of the Ken, about 16 miles to the west of Jōkāhi, in the Murwārā *tahsil* of the Jabalpur District in the State of Madhya Pradesh. The village is so-called probably to distinguish it from the larger village named Deori which lies about five miles to the west. It is also called Maḍhā Deori on account of a number of small temples (*maḍhis*) from thirty to forty in number, which lie buried in dense jungle. According to Cunningham, all these were most probably Śaiva shrines. The pillar on which the present inscription is incised must have also belonged to a Śaiva temple as is indicated by its contents. 'The pillar is 7 feet 2 inches high and 1 foot square. The inscription of 11 lines is near the top ; in the middle there are two seated figures, male and female ;⁵ and below, there is a standing male figure'⁶.

As stated above, the inscription consists of eleven lines. It covers a space 1' $\frac{1}{2}$ " broad by 1' 2" high. It is in a state of fair preservation. The characters belong to the proto-Nāgarī alphabet resembling those of the Saugor stone inscription.⁷ They are very carelessly written. Several groups of *aksharas* are unnecessarily repeated in ll. 4 and 5 as well as in ll. 10 and 11. The marks for medial vowels and *visarga* are omitted in many cases. The form of *kh* in *khaṇḍa-*, l. 1, *likhatam*, l. 9 and *likhitam*, l. 10, is peculiar. It resembles somewhat the conjunct *ksha*, with this difference that the lower curve is turned to the left instead of to the right. The form of *p* in *kapāli-*, l. 2 and *puna*, l. 9, which closely resembles that of *d* is also noteworthy. *L* has three different shapes in *lighatam*, l. 8, *likhatam*, l. 9 and *likhitam*, l. 10. The form of *ś*, the left limb of which has developed a curve and that of *k* which has a triangle on the left show that the inscription is not earlier than the seventh century A.C. On the other hand *j*, though slanting, has not yet turned its middle horizontal bar into a vertical ; *f* has not developed a vertical at the top ; *d* and *r* show no tail, and the upper part of *p* is not closed. In these respects the characters

¹ This probably refers to the temple of Śiva where the inscribed panel was apparently put up.

² *A. S. I. R.*, Vol. XXI, pp. 100 and 159, Plate XXVIII.

³ Second edition, p. 38.

⁴ This inscription was edited by me for the first time in the *Ep. Ind.*, Vol XXVII, pp. 17 ff.

⁵ R. D. Banerji identified these with Śiva and Pārvatī. See *H. T. M.*, (*M. A. S. I.*, No. 23), p. 77.

⁶ *C. A. S. I. R.*, Vol. XXI, p. 100. For a photograph of the pillar, see *H. T. M.*, (*M. A. S. I.*, No. 23), Plate XXVIII (a).

⁷ No. 35, above.

A.—SAUGOR STONE INSCRIPTION OF SANKARAGANA I

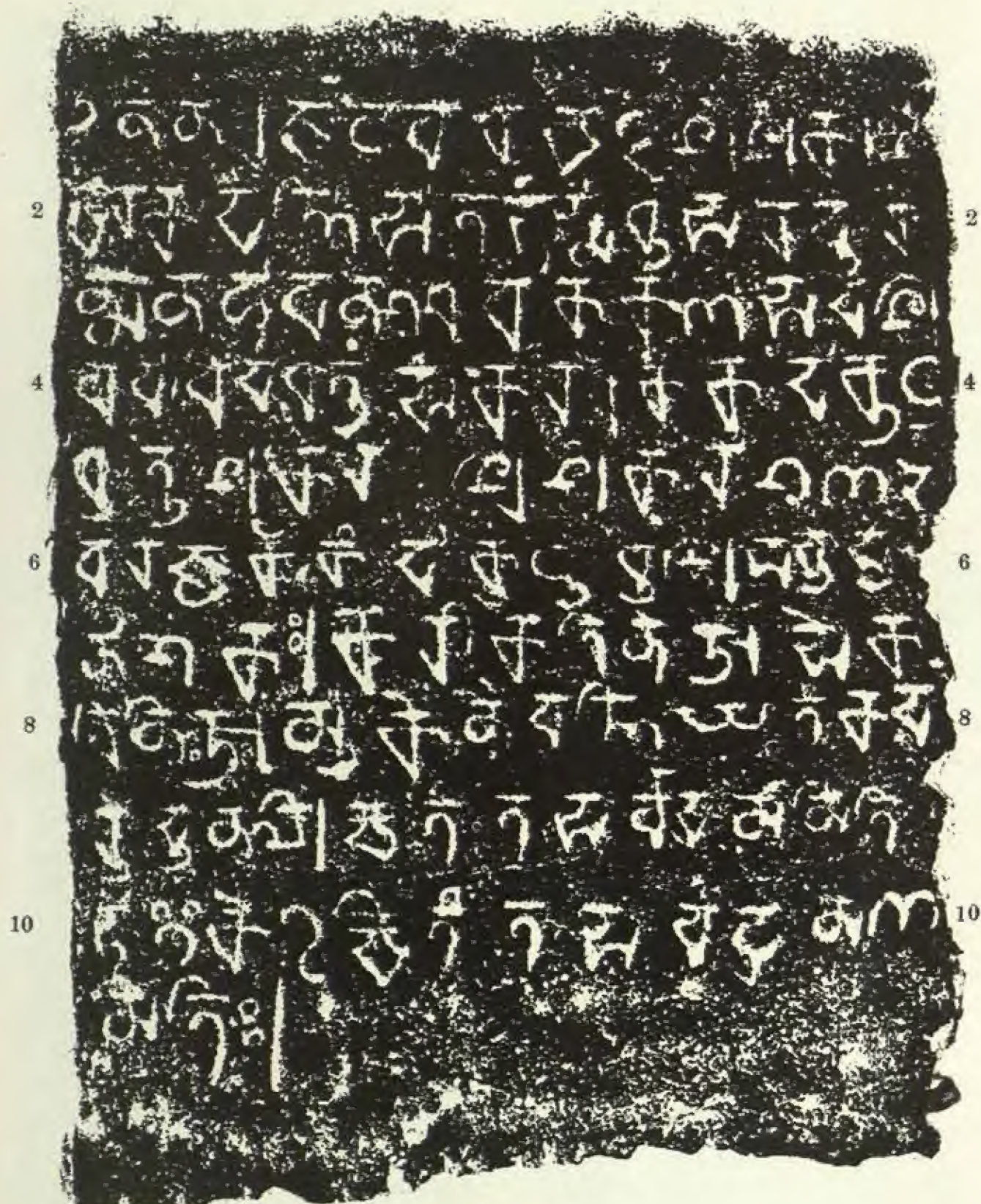
Left Half



Right Half



B.—CHHOTI DEORI STONE INSCRIPTION OF SANKARAGANA I



of the present inscription show a much earlier stage than those of the Kāritālāi stone inscription¹ of Lakshmaṇarāja I, dated K. 593 (841-2 A.C.). It does not, therefore, appear to be later than the middle of the eighth century A.C.²

The language is very incorrect Sanskrit, being probably influenced by the local dialect. *Vishayē*, for instance, is written as *vnśē*, l. 6, and *haikē* used in the sense of *iha*. Except for a verse in praise of Siva, the whole record is in prose. The orthography does not call for any special notice.

After the opening *siddhiḥ namaḥ*, the inscription has a verse in praise of Siva, which indicates that the temple, to which the inscribed pillar belonged, must have been dedicated to the worship of Siva. We are next told that during the reign of the illustrious Saṅkaragana there was the illustrious Chuṭu Nāgaka in (charge of) the *vishaya* of Kakandakuṭu. The next two lines are somewhat obscure, but they seem to record his donation of a granary (*kudaru*, Sanskrit *kṛidara*) in Karikatin and Asēkatin which appear to be the names of two villages in the neighbourhood.

There are three place-names mentioned in the present inscription, but none of them can be satisfactorily identified. Kakandakuṭu may be identical with Khuṇḍā about 6 miles to the east of Deori, if we suppose that the original name has lost its initial part. Karikatin, which in its initial portion resembles Kāritālāi (situated about 30 miles to the east), is perhaps represented by Khurai, 4 miles to the south of Deori Maḍhā. Asēkatin cannot be identified.

TEXT³

- 1 सिद्धिः⁴ [1*] नमः । जटाधरः[*] खं[ड]शशं(शा)क⁵ ।⁶ [चे]-
- 2 [ख]रः[*] कप[पा]लि(ल)[मालः*] स(सि)तभस्मधु(धू)सर⁷ [1*] दुरा-
- 3 न्मनहा⁸ पनगघ[र]ककण⁹ सद(दा) वि-
- 4 वं व(वो) विदध[धा]तु सं(शं)करः[*] ।¹⁰ [११] क¹¹ कदकुटु-
- 5 धुतु शकर¹² श्रि(श्री)शंकरगणदे-
- 6 वरज्य(राज्ये) ककंदकुटुवुशे¹³ सि(श्री?) चु[टु]-¹⁴

¹ No. 37, below.

² Cunningham thought that the characters of the inscription are 'perhaps as early as the 7th century.' (See his *A. S. R.*, Vol. XXI, p. 159). R. D. Banerji, on the other hand, identified the king Saṅkaragana mentioned in it with the homonymous son of Lakshmaṇarāja (II), whom he placed about the middle of the tenth century A.C. (*M. A. S. I.*, No. 23, p. 13). But the characters of the inscription are too early for such a late date.

³ From ink impressions kindly supplied by the Director General of Archaeology.

⁴ Expressed by a symbol.

⁵ The *anusvāras* on ख and श are very faint.

⁶ This *daṇḍa* is superfluous. Read खण्डशशाङ्कुशेखरः.

⁷ What looks like an *anusvāra* on भ is due to a fault in the stone.

⁸ Read दुरात्महा.

⁹ Perhaps पन्नगधारिककणः is intended, but it does not give a good sense. Read पन्नगद्वस्तककणः.

¹⁰ Metre: *Vaṇīśastha*. Some of the epithets of Siva in this stanza occur in the following verse in ll. 8 and 9 of the Raipur stone inscription of Brahmadēva (below, No. 107): -जटाध[र] खं[ड]शशाङ्कुशेखरं सदामहापन्नगवत्स(स्व)ककणं(णम्) [1*] कपालमालासितभ[स्म]भूख(व)णं न पुन्य(ण्य)हि(ही)ना[*] प्रणमति शंकरं(रम्) [11*].

¹¹ There is a curve on क here and also in l. 6 where the same name is repeated. This word is superfluous here.

¹² These five *akṣaras* are unnecessarily repeated from l. 4.

¹³ Read ककंदकुटुविषये. The name of the *vishaya* is given as ककंदकुटु in l. 4.

¹⁴ I am not certain about this *akṣara*. It differs from / which occurs in ll. 4 and 6 in that it has a

- 7 नागकः । करीकतिनि असेक—
 8 तिनि अमुकेनैव¹ लिखतं² कद—
 9 रु³ पुन लि⁴ । खतं त⁵ सर्वप्रमा⁶मिति [1*]
 10 हइके⁷ लिखितं त⁵ सर्व प्रम(मा)ण—⁸
 11 मिति⁶ ।

TRANSLATION

Success ! Adoration !

(Verse 1) May (*that*) Śaṅkara,—who wears matted hair, who has the crescent moon on his head, who wears a garland of skulls, who is grey with white ashes, who destroys the evil-minded, who has bracelets of serpents,—always cause your welfare !

(Line 4) During the reign of the illustrious Śaṅkaragaṇa (I), (*there is*) the illustrious Chuṭu Nāgaka in (*charge of*) the *viśaya* of Kakandakuṭu.

(L. 7) He has himself recorded (*the gift of*) a granary in (*the villages of*) Karīkatin and Asēkatin. Again, whatever is written here is authoritative. Whatever is written here is authoritative.

No. 37; PLATE XXX A

KARITALAI STONE INSCRIPTION OF LAKSHMANARAJA I: (KALACHURI) YEAR 593

THIS inscription was discovered by R.B. Hiralal in 1928. A short notice of it appeared in the second edition of his *Inscriptions in the Central Provinces and Berar*, published in 1931. The record was, for the first time, edited, with a lithograph, by me in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XXIII, pp. 255 f. It is edited here from excellent estampages kindly supplied by the Superintendent, Archaeological Survey, Central Circle, Patna.

Kāritalāi is now a small village, twenty-nine miles north by east from Murwārā, the headquarters of a *tahsil* of the same name in the Jabalpur District of Madhya Pradesh. The place seems to be of great antiquity, for, an inscription in shell characters⁹ and another of the Gupta period¹⁰ have been discovered there. There are several old temples at Kāritalāi, from one of which, probably dedicated to the boar incarnation of Viṣṇu, another inscription¹¹ of the time of Lakshmaṇarāja II, was brought over to Nagpur and is at present deposited in the Central Museum, Nagpur.

The present inscription is affixed to the temple of Dēvī Maḍhiā at Kāritalāi. It is fragmentary. Its preserved portion measures 10½" broad and 1' 10½" high. Originally there were fourteen lines only, of which thirteen were inscribed breadthwise. Each of these now contains on an average fourteen *akṣaras*. The fourteenth line runs

horizontal stroke at the top and has not a perfectly round back. Nor is it exactly like *d*, see *durān-mata*—, l. 3.

¹ अमुकेनैव is used here in the unusual sense of 'by the same'.

² Read लिखितं.

³ The medial *s* of *ru* is faint. Read कुर.

⁴ This *daṇḍa* is superfluous. Read पुनलिखितं.

⁵ Read तत्.

⁶ Read सर्व प्रमाणमिति ।

⁷ This appears to be a Prakrit word meaning इह.

⁸ I am indebted to Dr. Chhabra for the reading of this word.

⁹ I. C. P. B., p. 45.

¹⁰ C. I. I., Vol. III, pp. 117 ff.

¹¹ No. 42, below.

along the margin on the left. In addition to these, there is one more line incised recently to record the date (Vikrama) Samvat 1981, which runs parallel to the original marginal line. As stated before, the inscription is fragmentary. Nothing is, of course, lost at the top, the bottom and the left-hand side; but on the right hand-side, sixty to seventy *aksharas* have been lost in each line. The record, when entire, must have occupied a space 4' 6" in breadth. Of this, only about a fifth portion on the left has been preserved and the remaining four-fifths broken away and lost. The average size of the letters is .8".

The characters belong to the Nāgarī alphabet. They have been deeply and beautifully cut. The strokes of the medial vowels have, here and there, been ornamentally treated. As regards individual letters, attention may be drawn to the two forms of *n*, one in *-Lakshmaṇarāja-*, 1.14 and the other in *Druhiṇaḥ*, 1.2 etc. and to those of *gh* in *-Amōghavarsha-*, 1.12 and *Ghaṭ-āṃvaya-*, 1.14. The form of *g* is in many places closely similar to that of *rā*, compare *g* in *jagat* and *drāg=ēva* both in 1.2, *Nāgabhaṭē* in 1.9 etc., with *rā* in *yair=āsantati* in 1.6; *ṭh* has not yet developed a vertical stroke at the top, see *parilūṭhantī*, 1.4. Similarly *th* is still circular and not flattened on the right side, see, *prithuni-*, 1.4. The medial *u* has been generally denoted by a serif, (see *pāyāsū-*, 1.3; *nag-ānukāri* 1.13 etc.), but in some cases, by a curve turned to the left as in *kshīṇōtu*, 1.2. The *mātrās* for medial diphthongs generally appear above the line (see *namō-* and *-ōpēndra-*, 1.1), but in two cases, viz., in *-Rudrēbhyaḥ*, 1.1 and *śrī-Lakshmaṇa-rājadēvē*, 1.14, the medial *ē* is obtained by continuing the top stroke of the consonant to the left to end in a small curve; while in two others we see fully developed *prishṭha-mātrās* also, (see *-vēdhō-*, 1.3 and *pādan* 1.12). The characters thus show a transitional stage of the Nāgarī alphabet and may be referred to the ninth century A.C.¹

The language is Sanskrit. Except for the introductory obeisance and the marginal line recording the date etc., the record is metrically composed throughout. It seems to have originally consisted of thirteen verses. As regards orthography, we may note that the consonant preceding and following *r* has in certain cases been doubled as in *chātur-varṇyam*, 1.1, and *-mātram*, 1.2; *v* has been used for *b* in *vala-*, 1.7 and the guttural nasal for *anusvāra* in *kshīṇ-ānhasō*, 1.6.

Owing to the unfortunate loss of a major portion of the record, it is not possible to give a complete description of its contents. After the introductory obeisance to Druhiṇa (Brahmā), Upēndra (Viṣṇu) and Rudra (Śiva) come three verses, invoking the blessings of the three deities. Lines 6 and 7 seem to eulogize some persons possessed of strength, wealth, gaity, liberality and courtesy. The next line refers to some personage, who was to great kings what the fall of a thunderbolt is to high mountains. The ninth line mentions the rout of Nāgabhaṭa, while the eleventh refers to some saintly person whose mind was devoted to the observance of the rules of conduct laid down in the *Śruti* and the *Smṛiti*. From the twelfth line we learn that the illustrious king Amōghavarsha bowed to the feet of someone who was probably identical with the saintly person mentioned above. Finally, the marginal line states that the record was composed by Prasannāditya of the Ghaṭa family in the year 593 (expressed in numerical figures only) during the reign of the king, the illustrious Lakshmaṇarājadēva.

The late Rai Bahadur Hiralal, who first noticed the inscription, read the date as 693² and as it evidently refers to the Kalachuri era, which was current at least from the ninth to the twelfth century A.C. in Baghelkhand, he took it as equivalent to 941 A. C.,

¹ The form of *j*, *d*, *p*, *r* and *v*, all of which show considerable development here, leave no doubt that the present record is much later than the preceding inscriptions (No. 35 and 36) of the reign of Śaṅkaragaṇa I.

² I. C. P. B., p. 45.

obviously identifying the Lakshmaṇarāja mentioned in it with the homonymous king who was the son of Yuvarājadēva I *alias* Kēyūrarvarsha. The mention of Amōghavarsha in l. 12 seems to have corroborated this view; because a king of that name, viz., Baddigā-Amōghavarsha III, the son-in-law of Yuvarājadēva-Kēyūrarvarsha, flourished in that period.¹ But R.B. Hiralal's reading of the date is probably incorrect. The first figure closely resembles that of the *tithi* in the Chandrēhē inscription of Prabōdhaśiva² and the latter was read as five by Dr. Kielhorn. Other instances in which the figure stands for five can also be cited.³ So the date of the present inscription is 593 and this, being referred to the Kalachuri era, corresponds to 841-2 A.C. The mention of Amōghavarsha in this record does not also preclude this reading; for this Amōghavarsha would be the first Rāshtrakūṭa king of that name who ruled from *circa* 814 to 880 A.C. We know that the royal families of the Rāshtrakūṭas and the Kalachuris were matrimonially connected in the ninth century also; for Amōghavarsha I's son Kṛishṇa II was married to Kōkalla I's daughter,⁴ though this marriage may not have taken place before 842 A.C.⁵ Besides, Amōghavarsha I was of a spiritual temperament. He was a fervent devotee, at least in the early part of his life, of Hindu deities. The Sanjān plates tell us that he had cut off a finger of his left hand and offered it to Mahālakshmi to ward off a public calamity.⁶ It is not, therefore, unlikely that Amōghavarsha had gone to the Chēdi country to pay his respects to the holy person who put up the present inscription. The mention of Nāgabhaṭa's defeat in l. 9 may also be adduced in support of the above-mentioned date. This Nāgabhaṭa is evidently Nāgabhaṭa II of the Gurjara-Pratihāra dynasty who was completely routed by Amōghavarsha's father Gōvinda III.⁷ Nāgabhaṭa was not living in 841-2 A.C., the date of the present inscription; for, according to the Jain work *Prabhāvaka-charita*,⁸ he died in V. 890 (833-4 A.C.); nor is Amōghavarsha known to have raided North India like his father and grand-father. The defeat of Nāgabhaṭa II mentioned in this inscription must be that inflicted on him by Gōvinda III before 800 A.C. The personage, who in the preceding line is described as the destroyer of great kings as a thunder-bolt is of high mountains, is probably Gōvinda III. The name of the king whom he destroyed (*sanijahrē*) is lost at the end of the line. It is not known in what connection the defeat of Nāgabhaṭa is mentioned in l. 9; but as the name of Amōghavarsha occurs only after two lines, it is clear that the event must have happened not long before the reign of Amōghavarsha. The latter must consequently be the first king of that name; for, otherwise, there would be a long gap of more than one hundred and thirty years between the two events, if the king is identified with Baddigā-Amōghavarsha III. Lakshmaṇarāja, during whose reign the present inscription was put up, was, therefore, the predeces-

¹ For Amōghavarsha III we have the dates 937 and 939 A.C. (See *E. C.*, Vol. XI, pp. 29 and 30).

² No. 44, below.

³ See, for instance, the figure of the year and the *tithi* of the Bālērā plates of the Chaulukya Mūlarāja, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. X, plate facing p. 78; the figure of the year in the Khajurāhō inscription of Kōkka, *C. A. S. I. R.*, Vol. XXI, pl. XIX, and that of the *tithi* in the Pālanpur plates of Bhīmadēva, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXI, plate facing p. 172.

⁴ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XII, pp. 263 f.

⁵ As I have shown elsewhere (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXIII, p. 217), Amōghavarsha I was born about 799 A.C. He was, therefore, forty-two years old at the time of the present inscription, but it is not likely that in 841-2 A.C. his son Kṛishṇa II was already married to Lakshmaṇarāja's grand-daughter, for he is known to have reigned till 914 A. C. Perhaps Amōghavarsha had gone to Tripurī to seek the Kalachuri king's help, when he was deposed in the early part of his reign.

⁶ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 248.

⁷ *Loc. cit.*, p. 247.

⁸ *Ibid.*, Vol. XIV, p. 179, n. 3.

sor and probably the father of Kōkalla I, who heads the genealogical lists in the Bilhāri stone inscription¹ and the Banaras plates of Karna.² He may be called Lakshmanarāja I of the main Kalachuri dynasty of Tripurī.

The date of the inscription is thus the year 593 of the Kalachuri era. It would correspond to 840-1 A.C. if the year was current, and to 841-2 A.C. if it was expired.³ It does not admit of verification.

TEXT⁴

- 1 सिद्धिः⁵ [१*] ओं नमोस्तु द्रुहिणोपेन्द्रहृद्रेभ्यः ॥ चातुर्वर्ण्यं [नि]⁶....
- 2 नमात्रं जगत् [१*] द्रागेव द्रुहिणः क्षिणोत्⁷....
- 3 रुद्धवेधोदसः(शः) । पायासुर्मधुसूदना[च्च]⁸....
- 4 कपट्पुत्रिणः परिलुठन्ती यस्य मूर्द्ध[स्थ]-⁹....
- 5 नक्रमः परमिति स्वान्युत्तरकान्पाठ[ये]-⁹....
- 6 क्षीणाङ्गहसो¹⁰ जज्ञिरे यैरासन्तति सन्तत-⁷....
- 7 वृत्तिः । व(व)लविभवविलासत्यागदा¹¹....
- 8 महाभूमिभृद्वज्रपाता(तः) संजह्ने ह्वा[ि]¹²....
- 9 भूयसा चानेहसा ॥ भग्ने नागभटे⁷....
- 10 कषणावदलको वराहव्याहारः स्म¹³....
- 11 ¹⁴तिस्मृत्याचारप्रवणधिषणः पु[ण्य]-¹⁵....
- 12 ¹⁶श्रीमदमोघवर्षनृपतिः पादो [न]-¹⁷....
- 13 वापरः ॥ तेनाकारि नगानुकारि म¹⁸....
- 14 सिद्धिः¹⁹ [१*] सम्बत्²⁰ ५९३ श्रीलक्ष्मणराजदेवे राजनि घटान्वयश्रीप्रसन्नादित्यस्य कृतिरि-
यम् [१*]²¹

¹ No. 45, below.

² No. 48, below.

³ In stating the Christian equivalents of this and other *later* dates of the Kalachuri era, I have adopted the epoch 247-248 A. C. finally determined by Kielhorn. See *Festgruss an Roth*, pp. 53 f. Differing from him, I have, however, taken the Kalachuri year as commencing with the bright fortnight of the *pūrṇimānta* Kārttika.

⁴ From ink impressions kindly supplied by the Superintendent, Archaeological Survey, Central Circle, Patna.

⁵ Expressed by a symbol.

⁶ Metre: *Sālinī*.

⁷ Metre: *Sārdūlavikrīḍita*.

⁸ Read मूर्द्धस्थले. Metre: *Mālinī*.

⁹ Read पाठयेत्. Metre: *Sārdūlavikrīḍita*.

¹⁰ Read क्षीणाङ्गहसो.

¹¹ Read दाक्षिण्य-. Metre: *Mālinī*.

¹² Perhaps ह्वादिनी was written here. Metre: *Sragdharā*.

¹³ Metre: *Sikharīṇī*.

¹⁴ Read श्रुतिस्मृत्याचार-.

¹⁵ Read पुण्यचरितः. Metre: *Sikharīṇī*.

¹⁶ Read यस्य before श्रीमद-.

¹⁷ Read नमस्त्ययम्. Metre: *Sārdūlavikrīḍita*.

¹⁸ Metre: *Sārdūlavikrīḍita*.

¹⁹ Expressed by a symbol.

²⁰ Read संवत्.

²¹ This line is written along the margin. Another line below it, incised recently, reads श्रीस[म्ब]त् १९८१.

TRANSLATION

- (Line 1) Success ! Om ! May there be adoration to Druhiṇa, Upēndra and Rudra !
 The four castes
 (L. 2) The world consisting only of May Druhiṇa quickly destroy !
 (L. 3) May (*they*) who obstructed the eyes of the creator . . . protect
 from Madhusūdana.
 (L. 4) On whose broad forehead, (*the Gaṅgā*) rolling down from the matted
 hair
 (L. 5) would teach (*his*) little sons, (*thinking*) that the course (*of teaching?*)
 is the best
 (L. 6) (*They*), whose sins had diminished, were born; by whom always
 down to their descendants.
 (L. 7) The course of conduct (*consisting of?*) strength, wealth, gaiety, liberality
 (*and*) courtesy
 (L. 8) (*He*)¹ who was a thunderbolt to the great mountains that were powerful
 kings, destroyed (*while*) (*was*) resounding
 (L. 9) after a long time. When Nāgabhaṭa (II) was routed.
 (L. 10) The roar of the Boar that rends rocks
 (L. 11-12) of holy deeds, whose mind was intent on (*observing the rules*
of) conduct laid down in the *Srutis* (Vēdas) and *Smṛiti* (*and*) whose feet [*this*]
 illustrious Amōghavarsha² salutes.
 (L. 13) like a second By him (*has been*) constructed (*this*
temple) resembling a hill
 (L. 14) Success ! (*In*) the year 593, while the king, the illustrious Lakshmaṇarāja-
 dēva (I) is reigning, this (*prāśasti*) was composed by the illustrious Prasannāditya
 of the Ghaṭa family.

No. 38; PLATE XXX B

BANDHOGARH ROCK INSCRIPTION (No. I) OF YUVARAJADEVA I

THIS inscription was discovered in 1938 by Dr. N.P. Chakravarti, Government Epigraphist for India. It is still unpublished. It is edited here from an excellent estampage kindly supplied by him.

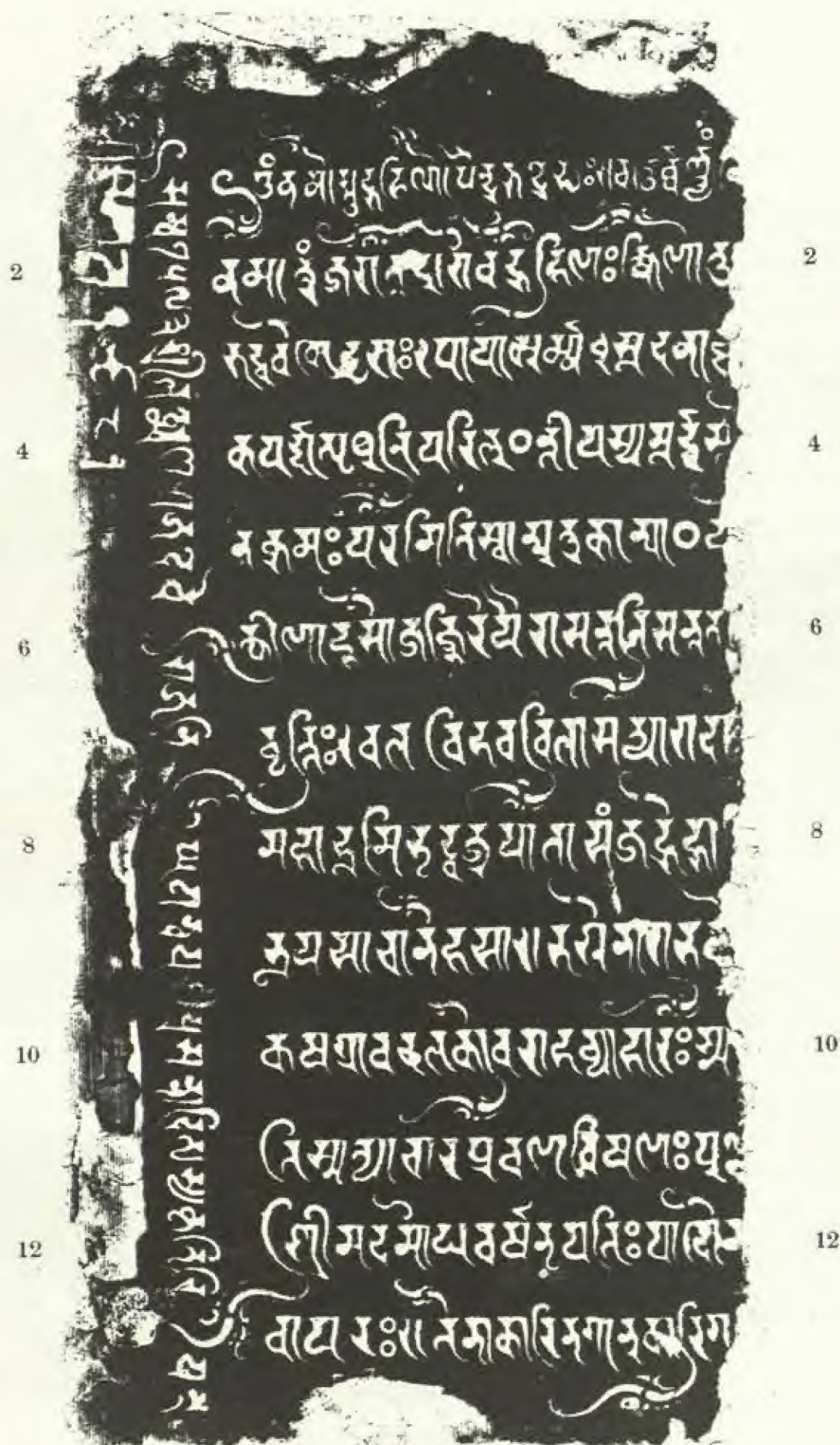
The inscription is incised on the inside of the western wall of the Fish temple in the fort of Bāndhōgarh which lies about 6½ miles south by west of Rewa, the chief town of Vindhya Pradesh. The record is in a state of good preservation. It consists of only two lines of bold and deeply incised letters. The first line is 4' 5" and the second 4' 9" long. The average size of the letters is 4.5".

The characters belong to the Nāgarī alphabet of about the tenth century A.C. As regards individual letters we may note that the lingual *ḍ* is round-backed in *Gand-*, l. 2; the right-hand up-stroke of the subscript *y* is not brought down, see *-āmātyasya*, l. 1 and the left limb of the palatal *ś* is not separated from the right-hand vertical, see *śrī-*, in. l. 1. The language is Sanskrit and the record is entirely in prose. It consists of only a single sentence. The orthography does not call for any remark except that the conjunct *tya* has been written as *chethya* in *machchhya-*, l. 2.

¹ This was probably Gōvinda III of the Rāshtrakūṭa dynasty, see above, p. 180.

² This seems to be Amōghavarsha I, the son and successor of Gōvinda III.

A — KARITALAI STONE INSCRIPTION OF LAKSHMANARAJA I:
(KALACHURI) YEAR 593



B.—BANDHOGARH ROCK INSCRIPTION (No. I) OF YUVARAJADEVA I

Left Half



Right Half



The object of the inscription is to record that (the figures of) the fish, the tortoise, the boar and others were of (*i.e.*, were caused to be carved by) the illustrious Gōllāka, also known as Gauḍa, the son of the illustrious Bhānu, who was a minister (*amātya*) of the illustrious Yuvarājadēva. The palaeography of the record indicates that this Yuvarājadēva is the first king of that name who flourished in the first half of the tenth century A.C. The figures referred to are evidently the rock-cut images of the fish, tortoise, boar and other incarnations of Viṣṇu, which Gōllāka had caused to be carved. Some of them can still be seen near the present inscription.

TEXT¹

- 1 श्रीयुवराजदेवामात्यस्य श्रीभानुसूनोः श्रीगो-
- 2 ल्लाकस्य गौडापरनाम्न एते मच्छय(त्स्य)कच्छपसूकरा[द्य²]: [1*]

TRANSLATION

These (*figures of*) the Fish, the Tortoise, the Boar and others are of (*i.e.*, are caused to be carved by) the illustrious Gōllāka, (*who is known*) by the other name of Gauḍa, the son of the illustrious Bhānu (*and*) a minister (*amātya*) of the illustrious Yuvarājadēva (I).

No. 39; PLATE XXXI A

BANDHOGARH ROCK INSCRIPTION (No. II) OF YUVARAJADEVA I

THIS inscription, like the preceding one, was discovered in 1938 by Dr. N. P. Chakravarti, then Government Epigraphist for India. It is still unpublished. It is edited here from an excellent estampage which I owe to the kindness of the Government Epigraphist.

The inscription is at Bāndhōgarh, about 65 miles south by west of Rewa in Vindhya Pradesh. It is incised on a pillar with a broken figure of Garuḍa to the west of a colossal rock-cut figure of Ādivarāha, placing the left foot on a Nāga figure. The record consists of only two lines, the first of which measures 11' 10" and the second 2' 11" long. Several *aksharas* in the middle of the first line and a few in the second have now become illegible, but some of them can be restored with the help of the preceding epigraph. The average size of the letters is 5".

The characters belong to the Nāgarī alphabet of about the 10th century A. C. They closely resemble those of the preceding inscription. The language is Sanskrit and the record is wholly in prose. The orthography does not call for any remark.

The object of the inscription is to record that (the figures of) the Fish, the Tortoise, the Ādivarāha and Paraśurāma (?) were of (*i.e.*, were caused to be carved by) the illustrious Gōllāka, the son of the illustrious Bhānu, who was a minister (*amātya*) of the illustrious Yuvarājadēva. This Yuvarājadēva was evidently Yuvarājadēva I-Kēyūravārsha. The figure of Ādivarāha referred to here is plainly the colossal rock-cut image of the boar incarnation of Viṣṇu, near which the inscription is incised. Some of the other figures also can still be seen carved out of rocks in the same place.

¹ From an inked estampage.

² What appears like a broken curve over the ligature *ḍya* is probably due to a fault in the rock. Read

TEXT¹

- 1 ओं श्रीयुवरा[जदेवामात्यस्य]²[श्रीभा]नुसूतोः श्रीगोल्लाकस्यैते मत्स्य-
कच्छ-
2 पादिवराहप[रशुरामाः³?] [1*]

TRANSLATION

Om ! These (*figures of*) the Fish, the Tortoise, the primeval Boar (*and*) Paraśurāma (?) are of (*i.e.*, are caused to be carved by) the illustrious Gōllāka, the son of the illustrious Bhānu who was a minister (*amātya*) of the illustrious Yuvarājadēva (I).

No. 40; PLATE XXXI B

BANDHOGARH ROCK INSCRIPTION (No. III) OF YUVARAJADĒVA I

THIS inscription, like the preceding two records, was discovered in 1938 by Dr. N. P. Chakravarti, then Government Epigraphist for India. It is still unpublished. It is edited here from a good estampage kindly sent by him.

The inscription is incised on a rock facing south-west near the rock-cut image of a Tortoise at Bāndhōgarh in the State of Vindhya Pradesh. The record consists of eight lines, of which the first seven were probably 2' 11" long while the last one measures only 9½". The epigraph has suffered very much by the peeling off of the surface of the rock. Nearly half the portion on the right-hand side of lines 3-7 has been completely lost. Besides, several *aksharas* here and there have become illegible. The average size of the letters is 2.3".

The characters belong to the Nāgarī alphabet of about the 10th century A. C. The language is Sanskrit. The record is partly in verse and partly in prose. Attention may be drawn to the expression *sāhitya-vidyā-lala[nā-bhujaṅga]* which is adopted in some later records⁴ for the description of Yuvarājadēva II. In the last line *utkīritam* has been wrongly used for *utkīṛṇam*. The orthography does not call for any remark.

The inscription is one of the illustrious Gōllāka, the son of Bhānu, who is known from other records to have been a minister of Yuvarājadēva I. The object of it was evidently to dedicate⁵ the image of the Tortoise near which it is incised, but the portion of the record where this was stated has now become illegible. In lines 4-6 the inscription seems to have contained the description of a battle, for the extant words in line 5 speak of a great river of which the waves were enemies.

The record was written by Guṇanivāsa, and incised by Bhāka.

¹ From an inked estampage.

² About 11 *aksharas* are completely lost here. The last seven of them may have been श्रीगोडापरनाम्नः . See line 2 of the preceding inscription, page 183, above.

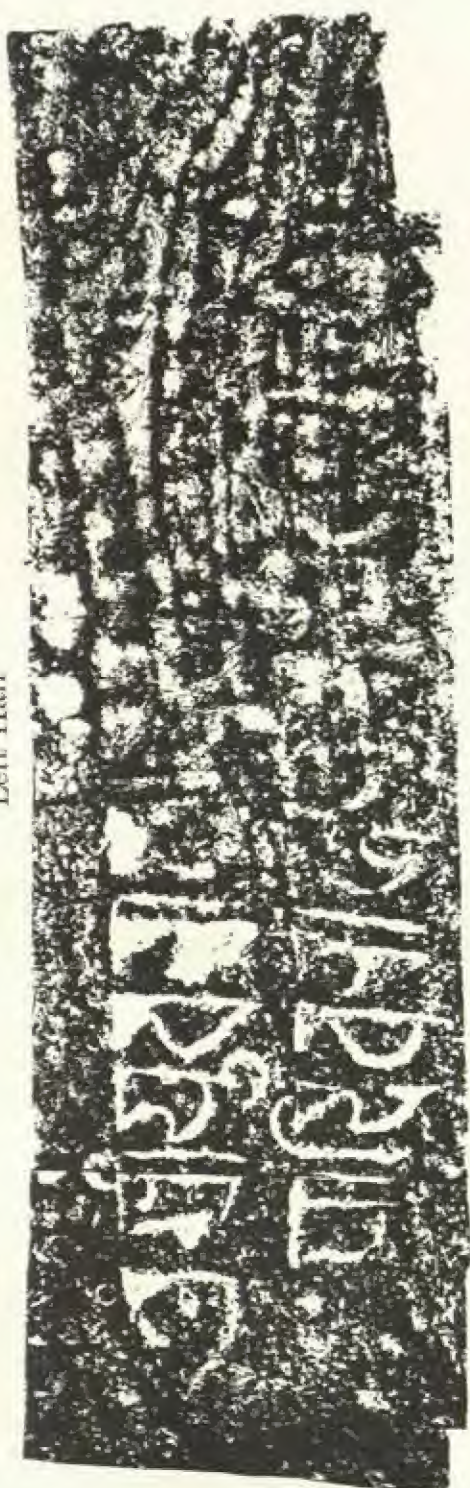
³ The reading of these *aksharas* is not quite certain.

⁴ Below, No. 50, l. 10 and No. 51, l. 7.

⁵ Line 4 contains the word *nivēditam* which means 'dedicated'.

A.—BANDHOGARH ROCK INSCRIPTION (No. II) OF YUVARAJADEVA I

Left Half



Right Half



B.—BANDHOGARH ROCK INSCRIPTION (No. III) OF YUVARAJADEVA I



SCALE: ONE-FIFTH

TEXT¹

- 1 [ओं । गजे]न्द्रगत्या परि- ७ - मां² [म]हीमतो वै[ष्णव]गो[ल्ल][केन ।*]
 2 [सा*]हित्यविद्यालल[नाभुजङ्गा³द्वि*]तीयदेहेन सुतेन भानोः⁴ ॥ [१॥*]
 3 [वि]ष्णोः ७ ७ ७ - - ७, ७ ७ ७ ७ विष्णो ७ ७ । ७ ७ ७ ७ ७ - - ७,
 4 ७ ७ ७ न निवेदि[तं(तम्)]⁵ ॥ (२॥*) क्लेश* ७ ७ ७ - प्रदं, ७ ७ ७ ७ ७ -
 5 ७ ७ । ७ ७ [ग्रस्त]मरिकल्लो[लं] नदं [शङ्के] ७ - ७ ७ ॥ [३॥*]
 6 [लक्ष्मी] विच्छे[द]
 7 गुणनिवासेन लिखि[तं]
 8 भाकेनोत्कीरितं⁶ ।

TRANSLATION

Om !

(Verses 1-2) By Gōllāka, the son of Bhānu, (*who is*) a devotee of Viṣṇu, (*and a minister*) of the king, (*who has delighted*) the earth by his gait (*resembling that*) of a lordly elephant, who has a matchless person and [who is the lover of] the lady, namely, literature, has been dedicated

(V. 3) I fancy that the great river, of which the waves are the enemies

(Lines 6-7) (*This record has been*) written by Guṇanivāsa (*and*) incised by Bhāka.

No. 41

GOPALPUR ROCK INSCRIPTION OF YUVARAJADEVA I

THIS inscription was, like the preceding three records, discovered in 1938 by Dr. N.P. Chakravarti, then Government Epigraphist for India. It is still unpublished. It is edited here from an estampage kindly supplied by him.

The inscription is incised on a rock at the back of the Śeṣhaśāyī image to the south-west of Gopālpur, a village, one mile to the north of Bāndhōgarh in the State of Vindhya Pradesh. It consists of three lines of bold and deeply incised letters, but owing to the constant trickling down of water on them, many *akṣaras* especially in lines 2 and 3 have now become illegible. The lines are 4' 8" long. The average size of the letters is 6".

The characters are of the Nāgarī alphabet closely, resembling those of the three preceding epigraphs. The language is Sanskrit and the record is entirely in prose. The orthography does not call for any remark.

The object of the inscription was apparently similar to that of the last three epigraphs, *viz.*, to record that an image (of Haladhara?⁷) was caused to be carved by the illustrious Gōllāka, the son of the illustrious Bhānu, who was a minister of the illustrious Yuvarājadēva (I).

¹ From an inked estampage.

² Restore परितोदिणेमां.

³ The expression साहित्यविद्याललनाभुजङ्ग- occurs in connection with Yuvarājadēva II in verse 10 of the Goharwa plates (No. 50, below) and in verse 13 of the Rewa stone inscription (No. 51, below).

⁴ Metre: *Upajāti*.

⁵ Metre of this and the next verse: *Anuṣṭubh*.

⁶ Read भाकेनोत्कीर्णम्.

⁷ Only the first two *akṣaras* of this name have left faint traces. I do not know if there is any rock-cut image of Haladhara or Balarāma near by. It may be noted that in some panels of the ten incarnations of Viṣṇu, Balarāma takes the place of Kṛṣṇa. R. D. Banerji, *Eastern Indian School of Medieval Sculpture*, p. 103.

TEXT¹

- 1 [ओं श्री युव]राजदेवामा[त्यस्य]श्रीभानु-
 2 [सूनोः*] श्रीगोल्ला[कस्य]²
 3³[नाम्नो] हल⁴

TRANSLATION

Ōm ! [This figure of Haladhara⁵(?) is] of (*i.e.*, is caused to be carved by) the illustrious Gōllāka, [named] , the son of the illustrious Bhānu, who is a minister of the illustrious Yuvarājadēva (I).

No. 42; PLATE XXXII

KARITALAI STONE INSCRIPTION OF LAKSHMANARAJA II

THIS inscription is engraved on a rectangular sunken panel surrounded by a plain border of a large slab of sand-stone. It was discovered at Kāritalāi (lat. 24° 3' North, long. 80° 46' East), a village in the Murwārā *tahsil* of the Jabalpur District in Madhya Pradesh. The stone, which was first removed to the Jabalpur Museum, is now deposited in the Central Museum, Nagpur. General Cunningham first published a short account⁶ of the contents of the inscription in his *Archaeological Survey of India Reports*, Vol. IX, p. 81. The record was subsequently edited, without any lithograph or translation, by Prof. Kielhorn in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. II, pp. 174 ff. It is edited here from the original stone and ink impressions taken under my supervision.

The inscription is much mutilated. It has lost a considerable portion at the top. Again, a large piece, measuring 1' broad by 1' 8" high, has been broken off at the lower proper right corner, and a small one, 5" broad by 3" high, has been lost at the upper proper left corner. Besides, some letters have been lost in two cracks, of which the longer one cuts the inscription transversely. The cracks seem to have widened in the process of removing the heavy stone from Jabalpur to Nagpur and some letters, which were clear in the rubbing supplied to Dr. Kielhorn, have since disappeared.⁷ The preserved portion of the inscription covers a space 3' 8" broad by 4' 3½" high, and consists of thirty-four lines, of which the first thirty-one are inscribed on the sunken panel of the slab, and the last three on the stone border below. The average size of the letters is 1", except in l. 32, which is engraved on the inside edge of the border, and in which the letters are smaller, being only .6" in height.

The characters are of the Nāgarī alphabet of about the 10th century A.C. They are well-formed and deeply engraved. In some cases the *aksharas* which were inadvertently omitted at first, were incised subsequently below the line, see *ya* of *yad-antahpurē*, l. 14 and *ka* of *-kalaśa-*, l. 20; while in others the wrong *aksharas* and strokes have been

¹ From an inked estampage.

² Three or four *aksharas* are gone here.

³ About three *aksharas* are illegible here. One would expect a word like श्रीगोडापर- at the end of the second and in the beginning of the third line, but the *akshara* preceding *nā* in line 3 appears more like *ya* than *ra*. Perhaps श्रीगोडाद्वितीय- is meant.

⁴ Perhaps हलधरः was intended.

⁵ Haladhara 'the plough-holder' is a well-known name of Balarāma.

⁶ As pointed out by Kielhorn, this account is very incorrect.

⁷ See, *e.g.*, the *aksharas* -*tn=īy=ē-* in l. 13.

cancelled, either by incising a vertical stroke at the top or by chiselling off the wrong portion; see *achikarat*=and *avivryadhat*=, both in l. 5, =*adhahkrit-ānya*- in l. 18 etc. As regards individual letters, attention may be drawn to the somewhat rare initial *ri* in *rijur*-, l. 18 and to *dh*, the upper part of the left limb of which, for the first time in the records edited here, appears well-developed, though it is not yet joined to the right-hand vertical see *dharmma*, l. 3. The letter *ś* appears in two slightly different forms, see, for instance, *keśalō* and *hasty-asva*-, both in l. 8; so also *ṇ* in =*guṇ-ānatō* and =*praṇamyaḥ*, both in l. 3; *r*, as the first member of a conjunct, generally appears as a *rēpha* above the line, but in =*chārur*= *yad*= l. 11, it is horizontal in form and prefixed to *ya* on the left below the line. The *prishtha-mātrās* are fully developed, but in some cases, as for instance in =*mahā-pātrāya*, l. 2, =*jātavēdas*-, l. 4, =*ēkā*, l. 8, the vertical stroke on the right, representing medial *ā*, is only half drawn. In a few cases, both the strokes of the medial *ō* appear horn-shaped above the line, see *prāp=ōnnatini*, l. 6 and *yad=yōshitāni*, ll. 11-12. A final consonant is indicated by its short form as well as by the addition of a small curve below it, see, e.g., *kathamichit*, l. 5. The form of *th*, which has a slightly developed vertical stroke on the right, shows that the present inscription is later than inscription No. 37, which comes from Kāritalāi itself.

The language is Sanskrit. The inscription is written in the later *kāvya* style, abounding in figures and hyperbolic descriptions. Except for the words *yaś=cha* in l. 5 and *kim vahunā* in l. 26, the record is in verse throughout. As regards orthography, we may note that the consonant following *r* is doubled rightly in =*anabhyartthitō*, l. 2 etc., but wrongly¹ in *sudarśśanaḥ*, l. 21, and the sign for *v* is used to denote *b* throughout, see *vahutarāni*-, l. 2, *vōddhā*, l. 7 and so forth. The sign of the *jihvāmūliya* occurs in l. 9 and that of the *upadhmāniya* in l. 30.

The inscription mentions three Kalachuri princes, Yuvarājadēva, Lakshmaṇarāja and Śaṅka[raṇa]. Their names occur only incidentally in the extant portion. The earlier portion which probably contained a glorification of the first two, has been lost. Of the forty-two verses which have either wholly or partially been preserved, the first describes the great liberality of some person whose name is lost, but who was probably Lakshmaṇarāja. The next five verses eulogize Bhākamiśra, the minister of Yuvarājadēva, who is evidently the first prince of that name in the dynasty of the Kalachuris of Tripuri. Bhākamiśra was born in the family (*gōtra*) of the sage Bharadvāja, performed many sacrifices, erected temples and dug wells in numerous places. His son Somēśvara is eulogized in the next twelve verses. He was proficient in various arts, sciences and systems of philosophy and performed many sacrifices. Even the king Lakshmaṇarāja is said to have once shouldered his palanquin to prevent it from falling down. Then comes, in eleven verses, the description of a very high temple of Viṣṇu, erected by Sōmēśvara at Kāritalāi. The image installed therein was probably of the boar incarnation, which is referred to in vv. 27 and 35, and was called *Sōmasvāmin* after the founder of the temple. The next thirteen verses enumerate the various donations made to the deity. In the town (*pura*) near the temple, eight Brāhmaṇas were caused to settle. To them the king, evidently Lakshmaṇarāja (II), donated the village Dīrghaśākhika (v. 30). He also gave another village, the name of which is lost, to the god on the occasion of a solar eclipse. His queen Rāhaḍā gave, with his consent, the village Chakrahradī and the illustrious Śaṅka[raṇa] who is probably identical with Lakshmaṇarāja's son and successor and who was then the crown-prince, gave the god another village on the occasion of a lunar eclipse (v. 33).

¹ This is prohibited by Pāṇini, VIII, 4, 49.

He is called *parama-vaishṇava*, a devoted worshipper of Viṣṇu. Two other villages, *Chhallipāṭaka* in the *āhāra* of *Dhavalā* and *Antarapāṭa*, were donated to the god at a solar eclipse (v. 34). The next verse mentions donations of a small field and another yielding twelve *khaṇḍīs* (of corn) to the Boar. A potentate who was named *Vallē[śvara]* gave the village *Vaṭagartikā* in the *Mālā* group of twelve in his own territory, while another, who had come to the place, donated a field requiring a *khārī* of seed-corn.¹ Besides these, several taxes and tolls are mentioned in the last five verses, the income from which was assigned to the deity.

The inscription is not dated, but it was probably put up towards the end of Lakshmaṇarāja's reign (circa 940-965 A.C.).

As for the geographical names mentioned in the present inscription, Dr. Kielhorn suggested the identification of *Dīrghaśākhika* with *Dighī*, about six miles south-east of *Kāritālāi*, and *Rai Bahadur Hiralal* that of *Chakrahradī* with *Chakadāhī*, seven miles south of *Kāritālāi*. I could not, however, trace the latter village either in the list of villages in the *Murwārā tahsil* or on the Degree Map. I identify *Dhavalā*, the headquarters of an *āhāra*, with *Dhawaia*, 4 miles south of *Dighī*. The *pura*, where eight *Brāhmaṇas* were made to settle, is still known by the name *Bamhōri* (*Brāhmaṇapuri*) and lies about two miles east of *Kāritālāi*. *Chhallipāṭaka* is probably *Chilhāri*, about 11 miles east of *Dhavalā*, in the adjoining territory of *Vindhya Pradesh*. *Vaṭagartikā* may be identical with the modern *Barhaṭi*, 10 m. west by south of *Kāritālāi*, and *Antarapāṭa* with *Amaturrā*, 7 miles east of *Kāritālāi*. The *Mālā* group of twelve cannot be located.

TEXT ²

- 1 नितरान्दलेन ॥ ताम्रपण्णीतटप्राप्तैः
॥ [भू*]—
- 2 मेस्त्रीणि पदानि वामनमहापात्राय कुच्छाद्दौ । प्रत्यक्षीकृतदान एष तु जनैः प्रादादनम्यत्थितो
ग्रामान्ना(न्ना)ह्मणजातये व(व)हुत[रा]स्तुष्टान्तरा[न्मा] ७ -⁴ [॥१॥*]
- 3 वंशाद्भरद्वाजमुनेरनूनाद्गुणानतो⁵ धर्म इवापरो[भू]त् । श्रीभाकमिश्रः क्षितिपप्रणम्यः शश्वत्कु-
तार्थीकृतमार्गणौघः⁶ [॥२॥*] कुण्टितधिषणो धिष- -⁷
- 4 सौम्यो वु(वु)धो न वु(वु)धः । अकविः कविरपि यस्मादतिग्रहोप्येवमग्रहश्चित्रं(त्रम्)⁸ [॥३॥*]
यदनवधिवितानप्रज्वलज्जातवेदस्ततरखरतापोत्तप्तगात्री धरित्री । दिगिभभुज[ग]—

¹ Kielhorn remarked:—"The mutilated state of verse 37 makes it impossible to say whether the word *khārīnāpa*, which occurs in it, should be explained to mean a field sown with a *khārī* of corn, or taken as a proper name. If it were a proper name, we should probably have here the older name of *Kāritālāi*. The latter supposition is unlikely; for the verse clearly means that some person, whose name is lost, donated to the god a field in his own territory when he came *here* (*īha*), i. e., to *Kāritālāi*. *Khārīnāpa*, therefore, cannot be identical with *Kāritālāi*.

² From the original stone and ink impressions.

³ Only the lower portions of nearly half the number of the *akṣaras* in this line are preserved. The reading of the fourteen *akṣaras* given above is almost certain.

⁴ The missing *akṣaras* were probably सदा. Metre: *Sārdūlavikrīḍita*.

⁵ It would be better to read वंशे भरद्वाजमुनेरनूने गुणोन्नतो—as suggested by Kielhorn.

⁶ Metre: *Upajāti*.

⁷ Read धिषणोऽसौम्यः.

⁸ Metre: *Udgīti*.

- 5 राजान्तकूर्मैः समूहे कलितदवथुपीडानष्टधैर्यैः कथंचित्¹॥४॥* यश्च ॥ अचीकरत्कुत्र
न देववेष्टमान्यचीखनत्कुत्र न वा सरांसि । अविव्यध²कुत्र न कूपवा[पी]—
- 6 ररूपन्नाम्रवणानि कुत्र³॥५॥* अवाप्य यं श्रीयुवराजदेवो धराधरं प्राच्यमिवांशुमाली ।
प्रापोन्नति व्यस्तसमस्तदोषां मन्त्रिप्रधानं कुलगोत्रचारुं(रुम्)⁴॥६॥* न संदिग्धे वे—
- 7 दे द्रवदवधि वो(वो)द्वा पदविधेरतर्क्यस्तर्क्यप्यनवममतिस्तन्त्रगतिषु । य आद्यो वेदान्ते स्मरण-
निपुणः काव्यसरणिः⁵ स तस्यासीत्सूनुः प्रथित इह सौमेश्वर इति⁶॥७॥* पुस्ते—
- 8 नपास्तमतिरप्रतिमश्चरित्रे र्वैत्रिके किमपि यः कुशलो व(व)भूव । हस्त्यश्वपालनपरीक्षणकर्म—
शास्त्रे रत्नत्रयेप्यनुपमो घुरि धीमतां च⁷॥८॥* एका कला मूर्ध्नि शशा—
- 9 झूमौलेरिन्दोः कलाः पञ्चदश प्रसिद्धाः । श्रीभट्टसौमेश्वरदीक्षितस्य कल्याः⁸ कला⁹कीर्तयितुं
कृती कः¹⁰॥९॥* मेरुः सञ्चितकाञ्चनैकनिचयः पुण्यतुषारोत्करैरुद्भूतो[दुरजा]—
- 10 ड्य एव हिमवान्नीन्द्रो गिरिः स्फाटिकः । अधिप्रत्तसमस्तहेमनिवहः प्रेद्वैकवो(वो)धावधिः सौम्यो—
सावुपमीयते कथमिव क्षमाभृत्त्रयेणामुना¹¹॥१०॥* अपा[स्तकुं]कुमं ये—
- 11 न नवनीतमनीयत । वपुःप्रणयितां¹² यज्ञे वशिभिर्दुःकरं¹³ हि किं(किम्)¹⁴॥११॥*
अपास्तकाञ्चिर्घृत[मुंज]रज्जुर्गलद्गू(कू)लो वृतवूर¹⁵वासाः । अलोकिकत्वे[न विशे]पचार्यद्यो—
- 12 पितं पर्वणि वेप एषः¹⁶॥१२॥* अग्नीदग्नीन्विहर विधिवद्दुग्धि होमोपयुक्तामध्वर्यो गां
सुचमपि समं क्षालयाशु सुवेण । तप्तैर्वाभिर्भवतु [सवि*]धे गार्हपत्यस्य प—
- 13 [लीत्ये]¹⁷वं प्रोचुर्गृह्युकगणा यज्वनो यस्य सन्धौ¹⁸॥१३॥* अन्तर्व्वशिक वासमन्दिरमही
गन्धोदकैः क्षालयतां वारस्त्रीजन देहि भास्वरशि[खान्तन]¹⁹प्रदीपान्व(न्व)हन् ॥ (1) त्वं सै—
- 14 ¹⁹रिन्धि नि[धे]हि गन्धमखिलं राज्ञि त्वमप्यादृता वेपे स्या इति शारिकोदितमभूत्सायं यदन्तः—
पुरे²⁰॥१४॥* विश्वेपि विश्वजित्कोटिमगमन्सप्ततन्त्रव[ः] । सर्व्व*स्वं ददतस्तस्य श्रीम—
च्चेदीन्द्रम—
- 15 निवृणः²¹॥१५॥* [शस्तं] यद्यज्ञभूमौ रणशिरसि सदा शंसितं होतृसूतर्गीतं षड्जादिभेदैरति—
मधुरगिरोद्गातृभिर्गायकैश्च । अध्वर्युः [क*][म्म]वय्यः प्रचरति च करी दानसंसि—

¹ Metre: *Mālinī*.

² The engraver at first incised अचीकरत्कुत्र, but subsequently cancelled the first *ka* and *ra*.

³ The engraver first incised अविव्यध—, but subsequently struck out the stroke for the medial *i* of *viv*.

⁴ Metre: *Upēndravajrā*.

⁵ Metre: *Upajāti*.

⁶ This word is quite clear. Read काव्यसरणौ.

⁷ Metre: *Śikharīṇī*.

⁸ Metre: *Vasantatilakā*.

⁹ Originally कल्याः was engraved. Subsequently one vertical stroke was added inside *ya* to make it कल्याः.

¹⁰ Metre: *Indravajrā*.

¹¹ Metre: *Sārdūlavikrīḍita*.

¹² Read वपुःप्रणयितां.

¹³ Read —दुःकरं.

¹⁴ Metre: *Anuṣṭubh*.

¹⁵ The reading here is quite certain. Kielhorn doubtfully read वृ[?]तवू[?] रवासाः.

¹⁶ Metre: *Upajāti*.

¹⁷ These *akṣaras*, which were unimpaired in Kielhorn's time, have since been damaged.

¹⁸ Metre: *Mandākrāntā*.

¹⁹ This *akṣara* is quite certain.

²⁰ य, which was at first omitted, is written below the line. Metre: *Sārdūlavikrīḍita*.

²¹ Metre: *Anuṣṭubh*.

- 16 क्तहस्तस्तस्य [श्री]भट्टसोमेश्वरगुणगणने के वयं तुच्छवाचः¹ ॥[१६॥*] वातन्वमाधिरोहे²
भ्रश्यति दोलाभृति श्रमात्किञ्चित् । श्रीम[ल्ल]क्ष्मणराज स्कन्धमदाद्यस्य दोलायां(याम्)³ ॥
[१७॥*]
- 17 प्रासादोयमका[रि] तेन कृतिना देवस्य दैत्यद्रुहः श्रीमच्चेदिनरेन्द्रमन्त्रितिलकेनाच्छादिताशामुखः ।
यस्योर्ध्वः [पव]नाहतो ध्वजपटः प्रेङ्खन्वियद्गामिनां⁴ संज्ञां व्या-
18 घुटने करोत्यविरतं रुद्धाध्वनोतिध्रुवं(वम्)⁵ ॥[१८॥*] ऋजुरति व(व)हिरन्तरादधानः कुटि-
लतरत्वमघःकृतान्यकीर्तिः । पि[शुन*] इव समुद्धतो विभाति प्रकटविलङ्घितसर्व्वलोक एषः⁶
[१९॥*]
- 19 लक्ष्मीन्दधानोपि पु[रो] ददानो विमुक्तिमार्दशितविश्वरूपः । [क]क्षामगाहिष्यत दानवा-
रेरेषोप्यया - ७ ७⁷[वा]मनत्वं(त्वम्)⁸ ॥[२०॥*] अलमलमुखंशप्रान्तसंसक्तशुक्लांशुक-
घटितश-
- 20 रीरेणोच्छ्रितेन ध्वजे[न*] । कनकक⁹लशरोचिर्दण्डलग्नप्रवाहामरसरिदिह धत्ते केतुतामेव नित्यं-
(त्यम्)¹⁰ ॥[२१॥*] [उ]न्नतानां परिध्वङ्गो गुणाय महते यतः । अपि दुर्दृशो भानुभक्त्य-
21 त्र सुदर्शनः¹¹ ॥[२२॥*] ध्वजपटविकटान्तभ्रान्तिसर्पत्समीरे मिलदमरसरित्केवद्वयमस्योत्तमा-
[ङ्गे] । तरणिरननुभूतं यामयुग्माभिगम्ये निजरथतुरगाणां वातपृष्ठन्द-¹²
- 22 [दा]ति¹³ ॥[२३॥*] अस्योत्तुङ्गो[त्त]माङ्गानवरतगमनोदधृष्टिसीदद्रथाङ्गः प्रातः प्रातर्दिनेशो
घ[ट]यति युगलं चक्रयोर्व्वीतसंख्यं(स्यम्) । शङ्के कूटान्तरालस्थपुटनिपतनोत्था-
23 ७ - ७¹⁴ [द]ण्डः । सायं सायं जनानां¹⁵ कलयति नितरामक्षवर्गं समग्रं(ग्रम्)¹⁶ ॥[२४॥*]
नय[ति] रथममुञ्चेदक्षिणेनोत्तरेण स्यु¹⁷रति हि दिवसानां कुञ्चनप्राञ्चनानि । त-
- 24 ७ ७ ७ ७ ७ - [मे*]ख्यातेप्यभिज्ञो ध्रुवमनभिविलम्बं प्राप्य सीदत्यम[न्दं](न्दम्)¹⁸ ॥[२५॥*]
अलङ्घ्यशिखरश्रेणिलङ्घनव्यसनादिव । पातङ्गिरङ्घ्र[द्विघ्र]व्यापत्तिरसपात्रमभू-
- 25 ७ ७¹⁹ ॥[२६*] - - - ७ ७ - वराहचरणक्षोदादुदञ्चत्किणं पृष्ठं मे तव तत्क्षणो[द्वृ]तवि(वि)स-
प्राया शिरःसन्ततिः । मा गाङ्गङ्गमितोपसर्पं निदधे तत्तावदेततद्ध्रुवं कूर्मस्यापि व-
- 26 - ७ - ७ ७ ७ - - - ७ वाहे भवन्²⁰ ॥[२७॥*] किं व(व)हुना ॥ सर्व्वप्रासा[दरा]जोयं नियतं
प्रतिभाति नः । यदस्य केतुदण्डाग्रलग्नश्छत्रायते विधुः²¹ ॥[२८॥*] स्थेयादाकल्पमेतत्सु-

¹ Metre: *Sragdharā*.

² Kielhorn read वात स्वमाधिरोहे, but he admitted, that he did not understand its exact meaning.

³ Metre: *Aryā*.

⁴ Kielhorn proposed to change this into विद्यद्गामिनः, but this is unnecessary.

⁵ Metre: *Sārdūlavikrīḍita*.

⁶ Metre: *Pushpitāgrā*.

⁷ Read -प्ययास्पद्यदि.

⁸ Metre: *Upajāñ*.

⁹ The क of कलश, which was at first omitted, is written below the line.

¹⁰ Metre: *Mālinī*.

¹¹ Read सुदर्शनः, Metre: *Anuṣṭubh*.

¹² Kielhorn's suggestions to read -रननुभूतां and वातवृष्टि are unnecessary. See the translation below.

¹³ Metre: *Mālinī*.

¹⁴ The missing letters may be conjecturally supplied as -यनेनात्र.

¹⁵ This has not been altered to जनानां as Kielhorn thought.

¹⁶ Metre: *Sragdharā*.

¹⁷ This *akṣhara* is certainly not स्म. It resembles स्यु more than any other.

¹⁸ Metre: *Mālinī*.

¹⁹ Read -दिह, Metre: *Anuṣṭubh*.

²⁰ Metre: *Sārdūlavikrīḍita*.

²¹ Metre: *Anuṣṭubh*.

KARITALAI STONE INSCRIPTION OF LAKSHMANARAJA II.

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- 27 ००००००--०-- [र]मुष्य^१ व्र(त्र)ह्मण्डाधारमूर्त्नो [दृढ]तरजगतीनिश्चलीभावशङ्कोः ।
कल्पस्यावस्थिति स्तान्मुरिपुशरणं यावदेतच्चकास्तीत्येतच्चाशंसनं
- 28 -०००००००--०-- [क्र]रूपं(पम्)^२॥[२९॥*] न्यवीविश[त्युरे] चास्मिन्नष्टौ भट्टान्वसू-
निव । दीर्घशाखिकनामानमेभ्यो ग्राममदान्नृपः^३॥[३०॥*] श्रीमल्लक्ष्मणराजो ग्रामं देवा-
- 29[I].....[प्रा]दादस्मै ग्रहे भानोः^४॥[३१॥*] नृपानुमत्या भक्त्या च स्वीयया
तस्य राहडा । ग्रामं चक्रह्वदीमस्मै महादेवी व्यशिश्रणत्^५॥[३२॥*] श्रीशङ्ख-
- 30स्मै । देवाय दानशौण्डो ग्रहणे सोमस्य वैष्णवः परमः^६॥[३३॥*]
धवलहरासंव(व)द्धं^७ प्रायच्छच्छल्लिपाटकं ग्रामं(मम्) । भानोरन्तरपार्तं ग्रहणे देवा-
- 31^८॥[३४॥*] ००००००--०, ०० [ल]क्षेत्रकं ददौ । तत्समीपे वराहाय क्षेत्रं द्वादशखण्डि-
कं(कम्)^९॥[३५॥*] मालाद्वादशके ग्रामं शासनं वटगर्त्तिकां(काम्) । स्वकीय^{१०}शासने श्री-
मान्वल्ले-
- 32 ०००-०० [॥३६॥*] ००००००--०, ०००००० शासने^{११} । श्रीसोमस्वामिदेवाय खारीवाप-
मिहागतः ॥[३७॥*] पुरपत्तनयोः स्थानः शुक्लामेकादशीं ददौ । द्वादशोमपि यात्रायाः पो-
- 33 ००००-०० [॥३८॥*] ००००००--०, ०००००० कां तथा । नित्यमेकां घटीं गोण्यां षोडशी-
द्वितयं तथा ॥[३९॥*] कषायपञ्चके देशिर्द्वान्मध्ये न्यवेदयत् । साद्धद्वाविंशमंशं च बाह्यं पाद-
- 34 ०-०० [॥४०॥*] ००००--०, ००००००-०० । [वागू]लिकप्रधानश्च पण्णपञ्चाशत्
ददौ ॥[४१॥*] पण्णपञ्चाशदपरा दत्ता पायटिभिस्तया । खलभिक्षाश्चतस्रश्च मण्डलं सकलं
ददौ ॥[४२॥*]

TRANSLATION

(Verse 1) [Bali]¹² unwillingly gave land measuring three footsteps to Vāmana, the great recipient (*of the gift*); this (*Lakshmanarāja*) on the other hand, whose charity is witnessed by the people, has always (*and*) with gratification given numerous villages to (*members of*) the Brāhmaṇa caste, (*though*) not entreated (*by them*).

(V. 2) In the glorious lineage of the sage Bharadvāja was born, like a second Dharma, the illustrious Bhākamiśra who, modest by his virtues, was venerable to kings, (*and*) always rendered multitudes of supplicants happy.

(V. 3) On account of him¹³, oh, what a wonder! Bṛihaspati became confounded, the moon ugly, Budha unwise, Uśanas ignorant, and the oppressive planet (Saturn?) incapable of overtaking (*the people*).

(V. 4) With its body oppressed by the very excessive and intense heat of the fires of his endless sacrifices, the earth was borne with great difficulty by the quarter-

¹ Kielhorn read [रमुष्य], but the reading given above is quite certain.

² Metre: *Sragdharā*.

³ Metre: *Anuṣṭubh*.

⁴ Metre: *Āryā*.

⁵ Metre: *Anuṣṭubh*.

⁶ Metre: *Udgītī*.

⁷ Perhaps धवलहर is meant, but it would not suit the metre.

⁸ Metre: *Āryā*.

⁹ Metre of vv. 34-42: *Anuṣṭubh*.

¹⁰ Kielhorn read स्वकीये, but there is no sign of any *mātrā* on व.

¹¹ This word is quite clear on the original stone. Kielhorn, however, read [पले:].

¹² The few legible words in l. 1 do not admit of a coherent meaning. They seem to refer to Lakshmanarāja's army encamped on the bank of the Tāmraparṇī.

¹³ In the original, verses 3-6 contain relative clauses, having for their correlative *śrī Bhākamiśraḥ* in verse 2.

elephants, Sessa, the lord of serpents and the Tortoise, who lost their patience on account of the pain they (*had to*) bear.

And he—

(V. 5) Where did he not cause temples to be constructed, tanks to be excavated, wells with steps and those without them to be dug, and gardens of mango trees to be planted?

(V. 6) Having obtained him, eminent by noble descent,¹ as his Prime Minister, the illustrious Yuvarājadēva (I) attained prosperity free from all deficiency, just as the sun being united with the eastern mountain—which, being a principal mountain, appears beautiful,—attains high altitude, completely dispelling the night.

(V. 7) His son was that Sōmēśvara, well-known here, who felt no doubt in (*interpreting*) the Vēdas; who was a complete master of grammar; who was (*an*) inconceivable (*adept*) even in logic; who had a superior intellect in the interpretation of Tantra (*works*); who was the foremost in Vēdānta, (*and*) clever in remembering poetic compositions.

(V. 8) His intellect did not discard painting;² he was incomparable in conduct and quite skilful in triple symphony; he was matchless in the sciences of the care and examination of elephants and horses and in (*the testing of*) the three (*kinds*) of jewels (*and*) was at the head of the intelligent.

(V. 9) There is only one *kalā* (*i.e.*, digit of the moon) on the head of Siva; the *kalās* of the moon are well-known to be fifteen (*in number*); (*but*) who is able to enumerate the pleasing *kalās* (*arts*) of the illustrious Bhaṭṭa, the *Dīkshita* Sōmēśvara?

(V. 10) (*The mountain*) Mēru is one mass of hoarded gold; the Himālaya has become extremely frigid by its increasing heaps of snow; the mountain of crystal (*i.e.*, Kailāsa) appears dreadful.³ How can he (*i.e.*, Sōmēśvara) who has bestowed on supplicants his entire store of gold, who has reached the limit of highest knowledge (*and*) who is gentle (*by nature*), be compared to this triad of mountains?

(V. 11) In the sacrifice, he smeared his body with butter, discarding saffron;⁴ for, what is difficult to be accomplished by the self-controlled?

(V. 12) Of his wives this was the dress on (*the days of*) *Parvan*, specially charming, being uncommon,—in which the girdle was set aside (*and*) a rope of *muñja*⁵ was worn (*instead*), the silken garment dropped down (*from their bodies*), (*and*) the linen cloth was chosen (*in its place*)⁶.

(V. 13) The multitudes of the house-parrots of him, the sacrificer, said thus at (*each*) twilight:—‘O Agnidh⁷! kindle the fires according to prescribed rules. O Adhvaryu!

¹ There is a play on the words *unnati*, *dāśha* (or *dāśhā*) and *kula-gūtra*, in consequence of which the expressions in which they occur can be understood in connection with both Yuvarājadēva I and the sun.

² Monier-Williams in his *Sanskrit Dictionary* gives *pusta* in the sense of painting. It can also be taken in the sense of a book or a record. Compare *pustapāla* which occurs in several Gupta records in the sense of a record-keeper, see, *e.g.*, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXI, p. 81.

³ There are puns on the words *jādyā* and *raudra*, which besides the meanings given above convey those of ‘dullness’ and ‘belonging to Rudra’ respectively.

⁴ In the initiatory rite (*dīkshāñy-ñishī*) of the Agnishtōma sacrifice, the sacrificer is required to anoint himself with butter. See *Baudhāyana Śrauta Sūtra* (ed. by Caland), p. 157.

⁵ In an *ñishī*, the wife of the sacrificer ties round her waist a threefold girdle of *kula*, called *yōkētra*.

⁶ The meaning of *vāra* is uncertain, but the context shows that some coarse garment (as contrasted with *dukūla*, a silken raiment) is meant. On the occasion of *agnyādāna*, the sacrificer and his wife are required to dress themselves in garments of linen (*kṣhanma*) which may be meant here.

⁷ The priest who kindles fire in a sacrifice.

milk the cow (*which is*) useful for the sacrifice, and wash quickly the *sruch* together with the *srwa*.¹ Let the wife (*of the sacrificer*) attend the Gārhapatya fire with hot water'.

(V. 14) In his harem, this was said by the *sārikā* (*every*) evening:—'O Superintendent of the harem! let the floor of the residential mansion be washed with scented water. Courtezans! give (*me*) numerous jewelled lights with bright flames. O maid-servant! keep ready all (*the*) scents. O Queen! You also mind (*your*) dress!'

(V. 15) All the sacrifices of the illustrious minister of the lord of Chēdi, who gave away (*in charity*) all his wealth, reached the standard of the *Vishvajit* sacrifice.²

(V. 16) How insignificant are we of worthless speech in enumerating the merits of that illustrious Bhaṭṭa Sōmēśvara,—at the place of whose sacrifices and in the fore-front of whose battles, hymns and eulogies are recited by the Hōtri priests and bards (*respectively*); (*sāmans and panegyrics*) are sung in *shadja* and other notes and in an extremely sweet voice by the Udgātri priests³ and musicians (*respectively*); (*and*) there moves about (*respectively*) the Adhvaryu priest, foremost in sacrificial work, whose hand is wet with (*the water poured in making*) gifts, and the elephant whose trunk is wet with rutting juice!

(V. 17) To his palanquin the illustrious Lakshmanarāja (II) put his shoulder, when the bearer of it ascending to airy place⁴ was stumbling a little on account of the fatigue of carrying it.

(V. 18) This temple of the god (Vishṇu) the enemy of demons, which has covered the faces of (*all*) quarters, has been constructed by that virtuous and foremost minister of the illustrious lord of Chēdi,—(*the temple*) whose banner-cloth, which is incessantly fluttering, being struck by wind, is most assuredly making a sign to such as go through the sky to turn back (*from the temple*) which has blocked their path.

(V. 19) This high temple which appears very straight outside, but is very curved inside, which has surpassed (*in height*) the temples of others, (*and*) which has manifestly risen above the whole world, appears like an insolent calumniator who shows himself very straight-forward outwardly, (*but*) is crooked at heart, who has disparaged others' fame, and openly insulted all people.⁵

(V. 20) This temple also, which, though possessing splendour, confers liberation, showing all forms (*by its sculptures*) in front would have borne resemblance to (Vishṇu) the enemy of gods (*who, though he deprived Bali of his fortune, conferred liberation, showing him his all-embracing form*), if (*only, like the latter*), it had been small (*in size*)⁶.

(V. 21) On account of the upraised flag (*of this temple*) made of a white (*piece of*) cloth attached to the (*upper*) end of an extremely high staff, the heavenly river, with its stream flowing along the staff which looks splendid with the golden jar (*on the spire of the temple*), appears always to assume the very form of a banner.

(V. 22) Association with the exalted leads to great excellence; for even the dazzling sun can be easily looked at from here.⁷

(V. 23) On the top of this temple which can be reached (*by the sun*) after a pair of watches (*i.e.*, six hours), where there is a (*cool*) breeze produced by the flapping of the

¹ *Sruch* means a sacrificial ladle in general, while *srwa* is a sacrificial ladle of *khadira* (*Acacia Catechu*), measuring a cubit (*aratni*) in length.

² Because he gave away all his wealth in each sacrifice.

³ The priests who sing the hymns of the *Sāmaveda*.

⁴ *Vātandhama*, an airy place, is mentioned in the *Kāśikā* on Pāṇini, III, 2, 30.

⁵ There are puns on several words here, on account of which they can be construed with the temple and the calumniator.

⁶ Vishṇu was *vāmana* (dwarfish).

⁷ For it is connected with the *high* temple.

large hem of the banner-cloth (*and*) where the heavenly river meets, the sun invariably gives a currying to his horses (*such as they had*) not enjoyed before (*at that time of the day*).

(V. 24) Morning after morning the sun, the wheels of whose (*chariot*) break down, colliding against the high spire of this temple during his incessant roaming (*through the sky*), repairs both of them innumerable times. I fancy that every evening the banner-staff (*of this temple*) completely counts to the people all the axles¹ (*that had broken*) owing to (*the sun's chariot*) jolting in the cavity of the sky (*caused*) by the peak (*of this temple*).

(V. 25) If he (*i.e.*, the sun's charioteer) were to take the chariot by the south or the north of this (*temple*), there would be the (*untimely*) shortening and lengthening of the days;² (So) expert as he is in crossing even the Mēru mountain, he is not a little confounded when he reaches this (*temple*) which is firm (*and*) impossible to be crossed.

(V. 26) The son of the sun (*i.e.*, Saturn) suffered (*here*) the pain caused by the injury to his legs³ as if because of his inordinate fondness for crossing the impassable row of the spires (*of this temple*).

(V. 27) 'My⁴ back is becoming scarred, being trampled under the feet of the Boar! Let not the row of your hoods, which is (*soft*) almost like lotus-stalks just drawn (*out of water*), break (*under my weight*)! Turn aside. Let me place this (*my body*) on (*the back of*) the Tortoise!'

What is the use of saying more?

(V. 28) This certainly appears to us to be the best of all temples, since the moon (*when*) joined to the top of its flag staff, appears like an umbrella.

(V. 29) May this of this (*temple*), the top of which supports the egg of Brahman, and which is the peg that renders the earth immovable, last as long as the world! (*And*) may the world endure as long as this temple of (*Vishnu*), the enemy of Mura, will shine Such is (*our*) wish!

(V. 30) The king made eight Brāhmaṇas, resembling (*as many*) Vasus, settle in this city (*and*) gave them a village named **Dīrghaśākhika**.

(V. 31) The illustrious Lakshmaṇarāja (II) gave the village to this god on (*the occasion of*) an eclipse of the sun.

(V. 32) His great Queen Rāhaḍā, with her devotion and the king's consent, gave this (*god*) the village Chakrahraḍī.

(V. 33) The illustrious Śaṅka[raṇa] (III) the devout worshipper of Vishṇu, skilled in charity, gave on (*the occasion of*) an eclipse of the moon.

(V. 34) (*He*) gave the village Chhallipāṭaka, which is situated in the āhāra⁵ of Dhavala and Antarapāṭa on (*the occasion of*) an eclipse of the sun.

(V. 35) (*He*) gave the (*divine*) Boar the field and also another yielding (*a crop of*) twelve khaṇḍis.

(V. 36) The illustrious Vallē[śvara] gave as a grant,⁶ the village Vaṭagartikā (*situated*) in the Mālā (*group*) of twelve (*villages*) in his own territory.

¹ The stars are probably intended to be referred to as 'axles'. The staff as it points to different stars during the night is said to count them to the people.

² For these are caused by the *dakṣiṇāyana* and the *uttarāyana* of the sun.

³ Hence he is called *Śanaiṣhora* (one who walks slowly).

⁴ This is evidently said by the Earth to the serpent Śeṣha. The temple was dedicated to the Boar-incarnation of Vishṇu. Hence the Earth says that her back bears the scars of the wounds caused by His hoofs.

⁵ See above, p. 191, n. 7.

⁶ *Śāsana* is used here in the sense of 'a village granted by a charter'. Compare *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, p. 76.

(V. 37) (He) . . . who had come here, gave a field, sown with a *khārī*¹ of grain, in his own territory, to the god, the holy Sōmasvāmin.

(V. 38) The Superintendent² of the city and the town gave (to the god) (the income?) on the eleventh day of the bright fortnight and also on the twelfth day during the fair (of the god)

(V. 39) (He) . . . always gave a jar (of corn³) for every *gōṇī*,⁴ and also a couple of *shōḍaśīs*⁵ (i.e., *karsha*).

(V. 40) The Dēśī⁶ offered one and a half times the one-twentysecond portion of the five spirituous liquors and a quarter of the goods carried (into the town?) among (these) donations.

(V. 41) And the Chief of the Vāgūlikas⁷ gave (a bundle of) fifty leaves.⁸

(V. 42) The Pāyātis gave another (bundle of) fifty leaves. And the whole Maṇḍala gave the alms at four threshing floors.⁹

NO. 43; PLATE XXXIII

BARGAON STONE INSCRIPTION OF ŚABARA

THIS inscription is incised on a broken stone slab which is still lying amidst the ruins of a temple to the north of Bargaon, a village situated at a distance of twenty-seven miles north by west of Murwārā, the chief town of the Murwārā *tahsil* of the Jabalpur District, in Madhya Pradesh. The inscription does not seem to have been noticed by General Cunningham who visited Bargaon twice, during 1883-84 and 1884-85, and has given a fairly detailed description of the temples and mentioned three other records found there in his *Archaeological Survey of India Reports*, Vol. XXI, Part I, p. 101 and Part II, pp. 163-64. The present inscription was briefly noticed for the first time by Rai Bahadur Hiralal in his *Inscriptions in the Central Provinces and Berar*¹⁰ and was edited by me in the *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXV, pp. 278 ff. It is edited here from good estampages supplied by the Superintendent of the Archaeological Survey, Central Circle, Patna.

The inscription is fragmentary. Nothing has of course been lost at the top, the bottom and the proper right side. But an indefinite number of letters has disappeared on the left side owing to the breaking away of the stone. The extant portion of the record is in a state of good preservation. It consists of five lines, of which the last, which begins at a distance of 2' from the proper right end, contains only three *aksharas*. The average

¹ A *khārī* is a measure equal to sixteen *drōṇas*.

² *Sībāna* seems to be used here in the sense of the *sthān-ādhipati* or *sthāna-pati*. Cf. No. 88, l. 15.

³ *Ghaṇī* as a measure is mentioned in the *vārttika* on Pāṇini, III. 2.30. If it is the same as *kumbha*, it would be equal to twenty *drōṇas*.

⁴ A *gōṇī* is a measure equal to four *khārīs* (Colebrooke's *Miscellaneous Essays*, Vol. I, p. 537).

⁵ Monier-Williams in his *Sanskrit Dictionary* gives *shōḍaśikā*, meaning 'sixteen *māśas*', that is, equal to one *karsha*. Or, on the analogy of *viṃśāpaka* it may have been so called, because it was equivalent to one sixteenth of a *dramma*.

⁶ *Dēśī*, which occurs as *Dīśī* in the Peheṇā inscription (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, p. 187), means probably the foreman of a guild, or the guild itself. See the Harsha stone inscription (*ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 124) and the Nāḍīlāi stone inscription, (*ibid.*, Vol. XI, p. 43).

⁷ The lexicons give *vāgūli* in the sense of a kind of plant, perhaps the betel-plant. *Vāgūlika* used here may in that case denote 'a seller of betel-leaves'.

⁸ The Rajor inscription of Mathanadēva also mentions the tax of fifty leaves on every *chōllikā* (of leaves), brought from outside the town, see *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. III, p. 267.

⁹ See below, p. 198, n. 1.

¹⁰ First edition, (1916), pp. 39-40; second edition (1932), p. 43.

size of the letters is 1.5." The characters belong to the Nāgarī alphabet. As regards individual letters, we may note that *kh* consists of two triangles joined by a horizontal line at the top; *th* shows a vertical stroke on the right; *r* exhibits two forms,—one with a loop as in *kṛtdarānī*, l. 3 and the other without it in *-Savara-*, l. 1. Rai Bahadur Hiralal conjecturally referred the characters of this inscription to the 8th or 9th century A.C., but they appear to be somewhat later and may be of the 10th century A.C.

The language is Sanskrit. The record is written in prose throughout. It is written incorrectly and contains some mistakes of *sandhi* (as in *atō arthē* for *atō-rthē* in l. 4) and of gender (as in *śapath-ēdam* for *śapathō-yam* in the same line.) The only orthographical peculiarity that calls for notice is that *b* is throughout denoted by the sign for *v*, see *-Savara-* and *-Valādhikṛita*, both in l. 1, and *-vrahma-stamba-* in l. 2.

The record opens with *ōm namah* and refers to a Commander of the army (*Balādhikṛita*) of Śabara. His name, which is partly mutilated, appears to be Śiva. The object of the inscription seems to be to record the gift of a cess on the threshing floor together with a granary to some ascetic residing at the temple in the settlement of Brāhmaṇas for the benefit of (the god) Śaṅkaranārāyaṇa, to whose temple the inscribed stone was apparently affixed. The record ends with the imprecation that whoever would offend against it would incur the sin of the slaughter of a Brāhmaṇa.

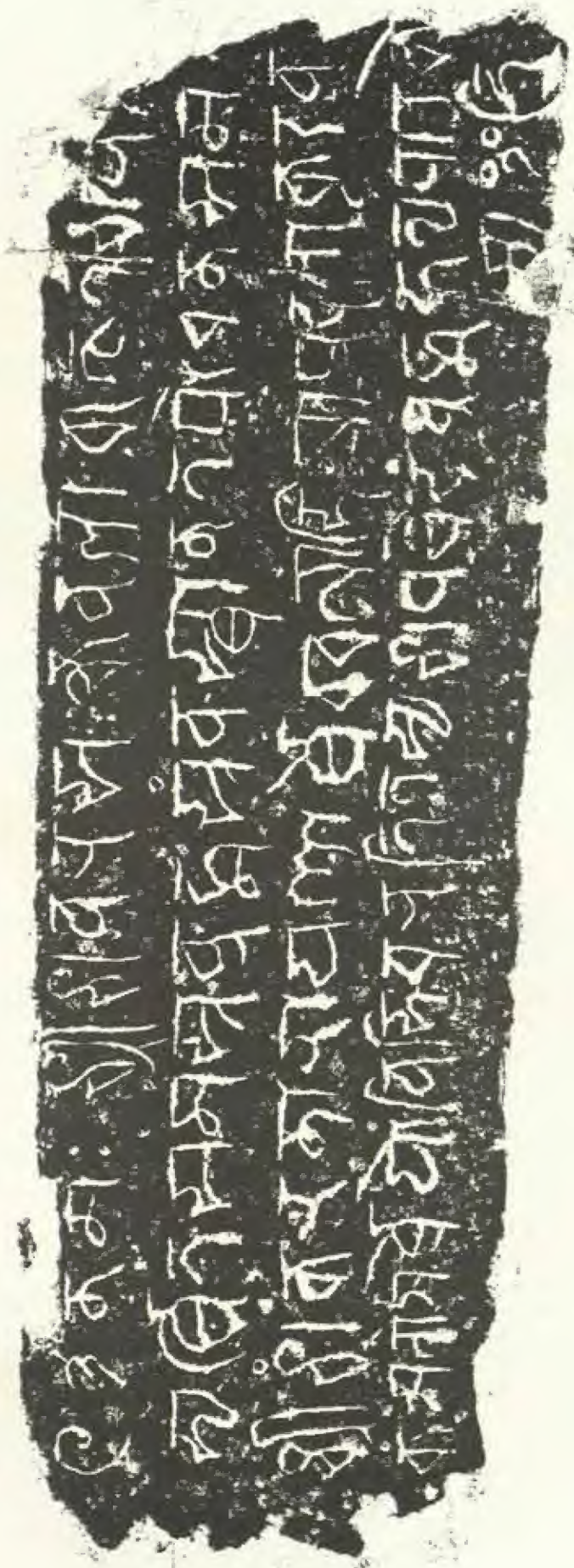
The preserved portion of the inscription contains no date, but as stated above, it can, on palaeographic evidence, be referred to the 10th century A.C. The illustrious Śabara mentioned here is perhaps identical with the Śabara, named Śimha, mentioned in the fragmentary stone inscription found at Bhilsā, to which Dr. F.E. Hall has called attention in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. XXXI, p. 111, n. 2. The latter inscription states that Vāchaspati of the Kaundinya *gōtra*, who was a minister of the king Kṛishṇa, after defeating the lord of Chēdi and slaying a Śabara named Śimha, placed the king of the Rālā *maṇḍala* and Rōdapādi on the throne and repaired to the temple of Bhāillasvāmin at Vidiśā near Bhilsā, where he composed a *stōtra* in praise of the god.¹ From the mention of the lord of Chēdi and the Śabara chief Śimha together in the same line, Dr. Hall conjectured that the latter was the Chēdian generalissimo. The Śabara of the present inscription too was no doubt subject to the contemporary Chēdi or Kalachuri king; for a much defaced inscription at Bargaon, to which General Cunningham² has drawn attention, refers to a Kalachuri king or kings. But as the present inscription mentions a commander of the forces of this Śabara himself, it seems that he was a feudatory chief and not a mere generalissimo of the Chēdi king. This fragmentary inscription at Bhilsā is also undated, but the date of the king Kṛishṇa, whose minister was Vāchaspati, can be approximately fixed on other evidence. At Maser, a village about twenty-five miles north of Bhilsā, Mr. M. B. Garde, Director of Archaeology, Gwalior State, discovered in 1930 a fragmentary inscription in two pieces. It mentions one Narasiṃha of the Sulki (or Chālukya) family, who at the command of Kṛishṇarāja initiated the wives of Kalachuri kings into widowhood.³ As Kēsari, the son of Narasiṃha was, according to the inscription, appointed *Tantrādhipa* (Minister of Home Affairs) by Vākpati-Muñja (*circa* 972-995 A.C.), Kṛishṇarāja can be placed about 950 A.C. This conclusion is corroborated by the date V. 1039 (982 A.C.) of a pilgrim record which Mr. Garde discovered on a pillar

¹ See 'Chēd-īsam samarā vijitya Śabarānī sambritya śimbūbhayānā ṽ Rālā-maṇḍala-Rōdapādya-avonipō (paṇi) bhūmyānī pratishṭhāpya cha ṽ Dēvān drashṭum-śib-āgatō rachitavān(ā) stōtram pavitram parān ṽ Jṛmat-Kṛishṇa-nṛp-aika-mantri-pada-bhāḥ-Kaundinya-Vāchaspatiḥ ṽ cited by P. E. Hall in *J. A. S. B.*, Vol. XXXI, p. 111, n. 2.

² *C. A. S. I. R.*, Vol. XXI, pp. 101 and 165.

³ *A. R. A. D. G. S.*, (1930-31), p. 10.

BARGAON TEMPLE INSCRIPTION OF SABARA



of a dilapidated medieval temple at Gyāraspur.¹ This record states the name of the god installed in the temple as *Kṛishṇēśvara*. The god was evidently so named after a king named Kṛishṇa who consequently must have flourished before 982 A. C. There is another piece of evidence which corroborates the aforementioned date for Kṛishṇa. This Kṛishṇa is probably identical with Kṛishṇapa of the Chandēlla family, a son of Yaśōvarman, mentioned in four out of six stone inscriptions² at Dudahi, in the Lalitpur District, about 75 miles north by east of Bhilsā. According to both General Cunningham and Dr. Kielhorn this Yaśōvarman is the well-known Chandēlla king of that name, the father of Dhaṅga, for whom we have dates ranging from 954 A.C. to 1002 A.C. Kṛishṇapa may, therefore, be referred to the period 960-85 A.C. From the Khajurāho inscription of Dhaṅga dated V. 1011 we learn that the Chandēlla kingdom in the beginning of his reign extended to Bhāsvat or Bhilsā in the south.³ It seems, therefore, that Dhaṅga placed his brother Kṛishṇapa in charge of the south-western portion of the Chandēlla kingdom extending at least from Dudahi in the north to Bhilsā in the south.

If the identification of the illustrious Sabara of the present inscription with the Sabara chief slain by Kṛishṇarāja's minister is accepted, the Sabara chief can be referred to the third quarter of the 10th century A.C. The Kalachuri suzerain, to whom he owed allegiance, was probably Śaṅkaragaṇa. The name of the god Śaṅkaranārāyaṇa appears somewhat curious. It seems to suggest that the temple was dedicated to Nārāyaṇa installed by Śaṅkara,⁴ who is probably identical with the Kalachuri prince of that name mentioned in the Kāritālāi stone inscription⁵ of Lakshmaṇarāja II. It is noteworthy in this connection that he is called *parama-vaishṇava* or a devout worshipper of Viṣṇu in that record.

TEXT⁶

- 1 सिद्धिः⁷ [॥*] ओं नमः श्रीशिव(व)रसत्कव(व)लाधीकृत⁸[शिव]...
- 2 भव्यत⁹समस्तव(व)ह्यस्तव(व)स्वानतपोधनसम.
- 3 श्रीशंकरनारायणार्थे खला(ल)भिषा(क्षा) प्रदत्ता कुदरं¹⁰...
- 4 कं अतो अर्थे¹¹ यो वि(व्य)भिचरति तस्य शपथेदं¹² व(व)ह्यह-
त्य(त्या)पातके¹³
- 5 म्य इति¹⁴ [॥*]

¹ I owe this information to the kindness of Mr. Garde.

² These inscriptions were discovered by Cunningham see his *A. S. I. R.*, Vol. X, pp. 94 and 95, plate XXXII. They were edited by Kielhorn in *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 236-37.

³ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. 1, p. 129.

⁴ For an analogous case, see the name *Indranārāyaṇa* of the image in the temple erected by the Rāshtrakūṭa Emperor Indra III at Bodana in the Hyderabad State, *H. A. S.*, No. I, p. 2.

⁵ Above, No 42, line 29.

⁶ From ink impressions.

⁷ Expressed by a symbol.

⁸ Read -चिह्नित-.

⁹ Read अभ्यधित-.

¹⁰ Perhaps some word like *cha* is lost after कुदरं.

¹¹ Read अतोर्थे, used in the sense of अस्मिन्नर्थे.

¹² Read शपथोप.

¹³ Read -पातकेन संयुक्तो भविष्यति ।

¹⁴ Read -स्येति.

TRANSLATION

Success! Ōm! Adoration! [Siva], the *Balādhikṛita* of the illustrious Śabara has given the cess at the threshing floor¹ and a granary for the holy Śaṅkaranārāyaṇa to the ascetic residing in the temple (*which is the only one*) in the entire settlement of the Brāhmaṇas² venerated by

(Line 4) Whoever will deviate from this, for him is this (*our*) imprecation that he shall incur the sin of killing a Brāhmaṇa

No. 44; PLATE XXXIV

CHANDREHE STONE INSCRIPTION OF PRABODHASIVA : (KALACHURI) YEAR 724

THIS inscription was discovered by Mr. Beglar³, one of the Assistants of Sir A. Cunningham at Chandrēhi or Chandrēhē⁴ (long. 81° 32' E. and lat. 24° 18' N.), a small village about a mile from the right bank of the Sōṇa close to its confluence with the Banās, in the District of Rewa, in Vindhya Pradesh. The record was first noticed by Dr. Kielhorn in the *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XX, p. 85, and again in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. I, p. 354, n. 1. A transcript of its text, together with a translation, was given by Mr. R. D. Banerji in his *Haihayas of Tripurī and their Monuments* (Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India, No. 23), pp. 110 ff. The same scholar subsequently edited it, with a lithograph and a translation, in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XXI, pp. 148 ff. It is edited here from excellent estampages kindly supplied by the Government Epigraphist for India.

The record is incised on two slabs of stone 'which are let into the back-wall of the front verandah of the monastery, one on each side of the main door The inscribed surface is a sunken panel with a plain border, which is, on the whole, in a very good state of preservation.'⁵ The record consists of twenty-seven lines, of which fourteen are inscribed on the first stone (marked A, below) and thirteen on the second (marked B). The average size of the letters is 1". The characters are of the Nāgarī alphabet and show some development over those of the Kāṛitalāi inscription of Lakshmaṇarāja II.⁶ *Kh* and *g*, for instance, show an acute-angled triangle in their left limb; *dh*, on the other hand, shows no development in its left limb, but closely resembles *v*, except that it has no line at the top; two forms of *k* are used, one generally in ligatures, see *-kvaṇaḍ-*, l. 5, *kshaṇam*, l. 13, and the other elsewhere; *th* has a vertical on the right; *ph* exhibits two forms; for the first, which is developed from the old type, see *phaṇi-*, l. 1, *-phaṇ-īśvara-*, l. 4 and *-dvirēpha-*, l. 20, and for the second, which survives in the later Nāgarī, see *sphāri-*,

¹ *Khala-bhikṣā*, lit. 'alms at a threshing floor', was probably a tax in kind which was paid to the state when the corn was threshed. The right to receive the contribution seems to have been transferred to the donee. Whether the cess at one or all the threshing floors in the particular locality was conferred on the donee, the record does not make clear. The Kāṛitalāi stone inscription (above, No. 42) refers in line 34 to the donation of four *khala-bhikṣās*.

² *Brahma-stambha* occurs in verse 14 of the Khairha and Jabalpur plates of Yaśaḥkarṇa, Nos. 56 and 57 below, but there too the correct expression evidently is *brahma-stamba* meaning 'a settlement of Brāhmaṇas'.

³ *C. A. S. I. R.*, Vols. XIII, pp. 6 ff. and XIX, pp. 90 ff.

⁴ The place is called Chandrē in the Degree Map No. 63 H.

⁵ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXI, p. 148.

⁶ No. 42, above.

1.2 and *-phaṇam*, 1.4; the left limb of *ś* is joined to the vertical on the right, see *Sivāya* 1.1; the right-hand stroke for the medial *ā* and *ō* occasionally appears crescent-shaped, see *vidyuch-chhaṇkāṇi*, 1.20; the medial *ē* and one of the components of *ai*, *ō* and *au* are in some cases formed by lengthening the top stroke to the left to end in a small curve, while in others they are shown by a fully developed *prishṭha-mātrā*, see, e.g., *-bhāvē*, 1.16, and *vairam*, 1.21.

The language is Sanskrit. With the exception of the customary obeisance to Siva in the beginning and certain names and the date at the end, the whole record is metrically composed. There are twenty verses in all. The record is, on the whole, carefully composed and incised, such mistakes as *dadān-* for *dadad-*, 1.13 and *charaṇiṇ-jagati* in 1.16 being rare. As regards orthography, we note that the sign for *v* is used to denote *b* throughout, see, e.g., *-vrahmāṇḍa-*, 1.4; *n* is used for *anuvāsa* in *hansa-*, 1.2, and *-dhvansa-*, 1.18, and the dental *ś* for the palatal *ṣ* in *saśvad-*, 1.12.

After the introductory *ōṃ namaḥ Sivāya*, the record has three verses which describe Siva and his *tāṇḍava* dance and invoke his blessings. Then comes the spiritual genealogy of the Śaiva ascetic **Prabōdhaśiva** who put up the record. In the spiritual succession of the **Mattamayūra** (clan) there was **Purandara**, the preceptor of kings. His disciple was **Śikhāśiva**, who is later on referred to as the lord of **Madhumatī**. His disciple was **Prabhāvaśiva**, who was invited to accept some land by **Yuvarājadēva**. He was followed by **Praśāntaśiva**, who built a hermitage at the foot of the **Bhramara** hill at the confluence of the **Śōṇa**. His disciple was **Prabōdhaśiva** who is said to have practised penance even in his boyhood and constructed roads through mountains and across rivers and streams. He constructed the monastery, where the inscription was put up, close by the temple erected by his preceptor **Praśāntaśiva**, excavated a tank by the side of the hill and dug a well near the monastery. He also repaired and further excavated the well, dug by his preceptor, which had become dilapidated and full of wood in course of time. The *prasaśti* was composed by the poet **Dhāmsaṭa**, the son of **Jēika** and **Amarikā** and grandson of the *Dīkṣita* **Mēhuka**. It was written by **Dāmōdara**, the son of **Lakṣmīdhara** and younger brother of **Vāsudēva**, and incised by **Nīlakaṇṭha** by the command of the *Sūtradhāra* **Sūrāka**.

The date of the inscription¹ is given in the last line as **Samvat 724, Phālguna śudī 5**. Both the year and the *tithi* are expressed in numerical figures only. The palaeography of the inscription clearly indicates that the date must be referred to the Kalachuri era. It corresponds, for the expired Kalachuri year 724, to Monday, the 10th February, 973 A.C. It does not admit of verification.

The present inscription refers to a temple built by **Praśāntaśiva** which was close to the monastery erected by **Prabōdhaśiva**. The former is, therefore, as Mr. R.D. Banerji has shown,² the temple of Siva, which is still standing within a few yards of the entrance to the monastery at **Chandrēhē**. The *āśrama* at the foot of the **Bhramara** hill, which is now in ruins is still called **Bhramarsēn**.

¹ The date was first read by Beglar as *Samvat 324, Phālguna-śudī 6*. He, however, changed the year to *Samvat 1324*, see *C. A. S. I. R.*, Vol. XIII, p. 8. Kielhorn gave the correct reading of the date for the first time and referred it to the Kalachuri era in the *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XX, p. 83 and *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, p. 354. Banerji, however, gave the *tithi* as 6 in his transcript of the text published in the *Flaibayas of Tripuri etc.*, Appendix C, p. 119, but it appears as 5 in his article on the inscription published posthumously in the *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXI, p. 149. For a similar figure denoting 5, see above, p. 181.

² *P. R. A. S., W. C.*, (1921), p. 53; *H. T. M.*, pp. 32 ff.

TEXT¹

A

- 1 ओं नमः शिवाय ॥ फणिश्वासश्यामे स्वनदमरनद्यम्भसि च यज्जटाजूटाम्भोदे नयनशिखिविद्यु-
द्विलसति । तथा चूडाचन्द्रद्युति-
- 2 निकरधारेव ककुभं कपालानां माला तुलयति स शर्वो विजयते² ॥ [१॥*] हस्त³श्येनी हसित-
महसां संहतिश्शङ्करस्य स्फारीभूता वदनमभितो
- 3 नाग[च]म्मावृतस्य । कि[ञ्च]त्कण्ठच्छविकलुषिता मेघनियन्मृगा[ङ्कच्छा]यां स्वच्छां सपदि
दधती सम्पदं वो ददातु⁴ ॥ [२॥*] चारीसंचरणप्रवीणचरणव्या-
- 4 पारणाधूर्णिगतक्षोणीकुण्डनमत्फणीश्वरफणं विद्राणदिश्वारणं(णम्) । दोहण्डभ्रमणादकाण्डचलित-
व(व)हाण्डखण्डं मुदे भूयादो निवि(वि)ड-
- 5 क्वणड्डमरुतं चण्डीपतेस्ताण्डवम्⁵ ॥ [३॥*] श्रीमन्मत्तमधूरसन्ततिरियं गंगेव लोकत्रयं पूया-
[द्य]त्र पुरन्दरः कृततपा जज्ञे गुरुभूभुजाम् । शिष्यस्त-
- 6 स्य शिखाशिवः शिखिसमो वि(वि)भ्रतपस्तेजसा दीपत्वं विनिपाति[ता]न्वतमसो निर्व्वर्णमार्गे
[स्थि]तः ॥ [४॥*] ततो मधुमतीपतेः कृतमहातप-
- 7 स्सञ्चयः प्रभावशिव इत्यभूत्सकलशैवचूडामणिः । अनेकनृपवन्दि[त]ः स युवराजदेवेन [य]स्त-
पोधनपतिः कृतश्चरणपूतगोलनिकः⁶ ॥ [५॥*]
- 8 प्रशान्तशिवचन्द्रमास्तदनु तस्य शिष्योभवत्तमःप्रमथनोद्यमप्रकटितस्वरूपः शुचिः । व(व)भार गु-
णिषु श्रियं कुमुदकल्पशैवेषु यः समुज्ज्व(ज्ज्व)ल-
- 9 यशःप्रभाववलिताखिलाशामुखः ॥ [६॥*] स शोणनदसङ्गमे भ्रमरशैलमूलेतुलं प्रियालवनसंकुले
फलमृणालकन्दाशनः । चका-
- 10 र विदितं जनैर्मुनिसखः प्रशान्ताश्रमं स्वपादपदपङ्क्तिभिः पवितभूतलो यः कृती ॥ [७॥*] देवो-
द्यानगतेन्द्रसंसदि मुदा गन्धर्व्वविद्याधरै-
- 11 रानन्दाय च धूज्जटेः श्लथयता वाद्यादरं नन्दिना । लीलालोलितमौलिना करगलद्वत्गेन
यस्योच्चकैर्भास्वत्सारथिना तथा
- 12 प्रतितपः स(श)श्वद्यशो गीयते⁷ ॥ [८॥*] प्रवो(वो)धशिव इत्यभूत्सकलशिष्यवर्गग्राहिणीः स
तस्य मदनद्विषः परशुरामनामा यथा । यशःखचित-
- 13 दिङ्मुखो गुणिजनाय वित्तं दद[नृ]⁸णीकृतवसुन्धरो विजितशत्रुवर्गश्च यः⁹ ॥ [९॥*] उद-
ग्रशिखितर्पणप्रगुणितैकपाणिः क्षणं कुमार
- 14 इव सर्व्वदा परिहृताङ्ग[ना]संगमः । समुन्नतमहीभृति प्रकटि[ता]त्मशचितक्र[मो] मनोभव-
रिपुप्रियो विहितदेवकार्यश्च यः ॥ [१०॥*]

B

- 15 विचार्यं निखिलागमान्विधिसमाधिवु(वु)द्धेश्वरः प्रियालफलमूलकामलकशाकशालूकभुक् ।
नदोक्षितधरातले गुरुजनानु-

¹ From inked estampages kindly supplied by the Government Epigraphist for India.

² Metre: *Sikharinī*.

³ Read हंस-.

⁴ Metre: *Mandākrāntā*.

⁵ Metre of this and the following verse: *Sārdūlavikrīḍita*.

⁶ Metre of this and the two following verses: *Prithvī*.

⁷ Metre: *Sārdūlavikrīḍita*.

⁸ Read ददवु-.

⁹ Metre of this and the two following verses: *Prithvī*.

CHANDREHE STONE INSCRIPTION OF PRABODHASIVA: (KALACHURI) YEAR 724

A

१ पुं कः निवाय॥ इति श्रीमत्प्रबोधसिंहस्य राज्ञः कृतं
 २ (ने) करारवकं नैदुपत्तात्मानं नैदुपत्तात्मानं नैदुपत्तात्मानं
 ३ का नरः श्रीमत्प्रबोधसिंहस्य राज्ञः कृतं
 ४ यः राज्ञः श्रीमत्प्रबोधसिंहस्य राज्ञः कृतं
 ५ कुलपुत्रः श्रीमत्प्रबोधसिंहस्य राज्ञः कृतं
 ६ रागिणादिभः सिद्धिः श्रीमत्प्रबोधसिंहस्य राज्ञः कृतं
 ७ पुं कः निवाय॥ इति श्रीमत्प्रबोधसिंहस्य राज्ञः कृतं
 ८ यः राज्ञः श्रीमत्प्रबोधसिंहस्य राज्ञः कृतं
 ९ यः राज्ञः श्रीमत्प्रबोधसिंहस्य राज्ञः कृतं
 १० रः (दि) तं कृतं श्रीमत्प्रबोधसिंहस्य राज्ञः कृतं
 ११ गः श्रीमत्प्रबोधसिंहस्य राज्ञः कृतं
 १२ गः श्रीमत्प्रबोधसिंहस्य राज्ञः कृतं
 १३ (दि) तं कृतं श्रीमत्प्रबोधसिंहस्य राज्ञः कृतं
 १४ पुं कः निवाय॥ इति श्रीमत्प्रबोधसिंहस्य राज्ञः कृतं

B

[illegible]

16
 18
 20
 22
 24
 26

16
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[illegible]

- 16 कारी तपश्चरञ्जगति¹ विस्मयं व्यधित वा(वा)लभावेपि यः ॥[११॥*] महीभृन्मूर्द्धाग्रप्रगु-
णतरपादः समुदयी दधन्मित्रत्वं यस्तिमिरभिदु-
- 17 रं कार्यमकरोत् । तथा सन्ध्यारम्भे निखिलजनवन्द्यः किमपरं प्रतापेन व्याप्नोतिभुवनमपि प्राप्त-
महिमा² ॥ [१२॥*] गुरुग्रावग्रामोत्खन-
- 18 नदलनध्वन्त³विधिना महीध्रेध्वानं यो व्यधित जलधौ राघव इव । सरित्स्रोतःस्वेवं विपिनगह-
नेध्वद्भुतकरं जगत्याश्चर्यं⁴ हि प्रथय-
- 19 ति महत्कर्म महताम् ॥[१३॥*] जडतरमरुच्छोणस्याम्भःकर्णरयमाश्रमो मृगपतिमहाध्वानं
रात्रौ प्रतिध्वनिताम्ब(म्ब)रः । शिखरिशिख-
- 20 रप्रान्तप्रेङ्खद्विरेफपयोधरो जनयति जने विद्युच्छङ्कां महोपधिरोचिषा⁵ ॥ [१४॥*] [चु]म्ब(म्ब)न्ति
वानरगणा मृगशत्रुपोतान्निहंस्तनं पिव(व)ति चा-
- 21 त्प्र शिशुमृगस्य । वैरं निजं परिहरन्ति विरोधिनोऽन्ये सर्वस्य शाम्यति मनो हि तपोवनेषु⁶ ॥
[१५॥*] गुरुकृतसुरागारादारादमुं म-
- 22 ठमुन्नतं स्वकमिव यशः शुभ्राभ्राभं विशालमचीकरत् । अनुगिरमथो सिन्धुप्रस्थं तडागमचीखन-
त्प्रचुरसलिलं कूपं चात्र
- 23 प्रवो(वो)धशिवः शमी⁷ ॥[१६॥*] श्रीमत्प्रशान्तशिवकारितगत्त्र कूपं कालेन शीर्ष्णपतिताखि-
लदारुपूरम् । भक्त्या गुरोर्गुरुशिलारचना-
- 24 विचित्त्रं सोचीकरत्तदनु दूरमचीखनच्च⁸ ॥[१७॥*] व(व)भूव भुवि दीक्षितो विहितकीर्तनो
मेढुकः स सज्जनगणाग्रणीरजनयत्सुतं
- 25 जेइकं(कम्) । ततस्त्वमरिकोदरे समभवत्कविर्द्धांसटः प्रशस्तिमकरोदसौ विकटवर्णव(व)न्धा-
मिमाम्⁹ ॥ [१८॥*] पशुपतिजटाजूटभ्रान्ता हिमा-
- 26 द्विशिलातलस्खलितसलिला चञ्चद्दीचिः पवित्रितभूतला । ब्रजति सरितां नाथं यावद्भगीरथ-
वर्त्मना सुरसरिदियं तावत्कीर्तिः स्थिरास्तु भुवि स्थिता¹⁰ ॥ [१९॥*] ल-
- 27 क्ष्मीधरसुतः ख्यातो वासुदेवानुजः सुधीः । इमां दामोदरोलेखीप्रशस्तिं प्रवराक्षरां(राम्)¹¹ ॥
[२०॥*] सूत्रधारसूराकाञ्जयोत्कीर्णा नीलकण्ठेन ॥ सम्बत्¹² ७२४ फाल्गुन शु दि ५ [१*]

TRANSLATION

Om ! Adoration to Siva !

(Verse 1) Glorious is that Sarva (Siva), —in whose coiled matted hair, which is like a cloud, being dark with the hissing of serpents (*on his body*), and which resounds with the water of the heavenly river (Gaṅgā) (*as a cloud resounds with thunder*), there flashes the fire of (*his third*) eye like lightning (*flashing in a cloud*); and whose wreath of human skulls resembles a garland of *champaka* flowers,¹² even as the shower of the accumulated lustre of the moon on his head !

¹ Read —श्चरञ्जगति.

² Metre of this and the following verse: *Sikharīṇī*.

³ Read —ध्वंस—.

⁴ Metre: *Harīṇī*.

⁵ Metre: *Vasantatilakā*.

⁶ Metre: *Harīṇī*.

⁷ Metre: *Vasantatilakā*.

⁸ Metre: *Pritvī*.

⁹ Metre: *Harīṇī*.

¹⁰ Metre: *Anuṣṭubh*.

¹¹ Read —संवत्—.

¹² Banerji first translated *kakubham tulayati* by 'brightens the different quarters' and afterwards

(V. 2) May the mass of lustre of the laugh of Saṅkara clad in an elephant-skin,—which, white like the goose, is spread round his face and which, being slightly darkened by the effulgence of his (*blue*) neck, at once assumes the clear splendour of the moon emerging from a cloud,—grant you prosperity!

(V. 3) May the Tāṇḍava dance of (Śiva), the husband of Chāṇḍī, give you delight! (*the dance*) which makes the hoods of the lord of serpents bend under (*the weight of*) the bowl-like earth which revolves on account of the movements of his feet, skilled in the *chārī* step; which puts to flight the elephants of the quarters; which causes a sudden movement of a part of the universe by the revolutions of his staff-like arms¹ and which is accompanied by the deep sound of the *ḍamaru*!

(V. 4) May this continuous succession of (*the Śaiva ascetics of*) the Mattamayūra (*clan*) purify the three worlds, like the Gaṅgā!—in which was born Purandara, who performed austerities, and who was the spiritual preceptor of kings. His disciple (*was*) Śikhāśiva, (*who was*) like fire and who, (*refulgent*) with the lustre of his austerities, stood like a lamp on the path of final beatitude, having dispelled the pitchy darkness (*of ignorance*).

(V. 5) From him (*i.e.*, Śikhāśiva), who was the lord of Madhumatī, was (*spiritually*) descended Prabhāvaśiva, who accumulated great austerities, was the crest-jewel of all Śaivas, and was revered by many kings. He, who was the foremost among ascetics, was made by Yuvarājadēva (I) to sanctify, by his feet, the wanton woman that was the earth.²

(V. 6) After him there was his disciple, the moon-like Praśāntaśiva, who was pure³ (*even as the moon is bright*); whose real nature was manifested in his attempt to destroy ignorance (*as the moon's form is seen dispelling darkness*); who brightened the faces of all quarters by his bright fame (*as the moon does with her lustre*) and who bestowed prosperity on the meritorious Śaivas (*as the moon bestows splendour on the fibrous night-lotuses*).

(V. 7) He, the virtuous one, the companion of sages, who lived on fruits, lotus-stalks and roots, (*and*) who sanctified the surface of the earth by the rows of his foot-prints, built an incomparable and quiet hermitage, well-known to the people, at the foot of the Bhramara hill covered with the forest of *priyāla*⁴ (*trees*) (*and situated*) at the confluence of the river Śōṇa.

(V. 8) His⁵ fame is continuously sung with delight and in a high tone in every (*month of*) Māgha⁶ by the Gandharvas and Vidyādhara, in the assembly of Indra held in the celestial garden,—by Nandin who, to please Śiva, pays less attention to instrumental

by 'elevates the quarters.' But both these renderings are unsatisfactory; for the verb *tulayati* never conveys the sense of 'brightening' and the garland of skulls can scarcely be described as 'elevating the quarters'! For our rendering of *kakubh* by 'a garland of champaka flowers' see *Kakubh striyām pravṛṇī-dikā-bhāsu champaka-sraji* cited in Mahēśvara's com. on *Amurakōśa*, II, 45.

¹ For the idea compare the *Mahimnash stōtra*, v. 16.

² Monier-Williams in his *Sanskrit Dictionary* gives *lagnikā* (which is a wrong form of *nagnikā*) in the sense of 'a wanton woman'. The poet has here evidently the story of Ahalyā in mind. As Rāma purified Ahalyā by the dust of his feet, so did Prabhāvaśiva sanctify the land that was presented to him by Yuvarājadēva (I).

³ There is a play on several words here, in consequence of which they can be construed with both the sage and the moon.

⁴ *Buchanania Latifolia*.

⁵ In the original this is a relative clause having for its correlative *sah* in v. 7.

⁶ The month of Māgha, in which the Śivarātri occurs, is held sacred by the Śaivas.

music¹,—(and) by the charioteer of the sun, who gracefully waving his head from side to side in joy, allows the reins (*of his horses*) to slip from his hands.

(V. 9) There was the foremost of his disciples named **Prabōdhasīva**, as Paraśurāma was of (Śiva) the enemy of Madana, —who, conquering all his enemies, adorned the faces of the quarters with his fame, and bestowing wealth on the meritorious, placed the earth under obligation.

(V. 10) He² was like Kumāra (*i.e.*, Kārttikēya), whose one hand was skilled in making offerings at the proper time to the high flames of fire (*as Kumāra's hand is in feeding his mighty peacock*); who (*like Kumāra*) always avoided the company of women; who showed the effect of his power on mighty kings (*as Kumāra exhibited that of his dart on the Krañchā mountain*), who was devoted to (Śiva) the enemy of the mind-born (*as Kumāra also was dear to him*); and who performed (*all*) his duties towards the gods (*as Kumāra accomplished the work of the gods, viz., the destruction of the demon Tārakā*).³

(V. 11) He, having thought over all the scriptures, realized God by the performance of religious austerities and meditation, and living on the fruits of *priyāla*, *āmalaka*,⁴ greens and *śālūka*⁵, caused the wonder of the world by practising austerities even in his boyhood on the bank (*lit.*, the surface of the land) washed by the river (Śōṇa), imitating his spiritual preceptor.

(V. 12) He, having attained power, has acted like the rising sun,—whose feet are rendered more resplendent by the (*jewelled*) crests of kings (*who bowed to him, even as the sun's rays are when they fall on the peaks of mountains*); who has done the work of destroying ignorance (*as the sun dispels darkness*); who is revered by all people at the time of making peace (*as the sun is at the beginning of twilights*); (and)—what more (*need be said?*)—who, having attained greatness has pervaded the three worlds by his power (*as the sun does by its heat*).

(V. 13) He, by the process of excavating, breaking and ramming⁶ heaps of large stones, has constructed a wonderful way through mountains (*and*) across rivers and streams, and also through forests and thickets, as Rāghava (*d:d*) across the ocean. A great deed of the mighty proclaims wonder in the world!

(V. 14) At night this hermitage,—(*which is wafted*) with breezes, extremely cool with the sprays of the water of the Śōṇa, which makes the sky reverberate with loud roars of lions, and which has bee-like clouds hovering round mountain peaks,—causes people to suspect lightning on account of the phosphorescence of great medicinal plants (*growing near it*).

(V. 15) In this place herds of monkeys kiss the cubs of lions, (*and*) the young one of a deer sucks at the breast of the lioness. Other hostile animals forget their (*natural*) antipathy (*to one another*); for the minds of all become tranquil in penance-groves.

(V. 16) Near the temple built by his preceptor, the tranquil Prabōdhasīva caused to be erected this lofty and spacious monastery, which is, as it were, his own fame resembling white clouds. Thereafter he caused to be excavated a sea-like lake,⁷ by the side

¹ *I. e.*, in order to enable Śiva to hear his devotee's fame sung in heaven.

² In the original vv. 10-13 are relative clauses, having for their correlative *Prabōdhasīva* in v. 9.

³ There is a play on several words in this verse, owing to which the adjectival expressions yield two meanings, one connected with the sage and the other with Kārttikēya.

⁴ *Emblie Myrobalan*.

⁵ *Śālūka* is 'the esculent root of different kinds of lotus'. (M. W.)

⁶ The process of making roads described here shows that macadamizing was well known in those days, see *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXI, p. 152, n. 1.

⁷ *Prakhyā* at the end of a compound means 'resembling.' Banerji, however, takes *sindhu* to be the name of the lake.

of the mountain, and (*also*) a well having copious water.

(V. 17) On account of devotion to his preceptor he caused to be rebuilt with a wonderful masonry of large stones and then re-excavated (*very*) deep the well, which had been dug by the illustrious Praśantaśiva at this place, (*but*) which had become dilapidated and full of wood fallen into it, in course of time.

(V. 18) There was a *Dikshita* named Mēhuka, whose fame was known on the earth. He, who was foremost among good men, begot a son named Jēika. To him was born, from the womb of Amarikā¹, the poet Dhāmsaṭa. He composed this *praśasti* couched in beautiful arrangement of letters.

(V. 19) May this eulogy endure unchanged on this earth as long as the divine river (*Gangā*), meandering through the coiled matted hair of Paśupati (*i.e.*, Śiva), with its waters shattering on the surface of the rocks on the Himālayas, flows to (the sea), the lord of rivers, along the path (*shown*) by Bhagīratha, sanctifying the earth with its bounding waves.

(V. 19) The wise and renowned Dāmōdara, the son of Lakshmidhara and the younger brother of Vāsudēva, wrote this *praśasti* in excellent letters!

(*This praśasti*) has been inscribed by Nīlakaṇṭha by the order of the *Sūtradhāra* Sūrāka. The year 724, (*the month*) Phālguna, the bright (*fortnight*), the (*lunar*) day 5.

No. 45; PLATE XXXV

BILHARI STONE INSCRIPTION OF YUVARAJADEVA II

THE stone, which bears this inscription, is said to have been found at Bilhāri (lat. 23° 48' North, long. 80° 19' East), 9 miles west by south of Murwārā, the headquarters of a *tahsil* of the same name in the Jabalpur District of Madhya Pradesh. The stone which was at first removed to Jabalpur² has now been deposited in the Central Museum, Nagpur. It seems to have broken in transit, as it shows now a large crack which cuts it vertically right across. Fortunately, it has not resulted in the loss of more than one or two letters.

The inscription was first published with an abstract of its contents by Dr. F.E. Hall in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. XXX, pp. 317-334. Its contents were next discussed by Sir A. Cunningham in his *Archaeological Survey of India Reports*, Vol. IX, pp. 80 and 102-5. It was subsequently edited, with an excellent translation and a lithograph, by Prof. F. Kielhorn in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. I, pp. 251-270. It is edited here from the original stone and ink impressions taken under my supervision.

The record, which consists of thirty-three lines, is inscribed on the counter-sunk surface of a large panel of grey sandstone. The inscribed space measures 6' 3" broad by 3' high and is surrounded by a plain border 3.5" broad. The first thirty lines of the inscription are very well preserved, except for a few letters at the end of each line; the latter can, however, be read without much difficulty from the traces left on the stone. On the other hand several letters at the end of the last three lines have been almost completely effaced by the wearing away of the inscribed surface. The average size of the letters is .5" in the first three lines and .75" in the rest.

The characters, which are beautifully written and deeply engraved, belong to the Nāgarī alphabet. They closely resemble those of the Chandrēhē inscription.³ The

¹ The position of *Amarikā-ḍdarā* after *tatap* in the second half of the verse clearly shows that Amarikā was the mother of Dhāmsaṭa and not of Jēika as Banerji has taken.

² *J. A. S. B.*, Vol. XXX, p. 322.

³ Above, No. 44.

only points that call for notice here are that the left limb of *kh* is drawn below the apex of its triangle in some cases, see, e.g., *sukha-viśēṣhād*-, l. 30; *ṭha* of *maṭha* has ornamental additions below the circle in ll. 22 and 32; the loop of *n* is open at the top, see *atalina*-, l. 4; and *ph* has everywhere the later form, see *-phaṇa-phalaka*-, l. 7.

The language is Sanskrit. Except for the customary *ōṃ namah Śivāya* in the beginning, *api cha* and *kiñ-cha* in ll. 1 and 19 respectively, and some short sentences in ll. 32 and 33, the record is in verse throughout. It falls into three parts.¹ Verses 1-45 were composed by Śrīnivāsa, the son of Sthirānanda, verses 46-78 by Sajjana, the son of Thīra and the rest by the Kāyastha Śīruka. The record, especially the portion composed by Śrīnivāsa, is written in an artistic *kāvya* style. The composition of Sajjana is inferior; it does not contain any flights of imagination and suffers also from the use of wrong forms like *akṛita* for *akāri* in verse 54 and ambiguous compounds like *ahita-janita-bhiti*- in verse 59. As regards orthography, we may note that the sign for *v* is used to denote *b* almost throughout, and the dental for the palatal sibilant in *-saurya*-, l. 14 and *-Sain-āgama*-, l. 20; the consonant following or preceding *r* has been doubled in many cases, see e.g., *-Śrīvva-parvata*-, l. 5, *ttri-bhuvana*-, l. 6 etc.; the *visarga* before *s* is generally changed to the sibilant and in one case dropped in accordance with the *vārttika* on Pāṇini, VIII., 3., 36, see *bandhō styān-ākṛiti*-, l. 17; the *anusvāra* before *ś* and *ṣ* has been wrongly changed to the dental nasal in many places, see e.g., *-vanśa*-, l. 21, and *-vidhvānsa*-, l. 4; final *m* has wrongly remained unchanged in such cases as *-ḍamvaram=vaḥ*-, l. 3, *yam-vikshya*-, l. 14; so also *n* in *bhagavān=jyōtsnām*-, l. 16, *vairāgyēna*-, l. 21 and *guṇān=śakshyati*-, l. 26, while it has been wrongly changed to *ṇ* in *dhēnur=ṇṇanu*-, l. 15. Other instances of wrong *sandhi* are the elision of the *visarga* in *-Nāgabālā Khaila*-, l. 18, and the addition of *ch* in *marud-gaṇānām chchhāy*-, l. 16. *Ṛi* is used for the vowel *ṛi* in *-dripta*-, l. 12 and *=saty-ādrīta*-, l. 14. Finally, one of the two similar consonants forming a conjunct is dropped by syncopation in several places, see *-lasadyu*-, l. 1, *-ujvalim*-, l. 3, *āsī=dvishad*-, l. 4, *kōpa-valyāḥ*-, l. 8, *datvā*-, l. 24, *satva*-, l. 26, etc.

As stated above, the inscription falls into three parts. The first part, which was composed by Śrīnivāsa, opens with four verses invoking the blessings of Śiva and the moon. The poet then proceeds to state the genealogy of Kēyūrarvarsha, whose queen Nōhalā erected the temple, at which the inscription was originally put up. From the moon sprang the family of the Haihayas. In this family was born the king Arjuna (*i.e.*, Kārtavīrya Sahasrārjuna) who defeated the lord of Laṅkā and was favoured by the god Dattātṛeya with the promise of a son. Among his descendants was Kōkalladēva (I) who, having conquered the whole earth, set up two pillars of victory, the well-known Kṛishṇarāja in the south and Bhōjadēva, the store of royal fortune, in the north. This statement evidently means that by his help Kōkalla established these princes firmly on their thrones. A statement to the same effect is made in the Banaras plates² of Karṇa also.

Kōkalla (I) was followed by his son Mugdhatuṅga who conquered the lines of countries along the sea-shore and took away the country of Pāli from the lord of Kōsala. This statement also is corroborated by a Prakrit *gāthā* about Prasiddhadhavalā (who is identical with Mugdhatuṅga) which occurs in the Banaras plates.³

¹ Kielhorn thought that the inscription was composed by only two poets,—verses 1-45, which originally formed an independent *prasasti*, by Śrīnivāsa and the remaining verses by Sajjana. Further, he took the Kāyastha Śīruka to be the scribe of the first *prasasti*, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. II, p. 251 and p. 270, n. 50. It would, however, appear that Śīruka was the author of verses 79-85. Had he been the scribe of the first *prasasti*, his name would have been either mentioned immediately after v. 45 or omitted altogether.

² See verse 7 of No. 48, below.

³ *Ibid.*, verse 12.

The inscription then proceeds to describe in verses 24-29 Mugdhatuṅga's son Yuvarājādēva (I) *alias* Kēyūrarvarsha. He is said to have fulfilled the ardent desires of the minds of the women of Gauḍa, to have sported on the breasts of the ladies of Karṇāta, to have applied the ornamental mark to the forehead of the women of Lāṭa, to have enjoyed the pleasures of love with the women of Kāśmīra and to have been fond of the excellent songs of the women of Kaliṅga. Curious as it might appear, a similar description of Yuvarājādēva occurs in the *Viddhaśālabbhañjikā* of Rājaśēkhara, who, in the later part of his career, flourished at his court. From the fourth act of this play¹ we learn that its hero Kēyūrarvarsha had married the princesses of Magadha, Mālava, Pāñchāla, Avantī, Jālandhara and Kērala. These statements are evidently intended to convey that Yuvarājādēva raided Bengal, Bihar, Uttar Pradesh, Karṇāṭaka, Gujarat, Kashmir and other parts of India and married the princesses of those States. The present inscription further states that he caused endless trouble to his enemies from the Himālaya in the north to the bridge in the south, and from the eastern to the western sea. The description of Yuvarājādēva to which the poet has devoted as many as six verses is otherwise conventional and contains no histroical information.

The next eight verses (30-37) introduce a digression and describe the pedigree of Yuvarājādēva's wife Nōhalā. From a handful (*chuluka*) of water taken by the sage Bhāradvāja (*i.e.*, Drōṇa) to curse Drupada there was born a warrior, the family descended from whom came to be known as Chaulukya. This legend about the origin of the Chaulukyas, it may be noted in passing, differs from that given by Bilhaṇa in his *Vikramāñkadēvacharita*, Canto I, verses 46-55. According to the latter, the progenitor of the clan was born from the handful of water taken by the god Brahmā for his morning libation when he was requested by Indra to create someone for the punishment of the haters of religion. Again, a third legend occurs in a later inscription, according to which the Chālukyas were born in the interior of the water-pot (*chulkā*) when Hārītipañchaśikha was pouring out a libation to the gods.² Our inscription next proceeds to state that in the family of the Chaulukyas was born Avanivarman. His father was Sadhanva and grandfather Simhavarman. Avanivarman had a daughter named Nōhalā.

This Nōhalā was a favourite wife of Yuvarājādēva. She constructed a lofty temple of Śiva. We are further told that she gave the villages Nīpāniya and Ambipāṭaka to the Śaiva ascetic Īśvaraśiva as a reward for his scholarship. This Īśvaraśiva was a disciple of Śabdaśiva who was himself a disciple of Pavanaśiva, also called Mādhumatēya (the lord of Madhumatī). Further, Nōhalā donated the villages Dhaṅgaṭapāṭaka, Pōṇḍī, Nāgabala, Khailapāṭaka, Viḍā, Sajjāhalī and Gōshṭhapālī to the god Śiva.

The second part of the present record, which commences with verse 46, opens with a description of Lakshmaṇarājā (II), the son of Yuvarājādēva I and Nōhalā. Verses 46-58 again introduce a digression and give the spiritual genealogy of the Śaiva pontiff, Hṛidayaśiva, who was invited by Lakshmaṇarājā to his country and was placed in charge of the monastery of the holy Vaidyanātha. We are told that at the venerable place called Kadambaguhā there lived a sage named Rudraśambhu. His disciple was Mattamayūranātha who initiated the king of Avanti in the Śaiva faith. His disciple was Dharmaśambhu, and the disciple of the latter Śabdaśiva. Śabdaśiva was followed by Mādhumatēya, and the latter by Chūḍāśiva who, again, was the spiritual preceptor of Hṛidayaśiva. Lakshmaṇarājā respectfully invited Hṛidayaśiva to his country and

¹ See the *Viddhaśālabbhañjikā*, (ed. by B. R. Arte), p. 114.

² See Fleet's *Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts*, Bom., Gaz. Vol. I, part ii, p. 359.

made over to him the monastery of the holy Vaidyanātha, which is called Nauhalēśvara in the next verse. Hridayaśiva placed it in the charge of his disciple Aghōraśiva. As Hridayaśiva was a contemporary of Lakshmaṇarāja, his spiritual preceptor Chūḍāśiva lived in the same period as Lakshmaṇarāja's father Yuvarājadēva I. He is, therefore, probably identical with the Śikhāśiva of the Chandrēhē inscription¹ and the Chūḍāśiva of the Gurgi inscription,² whose disciple Prabhāvaśiva was invited by Yuvarājadēva I to accept a monastery at Gurgi.

Lakshmaṇarāja, then, proceeded to conquer the regions in the west and reached the shores of the western ocean where he worshipped Śiva at the well-known temple of Sōmanātha in Kathiāwāḍ, and presented the deity with the effigy of the serpent Kāliya wrought with jewels and gold, which he had obtained from the king of Ōḍra (Orissa) after defeating the lord of Kōsala. This statement indicates that the kingdoms of Dakṣiṇa Kōsala and Ōḍra were at this time probably ruled by the scions of the same family.³

Lakshmaṇarāja was succeeded by his son Śaṅkaragaṇa (III), about whom the present record furnishes no historical information. He was followed by his younger brother Yuvarājadēva II, whose adventure in killing a huge tiger is graphically described in verse 68. As many as five verses are devoted to this king's description, but they contain mere conventional praise. Verses 71-76 contain a hymn which Yuvarājadēva II is said to have composed in praise of Śiva.

The third part of the inscription opens with an enumeration of the taxes in cash or kind, which manufacturers and traders had to pay at the market-place in the town (Bilhāri) for the benefit of the monastery and the support of its occupants. Next comes a verse in praise of Aghōraśiva, the head of the Nauhalēśvara monastery. He is said to have put this *praśasti* together. As Dr. Kielhorn has already pointed out 'What is now its first portion from verse 1 to 45 originally was or formed part of an independent *praśasti* and this original *praśasti* was renewed and enlarged by the addition of verses 46-86 of the present inscription two or three generations after the composition of the first part'⁴.

The record next mentions the towns Tripurī, Saubhāgyapura, Lavaṇanagara, Durlabhapura, Vimānapura and some others, whose names are lost, in connection with the celebration of a fair in honour of the deity. Finally, there occurs a curious reference to the Sanskrit poet Rājaśēkhara. The present eulogy is said to have deserved praise from the wonder-struck poet Rājaśēkhara. Kielhorn who translated the expression *vismita-kavi-Rājaśēkhara-stutyā* as 'which would deserve praise (even) from the wonder-struck poet Rājaśēkhara', evidently took it to mean Rājaśēkhara would have been struck with wonder at this composition if he had been living. The expression can be taken either as instrumental singular meaning '(May this composition live to the end of the world) as it has evoked praise from the wonder-struck poet Rājaśēkhara', or as nominative singular conveying the sense, '(this composition) which deserves praise from the wonder-struck poet Rājaśēkhara'. In either case we need not suppose that Rājaśēkhara was dead at the time. From his *Karpūramañjarī* we learn that he was at first called *Bālakavi* probably on account of his precocious poetic talent. He was patronised by the Gurjara-Pratihāra princes Mahēndrapāla and Mahīpāla and afterwards by Kēyūraravarsha-

¹ See above, No. 44, line 6.

² See below, No. 46, line 8.

³ We know that the two countries were ruled by the princes of the Kēsari dynasty later on in the 10th and 11th centuries A. C.

⁴ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, p. 252.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 270.

Yuvarājadēva I, whom he has made the hero of his Sanskrit play *Viddhasālābhāṅjikā*. If we suppose that he was a young man of sixteen when he went to the court of Kanauj towards the end of Mahēndrapāla's reign (in *circa* 903 A.C.), his age at the beginning of the reign of Yuvarājadēva II (*circa* 975 A.C.) when the present inscription seems to have been put up, would be about eighty-five years, which is not altogether improbable.¹ Such a long life is also warranted by the poet's prolific literary activity.

It is not difficult to conjecture why this eulogy of Kalachuri princes pleased Rājaśēkhara. The characteristics of his own poems as noted by ancient critics² are his fondness for the metre *Śārdūlavikrīḍita* and the poetic quality *samādhī* which means an alternate combination of heavy and light syllables.³ A third mannerism noticed in his works is his reference to the several parts of India on some pretext or other. All these qualities can be illustrated from the present inscription. It is, therefore, no matter for surprise to read that it evoked or deserved praise from Rājaśēkhara, who must have seen in it a clever imitation of his own style.

The last verse states that the eulogy was written by Nāī, the son of Dhīra who was a writer of legal documents, and incised by Nōṇna, the son of the artisan Saṅgama.

As for the geographical names occurring in the present inscription, Madhumatī, from which the name of the sage Mādhumatēya was evidently derived, is probably identical with Mahuā which is now a small hamlet one mile south of Tērahi in Madhya Bharat. It contains the ruins of three temples, two of which are dedicated to Śiva. From the characters of the inscription incised on the front lintel of the porch of one of them, it appears that the shrine dates back to the seventh century A. C.⁴ The river which flows by Mahuā is mentioned as Madhuvēṇī in an inscription found at Tērahi.⁵ It seems that Mahuā was an important seat of Śaivism in mediæval times. Kadambaguhā, which is mentioned in the present inscription as the original seat of the Śaiva sect, figures also in an inscription at Rāṇōd. In his article on the latter Dr. Kielhorn identified it with Kadwāha about six miles south of Tērahi.⁶ It may, however, be noted that Kadambaguhā is mentioned in the Rāṇōd inscription as the place of residence of the spiritual ancestor of the sage Purandara who was brought from Upēndrapura by Avantivarman who ruled in Central India. Kadambaguhā and Upēndrapura are not, therefore, likely to have been situated in the latter's territory. Kadambaguhā may be identical with Kadambapadraka situated in the *maṇḍala* of Upēndrapura which is mentioned in a grant of the Paramāra king Naravarmadēva.⁷ It will, therefore, have to be searched for in Mālwa. Of the villages granted by Nōhalā, Nipāniya is probably Nipāniā in the Sihōrā *tahsil*, 10 miles south-west of Bilhāri.⁸ Ambipāṭaka may be Āmkuhi, 8 miles north by east, and Dhaṅgaṭapāṭaka Dungarhai, 7 miles south of Bilhāri. Pōṇḍī which still retains its old name lies 4 miles to the northwest.⁹ Nāgabala and Khaila-

¹ Like Rājaśēkhara, Umāpatidhara was a contemporary of three successive kings, viz., Vijayasēna, Ballālasēna and Lakṣhmaṇasēna, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, p. 306.

² See '*Śārdūlakrīḍitair-iva prakhyātō Rājaśekharaḥ | śikhar-iva parāṇi rukraiḥ s-āllikabair-ucchra-śekharaḥ ||*' in the *Śuṅgītatilaka* of Kṣēmēndra; and '*Samādhī-guṇa-sālinyaḥ prasanna-paripakṣtrimāḥ | Yāyāvarkaḁvēr-vācōḥ muniṇām-iva śrīttayaḥ ||*' in the *Tilakamañjarī* of Dhanapāla.

³ See the definition of *Samādhī* in the *Kāvya-lankārasūtra* of Vāmana, III, 1, 12.

⁴ M. B. Garde, *Archæology in Gwalior*, pp. 100 ff.

⁵ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVII, p. 202.

⁶ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, p. 353.

⁷ *Ibid.*, Vol. XX, pp. 105 ff.

⁸ *I. C. P. B.*, p. 24.

⁹ *C. A. S. I. R.*, Vol. IX, p. 104.

pāṭaka are probably represented by modern Naigawān, 2 miles to the south, and Kail-wārā¹, 7 miles to the north-east of Bilhāri. Sajjāhali may be Sajharā in the Murwārā *tahsil*, and Gōshṭhapālī Gaṭākhērā, 10 miles almost due east of Bilhāri. Tripurī, which was the capital of the Kalachuris, is now represented by the small village of Tēwar, 6 miles from Jabalpur. Soubhāgyapura is probably Sohāgpur, the chief town of the Sohāgpur *tahsil* in the Vindhya Pradesh. Lavaṇanagara, Durlabhapura and Vimānapura I am unable to identify.

TEXT²

- 1 सिद्धिः³[1*] ओं नमः शिवाय ॥ पायाद्वः स समस्तमंगलनिधिः शम्भोज्जटाजूटको य[स्मिं]ल्लेल-
सद्यु⁴मण्डलगलन्मन्दाकिनीवारिभिः । गाढप्रन्विनिपीडितोरगपति⁵प्रस्फारफुल्लत्फणाभीमव्यावृत-
वक्त्रमास्तवृत्तैः श्वेतातपत्रायितं (तम्) ॥⁶ [१॥*] अपि च ॥ अव्याद्वश्चन्द्रचूडस्य लोचनाच्चिष्मन्तः
शिखा [1*] मित्रमेव स्मरस्येति दग्धुं विधुमिवोदगता⁷॥ [२॥*] यं खेलाय षडाननः शिशुतया
कृत्वाग्रहं मार्गति ग्रंथो यश्च
- 2 दुरोदरैः पुरभिदो देव्या समं दीव्यतः ॥ (1) केलीकोपकथासु येन तनुते हेतिक्रियां पाव्यंती पायाद्वः
स जटावनैककुसुमं शार्ङ्गः सुधादीघितिः ॥⁸ [३॥*] दिक्षु प्रेक्षाभियोगप्रवलितवलनाविभ्रमाकाण्ड-
चण्डैर्दोदण्डानां प्रकामप्रथिमभिरनिलैर्दूरमुत्सारितासु । किं च प्रस्फारचारीनमदवनिवशाद्व्यो-
म्नि याते महत्तामव्यादव्याहतेच्छं त्रिपुरविजयिनस्ताण्डवाडम्बर—
- 3 म्वः⁹ ॥ [४॥*] वन्धोत्र¹⁰ सोमसंभूतो वाचं निक्षिपता मया [1*] हन्त हस्तरूपक्रान्ता मोहेन वियतो
मितिः ॥¹¹ [५॥*] वाचामुज्व (ज्ज्व) लिमापि नास्ति यदि मे तत्कीर्त्यमानोन्नतेरस्मादेव महीयसः
शशभूतो वंशात्स संपत्स्यते [1*] यद्वा पश्य निसर्गकालिमभुवोप्याशेभदानच्छटाः क्षीरोदन्वति
किञ्च सङ्गतिभूतस्तच्छायताम्वि(म्बि)भ्रति ॥¹² [६॥*] नेत्रादत्त्रेद्वंरित्वीधवलनसुहृदां
धाम धाम्नामुदंचल्लोकालोकं यदा—
- 4 प प्रभवमतलिनध्वान्तविध्वंसहेतुः¹³ । सोयं सोमाभिधानतिस्तिलकयति कला-मौलिमस्यैव शम्भो— *नस्तिल*
रस्मादेव प्रवृत्तः किमपरमयमप्यन्वयो हैहयानां (नाम्) ॥¹⁴ [७॥*] अस्मिंश्च वन्द्यतमता[ङ्ग]-
मिते वु(वु)घाद्यैराद्यैर्नृपैर्नृपतिरज्जुन इत्युदारः । आसीद्वि (द्वि)षद्विपिनकर्तृनकीर्तनीयकीर्ति-
च्छटाच्छ्रितदीर्घदिगन्तरालः¹⁵ [८॥*] यद्वक्षस्तटाडनातितरलश्रुतयत्पविप्रोच्छलज्वा (ज्ज्वा)
लामालिक—
- 5 रालितेन करिणा देवाधिपः क्वाप्यगात् । लोलोलालितशर्वं¹⁶ पर्वतपतेस्तस्यापि लङ्कापतेर्य-

¹ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, p. 254.

² From the original stone in the Central Museum, Nagpur, and ink impressions.

³ Expressed by a symbol.

⁴ Read —नसद्युमण्डल—.

⁵ The *visarga* which was at first incised after —गति has been struck out.

⁶ Metre: *Sārdūlavikrīḍita*.

⁷ Metre: *Anuṣṭubh*.

⁸ Metre: *Sārdūlavikrīḍita*.

⁹ Read —डम्बरं वः ॥ As Kielhorn has pointed out, आडम्बर is generally used in the masculine.

Metre: *Sragdharā*.

¹⁰ Read वंशेव.

¹¹ Metre: *Anuṣṭubh*.

¹² Metre: *Sārdūlavikrīḍita*.

¹³ Read —विध्वंसहेतुः.

¹⁴ Metre: *Sragdharā*.

¹⁵ Metre: *Vatantatilakā*.

¹⁶ Originally शार्ङ्गं, changed to शर्वं.

द्वैरव्यवसायिनो यदभवत्स्यातिप्रमाणं हि तत् ॥¹ [१॥*] दत्तात्रेय इति प्रकामकमलालीला-
यितानाम्पदं यो देवः स सुतप्रतिश्रुतवचःप्रीत्या यमन्वग्रहीत् । के वा तद्गुणवर्णने वयमहो
किं फल्गुभिर्जल्पितैर्मन्ये सापि च वाग्वपुर्भगवती तत्र स्फुटं मुह्यति ॥[१०॥*] अथ ततस्त-
तसत्पुरुषव्रतव्रततिपर्वततः कति ना-

6 भवन् । तरुणतारकराजपराजयव्यसनि²कीर्तिभुवः पतयो भुवः ॥³[११॥*]तेष्वेवन्सम्भ⁴वत्सु
क्रममनु मनुजाश्चर्यतामादधानो धन्यानामेकसीमा समुप[न]तमहीमण्डलाखण्डलाभः।
जातः कोकलदेवो दलदहितलतादाहदावायमानो मानोत्तन्सस्य⁵ यस्य त्रिभुवनवलयव्यापनो-
भूत्प्रतापः ॥⁶[१२॥*] भुवनविजयहेतोर्मुक्तमर्यादयादस्सदनलडितलोलैर्यद्वलैस्सम्बलद्भिः⁷ ।
अतलिनतरभारभ्रश्यदुर्वी-

7 विषीदत्फणफलककलापो भोगिभर्ता व(व)भूव ॥⁸[१३॥*] श्यामाशङ्किभिराकुलैर्व्वजघटे
चक्राह्वयानान्द्वैरम्भोदागमविभ्रमेण विदधे लास्योत्सवः केकिभिः । भग्नालोकमकाण्ड एव च
दृशामान्ध्येन लेभे पदं यत्सेनारजसि क्रमादवनितस्तारापथे लुप्यति ⁹॥[१४॥*] वेलावनप्रणयिसै
न्यभरे च यत्र मज्जद्भिराकुलकुलाद्रिनिभैरिभेन्द्रैः । सन्भ्रान्तमन्दरगिरेस्समयस्य तस्य कालाद्व (द्व)
-होः स्मरणमाप निधिर्जलानां (नाम्) ॥¹⁰[१५॥*] यत-

8 इव वैन्ध्यन्तटमाददाने दानेद्वसेनागजभञ्जनेन । अमञ्जुशिञ्जानशकुन्तचक्रञ्चक्रन्द दुःखादिव
वृक्षजालं (लम्) ॥¹¹[१६॥*] जित्वा कृ[त्सनां] येन पृथ्वीमपूर्वंङ्कीर्तितस्तम्भद्वन्द्वमारोप्यते
स्म । कौम्भोज्ज्वान्दिश्यसौ कृष्णराजः कौवे(वे)र्वाञ्च श्रीनिधिर्भोजदेवः ॥¹²[१७॥*]
व(व)भूव तस्मादथ मुग्धतुङ्गस्तुङ्गस्त्रिलोक्यामपरो न यस्मात् । दिशश्च यः किञ्च विजेतु-
कामः कामस्तुशतवृत्तं भुवम्बिलेभे¹³ ॥¹⁴[१८॥*] शय्या संग्रामलक्ष्म्याः परव(व)लपरिघः
पल्लवः कोपवत्या¹⁵ प्रेयो दर्पस्य मित्त्रं सुचरितसलि-

9 लस्येन्द्रनीलप्रणालः । शाखा शौर्यद्रुमस्य प्रसरणसरणिश्शाश्वती साहसानामासीद्यस्यासिरेव
प्रधनपरिकरारम्भणः प्रीतपात्रं (त्वम्) ॥¹⁶[१९॥*] बलद्वेतालवर्गं त्वुदितनिजशिरो-
धारिधावत्कव(व)न्धण्डात्कुर्व्वंङ्गाकिडिम्बं (म्बं) मुखवि (वि) लविलसत्सम्मुखोल्कामुखोल्कं (ल्कम्)
। मान्स¹⁷ग्रासाभिलाषस्वनदशिवशिवाभैरवारावरोद्रं रोद्रं यो धाम वि(वि)भ्रत्प्रतिसमर-
मिति द्वेषिचक्रञ्चकार ॥¹⁸[२०॥*] उपविपिनभुवो निधेर्जलानामधिवसता कटकेन
यस्य या[तु]ः । अव-

10 चयविचलद्वधूकरागद्विगुणितविद्रुमपल्लवा व(व)भूवः ॥¹⁹[२१॥*] इह विहितविलासा वीचयो

¹ Metre of this and the following verse: *Sārdūlavikrīḍita*.

² It is not quite necessary to change व्यसनि into व्यसन as proposed by Kielhorn.

³ Metre: *Drutavilambita*.

⁴ Read तेष्वेवं सम्भ-.

⁵ Read मानोत्तंसस्य.

⁶ Metre: *Sragdharā*.

⁷ Read यद्वलैस्संबलद्भिः.

⁸ Metre: *Mālinī*.

⁹ It would be better to read लुप्यति as suggested by Kielhorn. Metre: *Sārdūlavikrīḍita*.

¹⁰ Metre: *Vasantatilakā*.

¹¹ Metre: *Upajāti*.

¹² Metre: *Sālinī*.

¹³ Read भुवं विलेभे.

¹⁴ Metre: *Upajāti*.

¹⁵ Read कोपवत्याः.

¹⁶ Metre: *Sragdharā*.

¹⁷ Read -मांस-.

¹⁸ Metre: *Sragdharā*.

¹⁹ Metre: *Pushpitāgrā*.

[illegible]

वारिराशेरिह स वस(ह)ति वायुः केरलीकेलिकारः । इह हरति भुजङ्ग¹स्सौरभं भूहृणाणामिति
मलयसमीपे यद्विचाराः प्रचेरुः ॥²[२२॥*] विजित्य पूर्वाम्बु(म्बु)धिकूलपालीः पालीस्समादाय
च कोसलेन्द्रात् । निरस्तरोद्वासितवैरिधामा धामाधिकः खङ्गपतियं आसीत् ॥³[२३॥*]
गौडीगाढमनोमनोरथकरः कर्णाटकान्ताकुचक्रीडाशैलतटीविहारहरिणो लाटीललाटाङ्कदः ।
काश्मी-

- 11 रीविहितस्मरव्यतिकरस्तस्मात्कलिङ्गाङ्गनासद्गानव्यसनी स नीतिनयनः केयूरवर्षोभवत् ॥⁴
[२४॥*] आशापालपराजयाय जनितत्त्रैलोक्यशङ्कापदं सैन्यैर्यस्य युगान्तकेलिकलनेर्द्वैतप्रयाणैरपि ।
न प्रोद्भूतिमय(वा)प पांशुपटलं भूयो गृहीतद्विषद्व(द्व)न्दीवृन्दवहद्विलोचनपयःपूरप्लुतायां
भुवि ॥ [२५॥*] यस्संयति प्रकटपाटितकुम्भिकुम्भमुक्ताफलप्रचयबाहमुवाह देवः । भूयो निपीत-
दृढपीडनवेगवान्तविद्वेषिकीर्तिकणकीर्णमिवासिदण्डं(ण्डम्) ॥⁵[२६॥*] आ कैलासाद-
- 12 नलसलसत्पार्वतीकेलिष(व)न्धोरा च प्राचशिशिरिवरतो भास्वदुद्भासभूमेः । आरात्सेतोस्तदनु
पयसामा प्रतीचोपि पत्युर्यत्सेनानामहितनिहितानन्ततापः प्रतापः ॥⁶[२७॥*] प्रैखत्तिप्रखुर[र]⁷-
प्रघातविगलत्कीलाललोलोलसद्वेतालीकरयन्त्रपीडनवश्रश्यत्कपालास्थिभिः । यस्तस्तार सविस्तरं
रणभुवः कोपोत्कटाभिद्रं(द्र)वद्वि⁸(द्व)प्तद्वेषिशिरोभिरम्ब(म्ब)रचरीनेत्रत्रिभागाच्चितैः ॥⁹
[२८॥*] देवो रुद्रावतारस्त्रिभुवनभवनोत्तम्भनो देव एव त्यागी देवः प्रमाद्यन्नृपति-
- 13 निव्रमने नैगडन्दाम देवः । इत्थन्त¹⁰द्वन्द्वन्दैरविरलविलसच्चाटुवादं वदद्भिर्यस्यास्थानस्थिता-
नामसममसुहृदां विव्यये चित्तवृत्तिः ॥¹¹[२९॥*] भरद्वाजो नाम च्युतकलुषदोषस्समभ[व]श्च
ए[क]स्सर्वेषामुपशमधनानामधिपतिः । तदीयात्तेजस्तः कुतकलशवासाद्यदभवत्स वै भारद्वाजस्त्रि-
भुवनचमत्कारिचरितः ॥¹²[३०॥*] त्रैलोक्यावधि यस्य कीर्तिलङ्घितं लक्ष्मीश्च वाञ्छावधिर्य-
त्कोपः प्रलयोपपन्नमहिमा शापेन चापेन च । वण्ण्यम्बा¹³ नयविक्र-
- 14 मैकजलधेः किल्तस्य यस्याभवल्लीलाखर्व्वितशर्व्व¹⁴शर्व्वगरिमा शिष्यस्सुभद्रापतिः ॥¹⁵[३१॥*]
कोदण्डताण्डवनपण्डितवा(वा)हुदण्डमुद्दण्डकाण्डभरखण्डितपाण्डुसैन्यम् । यम्वीक्ष्य¹⁶ विक्षत-
विपक्षपराजयाशसत्याद्रि(द्रु)तस्स तपसोपि सुतश्चचाल ॥¹⁷[३२॥] अथाक्षेपात्तेन द्रुपदविपद-
र्थोद्धतधिया यदात्तं शापाम्भस्तरलितकराव(व)द्वचुलुकम् । पुमानासीत्तस्मिन्विजय इव साक्षादनु
च तं कुलं चौलुक्यानामनणुगुणसीम प्रववृते ॥¹⁸[३३॥*] विभवति च वि[स]र्पत्सो(च्छो)यं-
सौन्दर्यव-

¹ Originally भुजङ्गी—, changed to भुजङ्ग-.

² Metre: *Mālinī*.

³ Metre: *Upajāti*.

⁴ Metre of this and the next verse *Sārdūlavikrīḍita*.

⁵ Metre: *Vasantatilakā*.

⁶ Metre: *Mandākrāntā*.

⁷ Originally खुर, changed to खुर.

⁸ This *akṣara* is quite clear.

⁹ Metre: *Sārdūlavikrīḍita*.

¹⁰ Read इत्थं स-.

¹¹ Metre: *Sragdharā*.

¹² Metre: *Sikharinī*.

¹³ Read वण्ण्यं वा.

¹⁴ शर्व्व seems to have been changed to शर्व्व as stated by Kielhorn.

¹⁵ Metre: *Sārdūlavikrīḍita*.

¹⁶ Read यं वीक्ष्य.

¹⁷ Metre: *Vasantatilakā*.

¹⁸ Metre: *Sikharinī*.

- 15 यैक्षितिधरपरिपाटीसूचिते तत्र गोत्रे रचितचटुलचापाकृष्टिकृष्टाहितश्रीरभवदवनिवर्म्मा विश्व-
विख्यातकर्मर्मा ॥¹ [३४॥*] पितामहो यत्खलु सिंहवर्म्मा पिता च यद्वीरवरस्सधन्वः । जगत्यतीवा-
तिशयोमुनैव महानुभावत्वमतोपि यन्तु ॥² [३५॥*] यस्य त्यागः सकलजनतापास्तदारिद्र्यमुद्रो
वेला व(व)न्धुक्षितिधरदरीचारितारिः प्रतापः । ईष्टे स्पष्टन्स³ यदि गणनान्तद्गुणानाम्बिधातु-
म्बाचा⁴न्धेनुर्णं (न्नं) नु भगवती भारती यस्य वर्या ॥⁵ [३६॥*] रुद्राणीमिव भूभृतां परिवृढो
16 लक्ष्मीमिवाम्भोनिधिः कालिन्दीमिव भास्करस्स भगवान्ज्यो (ज्यो)त्स्नामिवात्वेऽसुतः । वैदेहीमिव
जानकः क्रतुविधिः श्रीनोहलेत्यद्भुतं कन्या नाम ललाम तान्स⁶ सुषुवे सामन्तचिन्तामणिः ॥⁷
भर्तुः [३७॥*] पुलोमतनयेव मरुद्गणानां छा (छा)येव दष्टतमसां महसाञ्च पत्युः । देवस्य सा
रतिरिवेशुशरासनस्य केयूरवर्षनृपतेर्हयिता व(व)भूव ॥⁸ [३८॥*] देव्या [त]या मदजलच्छटयेव
दन्ती वा (वा)लप्रवाललतयेव तटः पयोधेः । पुष्पश्रियेव च तरुस्तडितेव मेघः शोभां स
17 कामपि व(व)भार नरेन्द्रचन्द्रः ॥ [३९॥*] निम्मापितन्सुकृत⁹सज्जतये तयेदमभ्रङ्कपाप्रशिखर-
स्थलितोष्णरश्मि । देवस्य मन्दिरमुमाप्रणयैकव(व)न्धो¹⁰स्त्यानाकृति स्वयशसामिध(व)
चक्रवालम् ॥ [४०॥*] आकाशयानक्रमस्वेदितानामहोधिनाथस्य तुरङ्गमाणाम् । फेना-
म्बु (म्बु)भिन्नित्यनिषिध्यमाना मन्ये समुद्रान्ति न यत्पताकाः ॥¹¹ [४१॥*] विटङ्कभागेषु वृ (वृ)-
हत्सु यस्य वर्षासु तुङ्गामलसारकस्य । आश्लेषवत्यो नवमेघमालाः पारावतालीतुलनाम्बहन्ति¹²
॥¹³ [४२॥*] आसीन्माधुमते-
18 यः पवनशिवस्तमनु जयति शब्द (ब्द)शिवः । ईश्वरशिवः पुनाति च तस्यान्तेवासितान्सुकृती¹⁴ ॥¹⁵
[४३॥*] तस्मै तपोनिधानाय निपानीयाम्बि (म्बि)पाटको । दत्तौ विद्याधनत्वेन ग्रामावग्राम्यया
तया ॥¹⁶ [४४॥*] धङ्गटपाटकपोण्डीनागव(व)ला [ः*] खैलपाटको वीढा । सज्जाहली च दत्ताः
स्मरारये गोष्ठपाली च ॥¹⁷ [४५॥*] ख्यातः श्रीयुवराजदेवनृपतेस्तस्याभूद्भूपतिः श्रीमल्ल-
धमणराज ऊज्जितमहाभास्वानिवाभ्युन्नतः । भूभृत्तुङ्गशिरोभिरङ्घ्रिचरुचयो यत्सेविताः¹⁸
श्रीश्चि-
19 ताः कामं यः कमनीयसुन्दरगुणैर्ब्रह्मैज्जिगाय स्मरम् ॥¹⁹ [४६॥*] यस्याहवे दृढनिपीडितखड्ग-
कोटिनिर्द्धारितारिकरिकुम्भसमुद्भवेन । वीरश्रियः क्षितितले विततञ्चतुष्कं मुवतादलेन ननु

¹ Metre: *Mālinī*.

² Metre: *Upēndravajrā*.

³ Read स्पष्टं न. Kielhorn's suggestion to change यदि गणनां to परिगणनां is gratuitous. See below, p. 219, n. 3.

⁴ Read -गानां विधातुं बाचा-.

⁵ Metre: *Mandākrāntā*.

⁶ Read तां स.

⁷ Metre: *Sārdūlavikrīḍita*.

⁸ Metre of this and the next verses, *Vasantatilakā*.

⁹ Read निम्मापितं सुकृत-.

¹⁰ It is not necessary to restore the *visarga* here as done by Kielhorn. It is correctly dropped accord-
ing to the *vārttika* on Pāṇini, VIII, 3, 36.

¹¹ Metre: *Indravajrā*.

¹² Read तुलनां वहन्ति.

¹³ Metre: *Upajāti*.

¹⁴ Read -वासितां सुकृती.

¹⁵ Metre: *Aryā*.

¹⁶ Metre: *Anuṣṭubh*.

¹⁷ Metre: *Aryā*.

¹⁸ As Kielhorn has observed, the context requires some reading like यस्याचिताः in place of यत्सेविताः.

¹⁹ Metre: *Sārdūlavikrīḍita*.

- कीर्तिवधूश्चकार ॥¹[४७॥*] किञ्च ॥ सा कदम्ब(म्ब)गुहा मान्या यत्वासीत्सिद्धसन्ततिः । तस्याः पुनरभूद्वन्द्यो रुद्रशम्भुर्मुनीश्वरः ॥²[४८॥*] तत्त्व³प्रभावमहनीयतमस्य तस्य शिष्योभवज्जगति मत्तमयूरनाथः । निःशेषकल्मषमपीमपहृत्य येन सङ्क्रामितम्पर⁴—
- 20 महो नृपतेरवन्ते ॥⁵[४९॥*] तस्मादभूद्भूवनमण्डनतामवाप्तो भूपालमौलिमणिकान्तिभिरर्चिताङ्घ्रिः । श्रीधर्मशम्भुरुचितामलकान्तकीर्तिसै (शै) [वा] गमाम्बु (म्बु) निधिपारमितस्तपोभिः ॥ [५०॥*] अस्मात्सदाशिवः शिष्यस्तपोराशिरभून्नृपैः ।⁶यत्पादद्वयम्बन्धमर्चितं शेखरांशुभिः ॥⁷[५१॥*] अस्मादभून्माधुमतेयनामा⁸ शिष्यः सुधामा फलमूलवृत्तिः । तपान्ति तेजान्ति⁹ च यत्र वासमनन्यसंक्रान्तिगुणेन चक्रुः ॥¹⁰[५२॥*] अस्माच्चूडाशिवः शिष्यो बन्दीयतमोभवत् ।
- 21 कर्मजालमलं येन नीतमस्तं मुमुक्षुणा ॥¹¹[५३॥*] अथ सकलगुणानामाकरस्तस्य शिष्यो हृदयशिवसमाह्वो यद्यशोद्यापि वण्ण्यं (ण्यंम्) । नृपमुकुटनिविष्टैर्यस्य माणिक्यचक्रैरकृत¹² चरणमूलं कान्तमेकान्तबन्धम् ॥¹³[५४॥*] विद्यानां निलयेन येन सुधिया [स] यव्रतेनाधिकं श्रीमन्माधुमतेयवन्ध¹⁴ वितता कीर्तिश्चिरं वर्द्धिता । किञ्च क्षमा क्षमयाम्बु (म्बु) दः समतया मर्यादयाम्भोनिधिर्वैराग्येन (ण) जितः स्मरः स भगवान्कस्यास्पदं नः (न) स्तुते ॥¹⁵[५५॥*]
- 22 किं स्तूपतेसो मुनिपुङ्गवोद्यवा श्रीचेदिचन्द्रो नृपतिः कृतादरः । सद्बृत्तदूतप्रहितैरुपायनैः प्रदर्श्य भक्तिम्विधिना¹⁶ निनाय यम् ॥¹⁷[५६॥*] श्रीमल्लक्ष्मणराजोपि तस्मै सुतपसे स्वयम् । मठं श्रीवैद्यनाथस्य भक्तियुक्तः समाप्यत् ॥¹⁸[५७॥*] स्वीकृत्यापि मुनिभूयो मठं श्रीनौहलेश्वरम् । अघोरशिवशिष्यस्य साधुवु (वु) [त्त]स्य दत्तवान् ॥ [५८॥*] अथ स विहितकृत्यश्चेदिनाथः समर्थः करितुरगसमग्रः शक्तसामन्तपत्तिः । दिशमतिश—
- 23 यरम्यां सम्प्रतस्थे प्रतीचीमहितजनितभीतिदुःस्निवारप्रचारः ॥¹⁹[५९॥*] समरकृतविकारान्विक्रमेण प्रहृत्य प्रणतनृपतिदत्तोपायनैर्वर्द्धिताज्ञः । हृदयनिहितवित्तैरर्थिनां पूरिताशो जलनिधिजलखेलं सैन्यचक्रं चकार ॥ [६०॥*] निमज्ज्य यो रत्ननिधौ श्रीमान्सोमेश्वरं शनैः । अभ्यर्च्य काञ्चनैः पद्मैरथा²⁰ न्यत्तु न्यवेदयत् ॥²¹[६१॥*] जित्वा कोसलनाथमो [ङ्ग] नृपतेराप्तस्तु यः कालियो रत्नस्वर्णमयः स येन विहि—

¹ Metre: *Vasantatilakā*.

² Metre: *Anushtubh*.

³ Kielhorn read तत्त्व, but the *aksharas* तत्त्व are quite clear in his facsimile.

⁴ Kielhorn first read —[म् ?] रमहो, but subsequently while editing the Rāṇōd inscription (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, p. 353) gave the correct reading as above. Hall also had read —परमहो.

⁵ Metre of this and the following verse: *Vasantatilakā*.

⁶ Read यस्य पादद्वयं बन्ध— as suggested by Kielhorn.

⁷ Metre: *Anushtubh*.

⁸ Originally माधुमतेय, changed to माधुमतेय.

⁹ Read तपान्ति and तेजान्ति.

¹⁰ Metre: *Upajāti*.

¹¹ Metre: *Anushtubh*.

¹² The sense shows that the correct grammatical form here would be अकारि.

¹³ Metre: *Mālinī*.

¹⁴ Read —वन्ध—.

¹⁵ Metre: *Sārdūlavikrīḍita*.

¹⁶ Read भक्ति विधिना—.

¹⁷ Metre: *Vamśastha*.

¹⁸ Metre of this and the following verse: *Anushtubh*.

¹⁹ Metre of this and the next verse: *Mālinī*.

²⁰ Originally —रथोन्यत्तु, altered to —रथान्यत्तु.

²¹ Metre: *Anushtubh*.

- 24 तस्सोमेश्वराभ्यर्चनम् । दत्त्वा (त्वा) यः करिवाजिशुभ्रवश (स) नस्रवचन्द्रनादीन्मुनः सन्सार¹श्चमशा-
न्त्येतिविनतस्तुष्टाव तुष्टः प्रभुः ॥² [६२॥*] असारं सन्सारं³ य इह भनूते कोपि नृपति⁴स्त्व-
दंघ्रिव्यानत्या विगलिततमास्तत्त्व (स्त्व) निरतः । न तस्य श्रीभूयो विकृ[ति]कृतये जन्मविरहा-
दिति ध्यानाविष्टः शिवमहसि चि[त्तं] विहितवान् ॥⁵ [६३॥*] श्रीशङ्करगणस्तस्मादभूद्भूमी-
श्वरो महान् । यत्पादद्वन्द्वमद्वंद्वं द्विषद्भिरपि सेवितम् ॥⁶ [६४॥*] संख्येसंख्यविपक्ष-
25 पक्षदलनव्यासङ्गि खड्गव्रतं यस्यासीद्दृढसाहसस्य सततन्दानं जनानन्दकृत् । रूपेणाप्रतिमो मनो-
भवभवं दर्पं जहारोद्धतं यः सर्व्वत्वं च सर्व्वकालमवनीनाथः स्तुतः कोविदः ॥⁷ [६५॥*]
यत्पादद्वयपद्मसद्य विततं भूतेरभूद्भूषितं भूपानां नमतां किरीटविकटप्रान्तस्थरत्नांशुभिः । वक्षो-
रत्ननिधिस्तमाश्रितवती⁸ लक्ष्मीः क्रमेणागता वीरश्रीरपरं वक्ष्य नृपतेः कौक्षेयधाराश्रया ॥
[६६॥*] तस्य श्रीयुवराजदेवनृ-
26 पतिर्भाता कनीयानभूद्भूपैर्यच्चरणारविन्दपतितैर्भृङ्गैरिवा[ङ्ग]स्थितम् । यः सत्यव्रतसत्त्व (स्त्व)-
सूक्तिवसतिः श्रीविश्वैकाश्रयः प्रायस्तस्य न सज्जनोपि सकलान्वक्तुं गुणान्श (ञ्श) क्षयति ॥
[६७॥*] दंष्ट्राकोटिविपाटनोन्नवदनः क्रूर⁹स्वरो भासुरो नेत्र¹⁰प्रान्तविकीर्णकोपकधिरः
पादप्रचारायुधः । येनाक्रम्य भुजेन भूमिपतिना लाङ्गूलव (व) द्रुक्रमो दैत्यो व्याघ्रवपुर्हंतोतिभयदः
शस्त्रीभृता पाणिना ॥ [६८॥*] कन्दर्पोभिनवः पुर-
27 न्धिनयनप्रीतिप्रदोप्यन्यथा यः कालः करवालकोटिविहतस्थूलेभकुम्भस्थलः । चित्रं यच्च सर-
स्वतीकृततरतिः श्रीकण्ठपूजापरश्चातुर्व्वर्ण्यविचारचारुचतुरो यच्चार्थचिन्तामणिः ॥ [६९॥*]
यस्योत्तु (त्तु) ज्जगजेन्द्रमज्जनगलद्दानाम्बु (म्बु) भिम्मिश्रितं रेवावारि विविक्ततित्तमुचितस्नानेन
तन्वीजनः । संप्राप्योरुनितम्ब (म्ब) ताडनवशव्यस्तास्तवीचीचयं स [द्वंद्वं] स्मरसौरभेण महता
निर्व्याजमायोजितः ॥ [७०॥*] रामाणां कु-
28 चमण्डलेषु नियतं हारप्रकारक्रमात्संपूर्णं शशिमण्डले च विमले ज्योत्स्नाच्छलेनोज्व (ज्ज्व) लम् ।
मन्ये¹¹ मानसवारि यस्य वितते हंसावली¹² विभ्रमाद्भ्रान्त्वाशेषमुमापतेस्तु वसती
विश्रान्तिमागाद्यशः ॥ [७१॥*] संपूज्य देवमीशानम्बिभवैः¹³ स्वैर्यथोचितैः । यथागमं
यथाशास्त्रं स्तोत्रम्विहित¹⁴ वान्मृपः ॥¹⁵ [७२॥*] अविचलितमनोभिर्यस्त्वमीश क्षितीशैर्विभव-
विहितकृत्यैरिज्यसे [ते] कृतार्थाः । य इह कृ [तवि]-
29 कारा मन्मथैकान्तचिता (त्ता) भवति वरद तेषां संपदुन्मादहेतुः ॥¹⁶ [७३॥*] समदकरिषटाभिः
किं किमङ्गाङ्गनाभिर्मंदनशयनलीलां भावयन्तीभिराभिः । कनकतुरगवासोरत्नजातैर्न कृत्यं न हि
भवति भवानीवल्लभस्यार्चनं चेत् ॥ [७४॥*] भवति नृपतिवन्द्यो¹⁷ जन्म पृथ्वी च भोग्या श्रुत-

¹ Read संसार-.

² Metre: *Sārdūlavikrīḍita*.

³ Read संसारं.

⁴ The *akṣhara* ए, which was omitted, is written below the line.

⁵ Metre: *Śikharīṅī*.

⁶ Metre: *Anuṣṭubh*.

⁷ Metre of this and the next six verses: *Sārdūlavikrīḍita*.

⁸ Read -रत्ननिधिं समाश्रितवती.

⁹ The *visarga*, which was at first incised after र, is cancelled.

¹⁰ The न् of नेत्र is written below the line.

¹¹ Originally मान्ये, changed to मन्ये.

¹² Read हंसावली-.

¹³ Read -मीशानं विभवैः.

¹⁴ Read स्तोत्रं विहित- The change of स्तोत्र into स्तोत्र has not been made in the original.

¹⁵ Metre: *Anuṣṭubh*.

¹⁶ Metre of this and the following three verses: *Mālinī*.

¹⁷ Read -वंशे.

- मुचितविचारश्चारूपप्रभावः । समरविजयसंपत्तस्य यो निःप्रपञ्च¹ञ्चरणयुगलमूलं संश्रितः
शङ्करस्य ॥[७५॥*] किमिह
- 30 व(व)हुभिस्त्वैत्रायि सर्वस्य हेतुर्भवतु भवति नित्यं भक्तियोगो ममैकः । सकलसुखविशेषाद्यत्र
पीयूषवर्षः स्वयमनुभवगम्यो जायते त्वत्प्रसादात् ॥ [७६॥*] भूपत्रययशोराशिवर्णनं प्रथमं
कृतम् । श्रीमता श्रीनिवासेन श्रीस्थिरानन्दसूनुना ॥² [७७॥*] भूपतीनां त्रयाणां तु कीर्तिकीर्त-
नमुज्ज्वलम् । विहितं सज्जनेनाथ सुधिया थीरसूनुना ॥ [७८॥*] पत्तनमण्डपिकायां ॥
लवणस्य खण्डिका[यां षो]-
- 31 [ड]सि(शि)का घाणके च षोड³ षोडसि(शि)का । तैलस्य मासि मासे दिनमनु च युगायुगे
च पौरस्तु ॥⁴ [७९॥*] पूगफलमरिचशुष्ठीप्रभृतिषु भाण्डेषु भरकपौरस्तु । वीथीं च प्रति च
कपर्दी द्यूतकपर्द⁵स्तु शाकवार्त्ताकम् ॥⁶ [८०॥*] रसवणिजामादायस्तृणपूलकधी[र्म]रादि य-
त्किञ्चित् । दत्ते करी चतुष्टयमङ्ग तुरङ्गो द्वयन्तु पौराणाम् ॥ [८१॥*] यद्वहद[न्य]दानं
किमपि च विद्याधनन्तदुद्दिष्टम् । य[त्त्र] दः [पुण्यश्री]-
- 32 [की]र्त्तयः प्रवर्त्तन्ते ॥[८२॥*] यत्त्र च श्रीनोहलेश्वरमठे श्रीमदधोरशिवा[चा]र्योभूत् ॥
क्वचिद्वि[क्षावृ]त्तिः क्वचिदपि च शाकाभ्यवहृतिः क्वचिन्मूलाहारः क्वचिदपि च कंदोश्च
बु(बु)भुजे । परं ज्योतिः शैवं विगलितरजस्कान्वतमसं न्वि(वि)चिन्वन्नो यातो विषविषयवे-
[ग]स्य कलनाम् ॥⁷ [८३॥*] तेनेयं प्रशस्तिः सज्जतिमानीता । श्रीत्रिपुरी[सौ]भाग्य-
पुरलवणनगरदुर्लभपुरविमानपुर[न]⁸
- 33 मिः काष्ठ[वृ]षः प्रत्यहमथ रक्षितः समानेयः । देव र्मचारार्थ⁹ [चार]-
दारुणि ॥¹⁰ [८४॥*] सुदिलष्टव(व)न्धघटना विस्मितकविराजशेखरस्तुत्या । आस्तामियमा-
कल्पं कृतिश्च कीर्त्तिश्च पूर्वा च ॥¹¹ [८५॥*] कायस्थश्रीसीरुकस्य ॥ करणिकधीरसुतेन
तु नाईनाम्ना प्रशस्तिरालिखिता । सत्सूत्र[धा]र[स]ङ्गमतनूजनोत्तेन चोत्कीर्णा ॥[८६॥*]
स्वकी[यदायादक्रयपु(प्र)दानम्] ॥¹² द [१*]

TRANSLATION

Success ! Om ! Adoration to Siva.

(Verse 1) May the mass of Sambhu's matted hair, the store of all blessings, protect you !—(the mass of matted hair), on which the rolling waters of the Mandākinī (i.e., the Gaṅgā), flowing down from the bright vault of heaven, appear like a white umbrella, being upheld by the wind from the opened mouths, dreadful through the large expanding hoods, of the lord of serpents (which is) greatly afflicted, being drawn into a tight knot !

Moreover—

(V. 2) May the flame of the fire of the eye of the moon-diademed (Śiva) protect

¹ Read निःप्रपञ्च—.

² Metre of this and the following verse: *Anuṣṭubh*.

³ Delete षोड. There is no indication that these *akṣaras* have been cancelled.

⁴ Metre of this and the following three verses: *Gīti*.

⁵ The *akṣara* व which was at first omitted is written below the line.

⁶ Metre: *Śikharinī*.

⁷ About eight *akṣaras* are illegible here.

⁸ Perhaps र्मचारार्थ is meant.

⁹ Metre: *Āryā* (?).

¹⁰ Metre of this and the following verse: *Āryā*.

¹¹ These *akṣaras* are fairly legible on the original stone.

¹² One *akṣara* is indistinct here, and two or three more have been lost by the breaking off of the corner of the stone.

you,—(*the flame*) which rises up as if to burn the moon, because it is a friend of the god of love!

(V. 3) May the nectar-rayed (moon) of Sarva, the unique flower in the forest of his matted hair, protect you!—that (*moon*) which the six-faced (Kārttikēya), child as he is, persistently asks for,¹ in order to play with; which is the stake when (Śiva), the destroyer of the cities, plays at dice with the goddess (Pārvatī); (*and*) which Pārvatī uses as a missile when she is talking angrily (*with Śiva*) in amorous sports!

(V. 4) May the gigantic dance of the conqueror of Tripura (*i.e.*, Śiva) in which he indulged to his heart's content² protect you!—(*the dance*) during which the quarters were pushed back by the exceedingly strong blasts of wind, caused by his massive arms, which suddenly became terrific through his graceful movements as he energetically applied himself to it (*i.e.*, to the dancing); and during which the sky rose higher as the earth bent down under (*the weight of*) his mighty *chārī* step!

(V. 5) Using my speech to (*describe*) the family which has sprung from the moon, I, alas! have, through folly, begun to measure the sky with my hands.

(V. 6) Even though my speech has no brilliance, it will attain it from this great family of the moon whose rise is being described. Or, do not, mark! the streams of rut of the elephants of the quarters, though naturally black, attain the (*white*) colour of the milky ocean, when they come into contact with it?

(V. 7) That abode of lustre which obtained its rise from the eye of Atri, which befriends the earth by whitening it, which rises up to the Lōkālōka mountain (*and*) dispels great darkness, is called the moon. The crescent of that very (*moon*) adorns the forehead of Sambhu. From the same moon sprang, what more (*need I say?*), this family also of the Haihayas.

(V. 8) And in this (*family*) which was rendered the highest object of reverence by (*those*) primeval kings, Budha and others, there was a noble prince named Arjuna who covered the wide quarters with the lustre of his fame, which deserves praise because he cut down his enemies like forests.

(V. 9) What happened even to that lord of Laṅkā (*i.e.*, Rāvaṇa) when he was engaged in hostility with him—(*the lord of Laṅkā*), who with ease had lifted up³ (Kailāsa) the lord of mountains belonging to Sarva, (*and before whom*) the lord of gods went, none knew where, on his elephant which was terrified by the fire issuing from the thunderbolt as it vibrated and broke in striking (Rāvaṇa's) broad chest—that indeed is the measure of his glory!

(V. 10) Who are we, oh! to describe the merits of him whom the god Dattātrēya, that abode of unrestrained amorous endearments of the goddess of fortune, favoured

¹ Kielhorn, who made the *pada-ccbēda* as *kṛtvā grabhī mārgati*, translated—'that (*moon*) which the six-faced (Kārttikēya), child as he is, lays hold of and seeks to play with'. It is better to construe the words as *āgrabhī kṛtvā kbēlāya mārgati*.

² Kielhorn translates *avyābat-ēccham* by 'to the full extent of your desires', evidently treating it as an adverb modifying the verb *avyāt*. The tenor of the whole verse, however, requires that it should be taken as an adjective to *tāṇḍav-āḍambaram*. Śiva could indulge in the dance to his heart's content, because the quarters were pushed back, the sky rose higher and the earth bent down, thus affording more space for his dance.

³ Kielhorn translated 'of that lord of Laṅkā even, who with ease had coaxed Sarva and the lord of mountains', evidently deriving *ullālita* from *ullal* to coax, to fondle. But the word is clearly used here in the same sense as *ullāsita* (lifted up) in *bēl-ōllāsita-v(b)ābu-daṇḍa-vibita-Śrikanṭha-Sail-ōddha(rī)tiḥ* in line 6 of Goharwa plates of Karṇa (No. 30, below).

with the gracious promise of sons? What is the use of vain prattle? In this case even the goddess of speech is, I fancy, clearly perplexed!

(V. 11) Then, from him who was a mountain¹ for the creepers that were the far-reaching vows of good men, how many lords of earth did not spring, the fame springing from whom was in the habit of defeating (*i.e.*, surpassing in lustre) the young (*i.e.*, full) moon?

(V. 12) Among those who thus appeared successively was born **Kōkalladēva (I)**, who caused the wonder of men; who marked the highest limit of blessedness; who was like Indra on the orb of the earth that submitted to him; who was the wild fire in burning the spreading creepers that were his enemies; (*and*) whose valour, adorned as he was with pride, pervaded the circle of the three worlds.

(V. 13) On account of whose forces, when they met together for the conquest of the world, marching like the waves of the ocean overflowing its bounds, the multitude of the broad hoods of the lord of serpents sank under the earth which was pressed down by their excessive weight.

(V. 14) When the dust raised by his forces gradually rolled on from the earth to the sky, the pairs of Chakravāka birds, apprehending (*the approach of*) night, separated in grief; the peacocks, mistaking it for the approach of clouds, performed a joyful dance; and on the disappearance of all light, the eyes suddenly became blind.

(V. 15) When the lords of elephants in his vast army, which was fond of the forests on the sea-shore, plunged into (*its*) water like the principal mountains crowding together, the ocean after a long time was reminded of that occasion when the Mandara mountain revolved in it.

(V. 16) While he was occupying the slopes of the Vindhya mountain, the forest, with its multitudes of birds chirping harshly, cried out, as it were, in pain, as (*the trees were*) being broken by the rutting elephants of the army.

(V. 17) Having conquered the whole earth, he planted two unique pillars,—in the quarter of the pitcher-born (Agastya)² that (*well-known*) **Krishṇarāja**, and in the quarter of Kubēra³ **Bhōjadēva** the treasure-house of fortune.

(V. 18) From him then was born **Mugdhatuṅga**, than whom (*there was*) none exalted in the three worlds. And when he was desirous of conquering the quarters, what country did he not obtain, having destroyed his enemies?

(V. 19) His sole object of affection, when he was preparing for fight, was his sword,—(*which was*) a couch for the goddess of battle, a bolt for (*the destruction of*) the enemy's army, a sprout of the creeper that was his anger, a dear friend of haughtiness, a channel (*made*) of sapphire for the water of good deeds, a branch of the tree of bravery, and an endless path for the movements of his adventurous deeds.

(V. 20) Possessed of the prowess of Rudra⁴, he so dealt with the hostile forces

¹ It is not necessary to translate *parrata* by 'a tree' as Kielhorn does. Again, his translation of the expression *taruṇa-tāraka-rāja*, *etc.* as 'renowned for their zeal in defeating kings who were like newly risen Tārakas' and his remark 'Tāraka was a Daitya who was killed by Indra' are manifestly wrong. *Tāraka* (n.) means 'a star' and *tāraka-rāja*, 'the moon'.

² *I. e.*, in the south.

³ *I. e.*, in the north.

⁴ Kielhorn translated *raudraṁ yō dhāma vi(bi)bhṛat* by 'possessed of terrific splendour'. The whole verse is, however, intended to compare the battlefield, where the king slaughtered his enemies, with the cemetery where Rudra revels in the company of his hosts of spirits and goblins. Besides *raudra* is used before in the sense of 'terrific' and it is not likely to have been used in the same sense again in the last quarter. I, therefore, prefer to take *raudraṁ dhāma* as 'the prowess of Rudra'.

in every fight that crowds of goblins stalked about, headless trunks (*of warriors*) were running (*here and there*), carrying their own heads (*which had been*) cut off, small imps were howling, confronting goblins had fire blazing forth from the hollows of their mouths and (*the battlefield*) appeared dreadful with the terrific cries of ill-omened jackals howling in their desire for devouring flesh.

(V. 21) The forests near the sea-shore where his forces were encamped during his expeditions, had their coral sprouts doubled on account of the foreparts of the hands of women moving (*among them*) to gather them.¹

(V. 22) 'Here the waves of the ocean are playing, here the wind is blowing which makes the women of Kērala sport, here the serpent is taking away the fragrance of the trees'.—Thus wandered his thoughts in the vicinity of the Malaya mountain!

(V. 23) Having conquered the rows of countries along the shore of the eastern ocean, and having taken the country of Pāli from the lord of Kōsala, he, who continually destroyed the abodes of (*his*) enemies, was the ablest master of the sword.

(V. 24) From him was born that Kēyūravārsha², who was guided by polity³; who fulfilled the ardent desires of the minds of the women of Gauḍa; who sported on the breasts of the ladies of Karṇāṭa even as a deer does on a pleasure-hill; who applied the ornamental mark to the forehead of the women of Lāṭa; who enjoyed the pleasures of love with the women of Kāśmīra, (*and*) was fond of the excellent songs of the women of Kaliṅga.

(V. 25) Even when his forces marched for vanquishing the guardians of the quarters, sporting as at the time of world-destruction, so as to rouse the apprehension of the three worlds, no mass of dust could rise from the ground, inundated as it was with the streams of tears flowing from the eyes of the wives of (*his*) enemies who were again and again taken captive.

(V. 26) In battle that king wielded his large sword, which, being covered with a multitude of pearls from the pitcher-like frontal globes of elephants which were clearly broken open, appeared, as it were, to be strewn with the particles of the enemy's fame, which it had often drunk but subsequently emitted, under the pressure of the king's firm grasp.

(V. 27) Up to the Kailāsa mountain, the friend⁴ of Pārvati's continuously charming sport, up to the excellent eastern mountain from where rises the lustre of the sun, near the bridge (*of the south*) and then up to the western lord of waters (*i.e.*, the western ocean) the valour of his armies caused unending oppression to his enemies.

(V. 28) He strew the battlefields all over with the heads of his proud enemies who, exasperated with rage attacked him—(*the heads*), the skull-bones of which were falling off, being pressed by the machine-like hands of the exulting female goblins, eager for the blood dripping from (*the parts*) struck by his vibrating swift arrows, (*and*) which were honoured with side-glances of (*heavenly*) damsels moving in the sky.

(V. 29) "(*Our*) king is Rudra incarnate; (*our*) king is the support of the mansion of the three worlds; (*our*) king is an iron fetter for curbing the wayward princes;"—When multitudes of excellent bards continuously uttered such brilliant words of flattery, the minds of his enemies who were present in his hall of audience were incomparably afflicted.

¹ The idea suggested is that the fingers of the women were like coral.

² He is identical with Yuvarājadēva I mentioned in verse 46 below.

³ Kielhorn translates *nīti-nayanaḥ* by 'the observer of good conduct', but the idea that the science of politics is an eye of the kings is often met with in Sanskrit literature. Compare *Daiakumāracharita* (Bom. Sansk. Series ed., 1919), p. 130.

⁴ *I. e.*, where Pārvati is always sporting.

(V. 30) There was (*a sage*) named Bharadvāja, (*who was*) free from the blemishes of sin, (*and*) who was the sole lord of those whose wealth is tranquillity. What sprang from his male energy deposited in a jar—that verily was Bhāradvāja, *i.e.*, Drōṇa whose deeds excited the wonder of the three worlds.

(V. 31) His fame gracefully roamed throughout the three worlds; his fortune was limited (*only*) by his desires; his rage, (*manifested both*) by his curse and his bow, was terrible, such as would be suitable for the destruction of the world. What can we describe of that sole ocean of policy and valour, whose disciple was that husband of Subhadrā (*i.e.*, Arjuna) who with ease humbled the great pride of Sarva.¹

(V. 32) Seeing him whose strong arm was skilful in wielding the bow, and who with his many powerful arrows exterminated the Pāṇḍava army, even that son of Dharma, who was honoured for veracity, swerved (*from the truth*)² when he lost (*all*) hope of defeating the enemy.

(V. 33) Now, in the water, of which he in the act of cursing had taken up a handful (*chuluka*) with his trembling hand, in rage to bring calamity on Drupada when insulted (*by him*), there sprang a man like victory incarnate; from him is descended the family of the Chaulukyas of great merit.

(V. 34) In that powerful family, in which was produced a series of kings eminent in spreading valour and beauty, was born Avanivarman whose deeds were well-known in the (*whole*) universe, (*and*) who drew to himself the enemy's fortune when he bent his beautiful bow.

(V. 35) That his grandfather was Simhavarman and his father was Sadhanva the best of heroes,—this by itself rendered him exceedingly great in the world. To add to this was his great dignity.

(V. 36) Of him, whose liberality has broken the seal of poverty of all people, (*and*) whose valour has made the enemies take shelter in the mountain-caves by the seashore, he (*alone*) apparently might possibly³ count the merits, to whom is indeed submissive the divine Bhāratī, the milch-cow of speech.

(V. 37) As the lord of mountains (Himālaya) begot Rudrāṇī (*i.e.*, Pārvatī), the ocean Lakshmi, the divine sun the (river) Kālindī (Yamunā), the son of Atri the moon-light, Janaka's sacrificial rite Vaidēhī (*i.e.*, Sītā), even so (*he*), the jewel that fulfilled the wishes of the feudatory princes, begot that wonderful ornament in the form of a maiden, named the illustrious Nōhalā.

(V. 38) As the daughter of Pulōman⁴ (*was the beloved wife*) of the lord of the hosts of Maruts⁵, as Chhāyā (*was*) of that lord of the light (*i.e.*, the sun) that dispels darkness, as Rati (*was*) of the god whose bow is (*made of*) sugar-cane,⁶—even so did she become the beloved (*wife*) of Kēyūrararsha.

(V. 39) That moon-like king attained indescribable splendour through her, even as the elephant (*does*) by the stream of rutting juice, the seashore by a creeper of tender coral, a tree by the beauty of flowers, and a cloud by lightning.

¹ The reference is to Arjuna's encounter with Śiva described in the *Mahābhārata*.

² Kielhorn's translation 'Even that son of Dharma minding his promise retired *etc.*' gives a wholly incorrect sense. The allusion here is to an incident in the Bhārata war when Yudhiṣṭhira was tempted to tell a lie to bring about the death of Drōṇa. See *Mahābhārata*, Drōṇaparvan, Adhyāya 193, vv. 34-39. Compare also *Vepitānubhāra*, Act III, v. 111.

³ For *yadi* used here in the sense of 'possibly,' compare the *Meghadūta*, v. 113.

⁴ *I.e.*, Śachī.

⁵ *I.e.*, of Indra.

⁶ *I.e.*, of the god of love.

(V. 40) For the attainment of religious merit she has constructed this temple of the god (Śiva) who is the sole object of Umā's love, (*this temple*), on the pinnacles of which with their cloud-scraping tops trips the sun, (*and which is*) as it were the mass of her extensive fame (*in a tangible form*).

(V. 41) The flags on it do not flutter, because, I fancy, they are constantly sprinkled with the foam-water of the horses of the sun, that are fatigued by continuous marching through the sky.

(V. 42) On the broad pinnacles of this temple, which has a lofty fluted disc,¹ the rows of fresh clouds clinging to them in the rainy season bear resemblance to flocks of pigeons.

(V. 43) There was (*a sage*), Pavanaśiva, the lord of Madhumatī; after him flourished Śabdaśiva; the pious Īvaraśiva again sanctified his discipleship.

(V. 44) To him, who was a store of austerities, the cultured (*queen*) donated the villages Nipānīya and Ambipāṭaka as a reward for scholarship.

(V. 45) And she gave to (Śiva) the enemy of Smara, Dhaṅgaṭapāṭaka, Pōṇḍī, Nāgabala, Khailapāṭaka, Viḍā, Sajjāhalī and Gōshṭhapālī.

(V. 46) From her was born to the illustrious king Yuvarājadēva (I), the illustrious Lakshmaparāja (II), elevated and possessed of great splendour like the sun; the lustre of whose feet, resorted to by fortune, was honoured by the exalted heads of kings (*even as the lustrous rays of the sun, possessed of beauty, are revered by the high peaks of mountains*), and who, by his unique, attractive and beautiful excellences, surpassed the god of love.

(V. 47) For the goddess of whose heroism the lady Fame verily spread out on the ground a four-stringed necklace, with the multitude of pearls from the frontal globes of the enemy's elephants, rent, in battle, by the edge of his firmly grasped sword.

Moreover—

(V. 48) Venerable is that Kadambaguhā where there was a succession of sages. To them again was Rudraśambhu, the chief of sages, an object of adoration.

(V. 49) He, who was most venerable in this world by his power (*derived from the knowledge*) of the reality, had in this world a disciple (*named*) the Lord of Mattamayūra, who, having completely removed the stain of impurity from the king Avanti, communicated to him the supreme lustre² (*by initiating him in the Śaiva faith*).

(V. 50) After him came the illustrious Dharmaśambhu, who became an ornament of the world, (*and*) whose feet were revered by the lustre of the crest-jewels of princes; who, having crossed the ocean of the Śaiva faith by his austerities, attained fitting, spotless and pleasing fame.

(V. 51) After him came his disciple Sadāśiva, who had a store of austerities, (*and*) whose venerable feet were worshipped by princes with the rays of their crowns.

(V. 52) After him came his disciple named Mādhumatēya, who, living on fruits and roots, was possessed of excellent lustre, (*and*) in whom austerities and radiance always dwelt together.

(V. 53) After him there was (*his*) most venerable disciple Chūḍāśiva, who, being

¹ In Indian Śilpasastra, *amalasaraka* means 'a circular fluted disc which surmounts the spire of temples', so called from its resemblance to the *emblem myrobalan*. Cf. *Skandbūd=urdbvam bhavāt ghaṇṭā yadi v-amalasarakam*, in *Samarāṅgaṇasūtradhāra* (Gaikwad's Oriental Series), Vol. II, p. 175.

² Kielhorn at first read *puram-abū* in this verse and translated it as 'who became possessed, oh! of the town (?) of the prince Avanti,' but himself corrected his mistake later on in *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, p. 353.

desirous of final liberation, removed completely the taint consequent on actions (*performed in previous births*).

(V. 54) Then (*came*) his disciple named **Hṛidayaśiva**, a mine of all virtues, whose fame deserves to be sung even now; the soles of whose uniquely venerable feet were rendered beautiful by the multitude of rubies set in the crowns of princes.

(V. 55) To whom is not the holy man an object of praise—(*the holy man*) who, an abode of (*all*) lores, wise and true to his vows, increased still further and for a long time the fame of the illustrious **Mādhumatēya** lineage; who, moreover, surpassed the earth by his forbearance, the cloud by his impartiality, and the ocean by decorum of conduct, and (*who*) vanquished the god of love by his freedom from passion?

(V. 56) Or, why need that foremost of sages be praised at all—(*he*), whom the king, the illustrious moon of the Chēdi (*country*), showing his devotion by presents sent by well-conducted messengers, brought him hither respectfully (*and*) in due form?

(V. 57) The illustrious **Lakshmaṇarāja** also, being full of devotion himself, offered that great ascetic the monastery of the holy **Vaidyanātha**.

(V. 58) The sage, having accepted it, again made over the holy **Nauhlēśvara** monastery to his well-conducted disciple **Aghōraśiva**.

(V. 59) Then, having accomplished his object, the powerful lord of Chēdi, with all his elephants and horses (*as well as*) powerful feudatories and foot-soldiers, proceeded to the extremely charming western quarter, causing terror to all his enemies, his progress being difficult to check.

(V. 60) Having struck with valour those who showed vehemence for fighting,¹ having his commands honoured by presents offered by princes who submitted to him, having fulfilled the desires of suppliants with wealth on which they had set their hearts, he allowed the host of his army to sport in the water of the ocean.

(V. 61) Having bathed in the ocean, the illustrious (*Lakshmaṇarāja*) quietly worshipped (*the god*) **Sōmēśvara** with golden lotuses and also offered something else.

(V. 62) He worshipped **Sōmēśvara** with that (*effigy of*) **Kāliya** wrought of jewels and gold, which he had obtained from the prince of **Ōḍra**, after defeating the lord of **Kōsala**. The prince, having besides presented elephants, horses, white garments, garlands, sandal and other (*gifts*), (*and*) being filled with joy, very humbly praised (*the god*) to get rid of the troubles of worldly existence.

(V. 63) “Whenever a prince, who is freed from ignorance by bowing to your feet (*and*) is devoted to the truth, considers this life worthless, his royal fortune will not produce again (*any*) passion in him,² for he gets rid of re-birth”—Absorbed in such meditation, he fixed his mind on **Śiva**’s greatness.

(V. 64) From him was born the great lord of the earth, the illustrious **Śaṅkara-gaṇa (III)**, whose matchless pair of feet was worshipped even by (*his*) enemies.

(V. 65) Firm in daring as he was, he devoted his sword to the destruction of the innumerable hosts of his enemies; his charity always delighted the people; being of

¹ Kielhorn translated *samara-kṛita-vikārān=vikramāṇa prahritya* as ‘having valorously struck down (*adversaries*) who were humbled in battle.’ The verse is intended to contrast two types of the king’s adversaries—(i) those who prepared themselves for fight and (ii) those who submitted to him. The poet has used *vikāra* and *vikṛiti* several times in this inscription in the sense of ‘passion,’ ‘rage’ etc.

² Kielhorn translates ‘His good fortune is no longer liable to change’, but *śrī* which is used here generally means ‘fortune,’ ‘wealth,’ ‘prosperity’. *Vikṛiti-kṛitayā na (bhavati)* can scarcely mean ‘is not liable to change’. For the idea of fortune infatuating a person, see below *ya iba kṛita-vikārāḥ* etc. in verse 73, below. For the meaning of *vikṛiti* see n. 1, above.

matchless beauty, he humbled the haughty pride of the mind-born (*i.e.*, the god of love); and as the lord of the earth, he was praised at all places and times by the wise.

(V. 66) The pair of his lotus-like feet, which afforded a broad resting place for fortune, was adorned by the rays of jewels set on the broad sides of the diadems of princes as they bowed (*to him*). Fortune, which resorted to his ocean-like breast, had come to him as a heritage;¹ not so, however, the glory of heroism which depended on the edge of that prince's sword.

(V. 67) His younger brother was the illustrious king Yuvarajādēva (II), on whose feet princes bent down as bees hover on lotuses. Of him, who was an abode of devotion to truth, courage and pleasing speech, and the sole resort of fortune and valour, even a good man² will not probably be able to describe all excellences.

(V. 68) This prince overpowered with his arm and killed, with his hand which wielded a dagger, the radiant, fiercely roaring demon in the form of a tiger, whose mouth appeared terrible as it tore (*animals*) with its sharp teeth, the corners of whose eyes were blood-shot with rage, which used its paws as weapons of attack, and which sprang forward with its uplifted tail.

(V. 69) Though he delighted the eyes of women as a new god of love, he was otherwise the god of death who broke open the frontal globes of huge elephants with the edge of his sword and, strange to say, (*though*) he was fond of Sarasvatī, he devoted himself to the worship of Śiva, and clever as he was in discriminating between the four castes, he was a wish-fulfilling jewel to (*all*) suppliants.

(V. 70) When young women for their usual bath plunged into the water of the Rēvā, which was clear, but bitter, being mixed with the rutting juice which flowed into it at the bathing of his huge and excellent elephants, they innocently became perfumed with the strong fragrance of copulation³ as the multitudes of waves, dashing against their thighs and hips, surged up and down.

(V. 71) I fancy that his radiant fame, after wandering everywhere,—on the round breasts of women surely in the form of pearl-necklaces, on the spotless full disc of the moon in the guise of the moon-light, on the extensive waters of the Mānasa lake as a beautiful row of swans,—has found rest in the abode of Umā's husband (*i.e.*, in Kailāsa).

(V. 72) Having worshipped the god Īśāna (Śiva) with suitable (*gifts of*) his wealth, the king composed the (*following*) hymn of praise, according to traditional works (*āgamas*) (*and*) scriptures :—

(V. 73) "Happy are those kings, O Lord, who with steady minds worship thee, spending their wealth on (*charitable*) works. For those who (*on the other hand*) are swayed by passion, and whose minds are solely engrossed in love, fortune becomes a cause of intoxication, O granter of boons!

(V. 74) "Of what use are these troops of rutting elephants (*and*) these women

¹ Kielhorn translates *kramīṇ-āgatā* by 'come to him gradually', but here the sense clearly is that of 'obtained by succession'. Compare *krama-prāpta* in Vākāṭaka seals. There is a contrast intended here between Lakshmī and Virāṣṭī. Both of them resorted to Śaṅkaragaṇa; but while he received the former as a heritage, the latter was attracted by his deft swordsmanship.

² The use of *sajjana* 'a good man' seems at first sight to be inappropriate here, as there is hardly any connection between the good nature of a man and his ability to describe the merits of a king. The poet has, however, used it here as his own name was *Sajjana*; see v. 78 below. So he means to say 'Even I may not be able to describe all the merits of this king!'

³ Kielhorn's rendering 'they truly become perfumed with the strong fragrance of the god of love' does not bring out the intended sense clearly. The idea expressed in this verse occurs, though in a somewhat different form, in the *Raghuvamśa* also, see Canto IV, v. 45.

who display amorous dalliance? Gold, horses, garments and all kinds of jewels are of no avail, if thereby (Siva) the lord of Bhavānī is not worshipped.

(V. 75) "Birth in a royal family, enjoyment of the earth, learning, proper discrimination, beautiful form (and) excellent victory in battle,—(these) accrue to him, who takes refuge with the holy feet of Śaṅkara.

(V. 76) Why need I say more? May my single-minded devotion, the cause of everything, be always directed to thee O Lord!—in which there will be, by thy grace, a shower of nectar,—such as can be experienced by one's own self,¹—owing to the presence therein of all kinds of highest pleasures."

(V. 77) The great fame of the (first) three princes was first described by the illustrious Śrīnivāsa, the son of the illustrious Sthīrānanda.

(V. 78) Then the brilliant eulogy of the three (other) princes was composed by Sajjana, the wise son of Thīra.

In the *Maṇḍapikā*² of the town—

(V. 79) There shall be paid a *śōḍaśikā*³ (coin) on (every) *khaṇḍikā*⁴ of salt and (also) one *śōḍaśikā* for (every) oil-mill per month, and a *paura*⁵ for a couple of *yugās*⁶ per day.

(V. 80) In the case of betel-nuts, black pepper, dried ginger and other merchandise, a *paura* (shall be paid) by every measurer⁷; a *kapardī* shall be paid for every *vīthī* (shop) and *dyūtakapardas*⁸ for vegetables and egg-plants.

(V. 81) In the case of dealers in liquids, the tax should be (in the form of) bundles of grass,⁹ *dhīrmara*¹⁰ and whatever (else may be possible). An elephant (offered for sale)

¹ Kielhorn translates *svayam-anubhava-gamyā* by 'which will manifest itself of its own accord'. The expression, however, clearly means that the shower of nectar cannot be described in words, but can be appreciated only by self-experience.

² *Maṇḍapikā* (from which the Marāṭhī word *Maṇḍāṭ*, a 'market-place', is derived) seems to have been a pavillion in the market-place where things brought to the market for sale were taxed. It was also called *Sulka-maṇḍapikā*, see *Bhāvnagar Sanskrit and Prakrit Inscriptions*, p. 159.

³ *Śōḍaśikā* was probably a coin equal in value to one-sixteenth part of a *dramma*. Cf. *Vimśāpaka* mentioned in lines 10, 20, 26 etc. of the Siyaḍōṇī inscription, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, pp. 174 ff.

⁴ *Khaṇḍikā* seems to have been a measure of capacity corresponding to the modern *khaṇḍī* which is equal to 20 maunds. The Harsha stone inscription of Vīgraharāja (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XLII, pp. 57 ff.) mentions the tax of one *vimśāpaka* on every *kūṣṭaka* of salt at Śākambharī.

⁵ *Paura* seems to have been a small coin like *kaparda*. The Siyaḍōṇī inscription states in line 20 the tax of two *kapardas* per *yugā*, which was assigned to the local deity.

⁶ The meaning of *yugā* is not certain, but it may be noted that the Siyaḍōṇī inscription states in line 6 that a *yugā* was stamped at the local *maṇḍapikā* when a quarter *pañcaviṃśaka-dramma* was paid and that it was valid for a day. It was probably a voucher authorizing the owner to exhibit his articles in the market-place for one day.

⁷ *Bharaka* is probably a kind of measure. It is also mentioned in connection with cocoanuts in, v. 71 of the Arthūṇā inscription of Chāmuṇḍarāja of V. 1136 (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIV, p. 302). See also *Mitākṣarā* on *Yajñavalkya Smṛiti*, II, 221. The Siyaḍōṇī inscription mentions in line 30 the tax of three-quarter *Vīgrahapālīya-dramma* on every *bharaka* (measure).

⁸ *Dyūtakaparda* seems to have been a smaller coin than a *kaparda*. It was so called probably because it was frequently used as a stake in gambling. It may be noted that the Māṅgrōl (Kāṭhiāwāḍ) inscription of V. 1202 mentions a daily tax of one *kākiṇī* on gambling. *Bhāvnagar Inscriptions*, pp. 158 ff.

⁹ *Pālaka* may be connected with *pālīkā*. The Siyaḍōṇī inscription mentions in line 26 a tax on every *pālīkā* of leaves. *Pūtaka* is also mentioned in v. 72 of the above-named Arthūṇā inscription.

¹⁰ Monier-Williams in his *Sanskrit Dictionary* gives *dhīvara* in the sense of 'a fish-basket'. *Dhīrmara* may have the same sense here.

should be taxed four *pauras*, and a horse two *pauras*¹.

(V. 82) Similarly whatever other gift and whatever reward for scholarship may be made . . . (by them) the religious merit, wealth and fame are obtained.

At the monastery of the holy Nōhalēśvara there was the illustrious preceptor Aghōraśiva—

(V. 83) Sometimes living on alms and sometimes on vegetables, sometimes eating roots and sometimes subsisting on bulbous roots, seeking the supreme light of Siva free from the intense darkness of passion, he had never to suffer from the virulent poison of sensual enjoyment.

By him was the eulogy put together.

The (inhabitants of) famous Tripurī, Saubhāgyapura, Lavaṇanagara, Durlabhapura, Vimānapura . . . shall bring guarded (to the monastery?) the bull made of beautiful wood every day (at the fair?) of the god for the performance of the religious rite.

(V. 85) May this composition, which deserves praise from the wonder-struck poet Rājaśēkhara, and the afore-mentioned glorious work,² (both of) which have well-joined parts, endure till the destruction of the world!

Of the Kāyastha, the illustrious Sīruka.³

(V. 86) (This) eulogy was written by Nāī, the son of Dhīra, the writer of legal documents and was engraved by Nōnna, the son of the excellent Sūtradhāra (artisan) Saṅgama.

There shall be no sale or gift (of any portion) of one's own donation.⁴

NO. 46; PLATE XXXVI

GURGI STONE INSCRIPTION OF KOKALLADEVA II

THIS inscription was noticed for the first time by Mr. R. D. Banerji in the *Progress Report of the Archaeological Survey of India, Western Circle*, for 1920-21, pp. 51 ff. The same scholar subsequently published a transcript and a translation of it in his *Haihayas of Tripurī and their Monuments*, pp. 122 ff., and finally edited it with a lithograph and a translation in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XXII, pp. 127 ff. It is edited here from excellent estampages kindly supplied by the Government Epigraphist for India.

The slab on which the inscription is engraved was discovered about half a century ago among the ruins of the great temple called Gurgaj at Gurgi, a village about twelve miles due east of Rewa town in the State of Vindhya Pradesh. It is now placed in the front wall of the palace at Rewa.

The inscribed slab measures about 4' 1" by 3' 4". There are forty-nine lines in all. The average size of the letters is .8". The record has suffered a good deal in its lower part

¹ The Pēhēvā inscription (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, pp. 184 ff.) mentions the tax of one *dharmā* on each horse brought to the market for sale. The Harsha stone inscription mentions the tax of one *dramma* on every horse sold by the Hēdāvikas of Uttarāpatha, *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XLII, p. 64. See also *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXII, p. 124.

² For *kīrti*, a glorious work, see *C. I. I.*, Vol. III, p. 212, n. 6. It probably refers here to the temple of Nōhalēśvara.

³ Sīruka was evidently the author of the portion of the present inscription which follows verse 77. Kielhorn however, thought that he was the writer who originally wrote the eulogy of the first three princes.

⁴ For a similar restriction, see verse 35 of the Sīrpur stone inscription of the time of Mahāśivagupta, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XI, p. 193.

comprised in ll.23-46 owing to the flaking off of a large portion of the surface of the stone. In ll.28-39 especially, only a few *aksharas* at the right end can be read with confidence. The loss of this portion is very much to be regretted as, judging from the few preserved *aksharas*, it contained a description of the military exploits of the Kalachuris of Tripuri. As it is, we are left in doubt not only about the Kalachuri king during whose reign it was incised,¹ but also about the Śaiva ascetic who caused it to be put up.²

The characters belong to the Nāgarī alphabet and closely resemble those of the Chandrēh inscription of Prabōdhaśiva. The only points that call for notice are that *dh* in some cases shows the left limb developed as in the Kāṛitalāi inscription of Lakshmaṇarāja II,³ but it is here joined to the right vertical, see *-dhvast-āntarāy-ādhyay* in l.17. In other cases the letter does not differ from *v* except in the absence of the wedge at the top, and it is noteworthy that the two verticals of *dhā* are not joined here as is generally done in other records of the period. In one other respect⁴ the present inscription shows a later stage, *viṣ*, in the use of the *avagraha* which appears for the first time in the records edited here; see *-samadhayō=chchha-matayō*, l.17, *tasy-āspadē=gra-*, l.30 and *Mahēndrē=rvudē*, l.31.

The language is Sanskrit, and except for the opening obeisance to the deity, the whole record is metrically composed. There are forty-six verses in all. The inscription is composed in an artistic *kāvya* style. As regards orthography, the consonants preceding and following *r* are doubled in a few places, see *-tribhuvana-*, l.8, *-kīrttanīyah*, l.9 etc; *b* is everywhere denoted by the sign for *v*, see e.g., *-pravandha-*, l.4; the dental *s* is used for the palatal *ś* in *yasō-*, l.13, and *n* for the *anusvāra* followed by the dental sibilant in *-pradhwansa-*, l.23 and *-vansa-*, l.24. In other respects the record is carefully written and incised.

The inscription falls into three parts. The first part, which comprises vv. 1-26, contains the spiritual pedigree of the Śaiva ascetic who put up the present record. After two *maṅgala śloka*s invoking the blessings of Śiva, the inscription mentions Madhumatī, the abode of the Śaiva Saiddhāntikas. In their lineage there was an ascetic named Chūḍāśiva. His disciple Prabhāvaśiva was invited by Yuvarājadēva (I), the son of Mugdharuṅga, and was placed in charge of a monastery which the latter had built at the cost of a large sum of money. His disciple was Praśāntaśiva who erected a temple of Śiva near another built by Yuvarājadēva, and installed in the shrines attached to it the images of Umā, Hara-Gaurī, Kārttikēya, Gaṇapati and Sarasvatī. He also built a monastery on the bank of the Śōṇa for the practice of Yōga, and another on the bank of the Gaṅgā in Vārāṇasī for the performance of austerities. His disciples are said to have toured in the country, imparting right knowledge to the people and receiving homage from their rulers. Praśāntaśiva's disciple, Īśānaśambhu, is next praised. He appointed his younger brother-disciple Prabōdhaśiva the head of the monastery. Verse 21 which is partly mutilated seems to refer to the construction of a temple by Prabōdhaśiva near⁵ the

¹ Banerji referred it to the reign of Gāṅgēyadēva and N. P. Chakravartī to that of Kōkalla II (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXII, p. 129 and n.1). I have supported the latter view below.

² Both Banerji and Chakravartī hold that the record was put up by Prabōdhaśiva. I have shown below that it belongs to the time of his successor, whose name is lost.

³ See above, No. 42.

⁴ Banerji's remark that the record contains the later form of *th* in which the upper loop has become open does not seem to be correct; for everywhere in this record the earlier form only is used.

⁵ The monastery of Praśāntaśiva seems to have been mentioned here as in the Chandrēh inscription only to define the position of the temple built by Prabōdhaśiva. It does not seem to have been repaired by him as supposed by Banerji, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXII, p. 129.

monastery built by his preceptor on the bank of the *Śōṇa*. These two buildings are referred to in the *Chandrēhē* inscription also. The next five verses are almost wholly damaged, but the few words preserved at the end of l. 30 indicate that verse 24 probably contained the name of another *Śaiva* ascetic who succeeded *Prabōdhaśiva*. The next two or three verses were devoted to his description, but they have unfortunately been too much mutilated, so that even the name of the ascetic has not been preserved. The *aksharas* at the end of l. 31 suggest that his fame had spread from the *Mahēndra* to the *Arbuda* mountain. Verse 26 mentions the village *Sāmantapāṭaka*, but in what connection it cannot be determined.

The second part of the inscription, which comprises vv. 27-34, contained a description of *Kalachuri* kings and their military exploits. Their family is introduced in v. 27 as *ēṇāṅkāṃvaya* 'the lineage of the deer-marked (moon)'. Verse 28, which mentions the defeat of a *Gurjara* king, probably describes *Yuvarājadēva* I; for, the latter is said to have conquered the north in the *Viddhasālabhañjikā* of his court-poet *Rājaśekhara*, which means that he had inflicted a defeat on the contemporary *Gurjara-Pratihāra* Emperor of *Kanauj*. The names of his successors who were eulogized in the next four verses have been lost; but verse 33 mentions the king *Kōkalladēva* who is doubtless the second king of that name, the great-grandson of *Yuvarājadēva* I. The following verse refers to his victories over a *Gurjara* king and the rulers of *Gauḍa* (Western Bengal) and *Kuntala* which comprised the Southern Maratha country and the adjoining *Kanarese* districts.¹

The third part of the inscription, which commences with verse 35, records the grants which the king *Kēyūrararsha* made for the benefit of the god *Śiva* installed in the temple where the present inscription was put up, and for the support of the *Śaiva* ascetics who were in charge of it. The name of the god was *Sōmanātha* as appears from v. 42. It was also mentioned in the opening obeisance, but only the last two *aksharas* of it are now legible. Among the villages granted by the king, the names of the following can be made out with certainty—*Sārasaḍōllaka*, *Vakkaḍōllaka*, *Rajyaud-dha*, *Nāsapuṇḍikā*, *Khaṭōllikā*, *Ābhīrapallī*, *Sarasvatī* (which may be a river), *Sāmantapāṭaka*, *Bhaddhachiurā*, *Kusumbā*,² *Kukkuḍiyā*, *Rajōgrāma*, *Karōḍhaka*, *Brahmapurī*, *Susiddhārthaka* and *Pōṇḍik*. Besides these, two fields called *Kavachakshētra* and *Nannēśvarakshētra* are also mentioned in the same connection. Verse 43 expresses the hope that the provision for the maintenance (*vṛtti*) of the *Śaiva* ascetics which was originally made by the illustrious *Yuvarājadēva* and was preserved by his successors may last for ever. This clearly indicates that this *Yuvarājadēva*, who is evidently identical with *Kēyūrararsha* mentioned before in v. 35, is the first king of that name. The use of the plural in connection with his successors (*anantarair-nṛipaiḥ*) in v. 43 shows that at least three kings had followed him before the time of the present record.³ This is also corroborated by the fact that *Kōkalladēva* II is the last king mentioned in it; for we know from other records⁴ that he was the fourth successor of *Yuvarājadēva* I. The present inscription, which apparently mentioned in verse 24, a successor of *Prabōdhaśiva* is later

¹ These victories were ascribed to *Gāṅgēyadēva* by Mr. Banerji on the ground that *Gāṅgēyadēva* is known to have raided *Kuntala*, but the record does not carry the genealogy of the *Kalachuris* further than *Kōkalla* II. *Vanavāsa* means 'dwelling in a forest' and has no reference to *Banavāsī* in North *Kanara*, as Banerji supposed.

² Banerji read this name as *Tujumvā*.

³ So he cannot be *Yuvarājadēva* II as supposed by N. P. Chakravarti. Besides, there is no evidence to show that *Yuvarājadēva* II also bore the *biruda* *Kēyūrararsha*.

⁴ *Viz.*, the *Bilhāri* stone inscription (No. 45, above) and the *Banaras* plates of *Karṇa* (No. 48, below).

than the Chandrēhē inscription of Prabōdhaśiva, dated K. 724 (972-3 A.C.) and may, therefore, be referred to the last quarter of the tenth century A.C.

Of the geographical names mentioned in this record, Mahēndra is evidently the well-known mountain of that name on the eastern coast. Arbuda is, of course, Mount Abu. Himālaya and Vārāṇasī are too well-known to need identification. Madhumatī has been shown to be identical with Mahuā which is now a small hamlet, one mile south of Tērahi in Madhya Bharat.¹ Gauḍa and Kuntala have already been identified. Of the villages granted by Yuvarājadeva, only Sārasaḍōllaka was identified by Mr. Banerji with modern Sahdol, a station on the Bilāspur-Kaṭnī section of the Bengal-Nagpur Railway, but it is far away from Gurgi. It may be Sarsi, 2 miles south of the Sōṇa and 34 miles south by west of Chandrēhē. Brahmapurī may be Bāhmangaon about seven miles south by west of Gurgi. As for Karōḍhaka there are several villages of the name Karaṇḍi or Karaṇḍia in the Rewa District, but the nearest to Gurgi is the Karaṇḍi which lies only four miles to the south-east. The other villages I am unable to identify.

TEXT²

- 1 सिद्धिः³ [ना]थाय⁴ ॥ लङ्का[धीशेड]⁵वा(वा)हुव्यतिकरचटुल[स्फा]टिकाद्रीन्द्रकोटि-
श्रेणीसंघट्टवि(वि)भ्यद्गगनचरवरच्छन्नदि[क्वक्]वालं(लम्) [1*]
- 2 ————⁶ मत्या जगदकृत तदात्रन्दनि[ह्री]दधोरं स्वच्छन्दः सोद्विवासी मुदमुपचिनुताच्चन्द्र-
चूडामणिर्व्वः⁷ ॥[१॥*] नन्दिन्केयं प्रवि[ष्टा] प[शुपति]-
- 3 [स*]द[नं] [सैव*] देवीति म[न्ये] मिथ्यैतन्नास्मि सान्या मम क[थय क]प[दंस्थिता का] तवेश ।
मुग्धे त्वद्रूपधारी त्रिदशरिपुरसौ दृश्यतां पातितोय्रे केनास्त्रेणेति दे-
- 4 [स्या] क[टुव]चनजितः पातु मौनी शिवो वः ॥[२॥*] [सच्चर्या]चा[यंवर्या] [सतत*][हुत-
वह]स्निग्धधूमप्रव(व)न्धप्रारब्धा(ब्धा)कालमेघोदयमदमुदितोन्नादिनृत्यन्मयूरा । अ-
- 5 स्युच्चैः [सौ]घजालज्वलदनणुमणि[ज्यो]ति[पा]ञ्च[क्रवा]लैः स्वर्लोक्तम्वा⁸ हसन्ती जगति
मधुमती धाम सैद्धान्तिकानाम् ॥[३॥*] पूर्वं यत्रावतीर्य व्रतनियतमनोवृत्त-
- 6 यस्तापसेन्द्राः शिष्याणामाशशंसुः शिवमतमतनु व्यस्तनिःशेषदोषम् । येषामद्यापि कीर्तिद्वंद्वलयति
सुधाघोतकान्तिः प्रसिद्धा विश्वं सम्पन्नविद्वज्ज-
- 7 नकुमुदवनानन्दिनी चन्द्रिकेव ॥[४॥*] शैवानामन्वयेस्मिन्नतिमहति मुनिर्म्मार्निनीयो मुनीनामेनः-
शुष्केन्धनानन्दवदहन इव द्योतमानैर्मर्महोभिः ।
- 8 श्रीमांश्चूडाशिवोभूद्भवचरणयुगध्यानवो(वो)धर्दिलामप्रोद्भूतात्यन्तशुभ्रत्रिभुवनभवनाभ्यन्तरभ्रा-
न्तकीर्तिः ॥[५॥*] तस्याखिलक्षितिपतिप्रणतोत्तमाङ्गचूडा-
- 9 मणिद्युतिचर्याच्चितपादपीठः । शिष्यो व(व)भूव भुवनत्रयकीर्त्तनीयः श्रीमत्प्रभावशिवनाममुनि-
र्म्मनीषी⁹ ॥[६॥*] आनीय यं सहजवासनया नयज्ञः श्रीमुग्ध-

¹ Above, p. 208.

² From inked estampages kindly supplied by the Government Epigraphist for India.

³ Expressed by a symbol.

⁴ Read नमः श्रीसोमनाथाय. The name of the god occurs again in l. 47.

⁵ Banerji doubtfully read -रीरेन्द्र-, but r has only a wedge and no acute-angled triangle in its lower part as is seen here, and the subscript letter in the last aksbara is certainly not r.

⁶ The aksbaras lost here may have been सर्व कल्पान्त-.

⁷ Metre of this and the following four verses: *Sragdharā*.

⁸ Read स्वर्लोक्तं वा.

⁹ Metre of this and the following two verses: *Vasantatilakā*.

- 10 तुङ्गतनयो युवराजदेवः । सत्त्वो(त्त्वो)पकारभवदुत्तमकीर्तिहेतोरप्राह्यन्मठमनन्तधनप्रतिष्ठम् ॥
[७॥*] तस्यामलेन तपसा च विवर्द्धमानविद्याव(व)लेन च सम—
- 11 स्तजगत्प्रसीतः । शिष्यः प्रकामकमनीयगुणैकधाम श्रीमत्प्रशान्तशिवनाममुनिर्व्वं(व्वं)भूव ॥
[८॥*] आकृष्टा चिरसञ्चितेन तपसा यस्याङ्गसङ्गोत्सुका लक्ष्मीभोग—
- 12 पराङ्मुखस्य सततं निःश्रेयसाकांक्षया । आज्ञां प्राप्य परोपकारकृतये तद्वल्लभानां सतां स्थानेषु
स्थिरतामवाप वनितेवात्यन्तसत्यव्रता¹॥[९॥*] त्यागं स्तम्भमि—
- 13 वावलं व्य(व्य) विलसज्जानाम्बु(म्बु)सेकक्रियामासाद्य प्रसरत्तपोव(व)लकृतप्रत्यन्तरक्षाक्रमः ।
इत्थं यस्य यसो(शो)मयः स ववृधे का[ले]न कल्पद्रुमो येन व्याप्तमिदं प्रस—
- 14 ह्य सकलं व्र(व्र)ह्माण्डभाण्डोदरम् ॥[१०॥*] येन श्रीयुवराजकारितलसत्कैलासशृङ्गोपमप्रा—
सादोत्तरतः सुमेरुशिखरस्पृद्धिं प्रसिद्ध[म्भु]वि । सद्यः स्थापितमीश्व—
- 15 रस्य सकलत्रैला[लो]क्यविस्मापकं यत्स्वर्गं व्रजतस्तदीयस(श)सः सो[पा]²नमागमयिते ॥
[११॥*] यः प्रत्यतिष्ठिपदुमामुमया च मिश्र³मीशं पदाननमथ प्रथितोरुकीर्तिः ।
- 16 प्रासादसन्निहितदेवगृहेषु विद्वान्द्वारे तथा गणपतिञ्च सरस्वतीञ्च⁴ ॥ [१२॥*] दाहोत्तीर्णसु—
वर्णदानशमितद्रव्यार्थिसार्थस्पृहः सिद्धस्थानमचीकरत्तदपरं यः शो—
- 17 णतीरोपरि । यस्मिन्योगजुषः प्रविश्य नियमध्वस्तान्तरायाधयः शान्ताः सिद्धसमाधयोऽञ्छमतयो
ग[च्छ]न्ति मुक्तेः पदम्⁵ ॥[१३॥*] तीर्थस्नाननिषेवणोद्यतधिया—
- 18 मत्यन्तविश्रान्तये यस्तत्कारितव(वा)न्मुनिः सुरसरितीरे तपःस्थानकम् । यत्संसेव्य महेश्वराच्च—
नरता वाराणसीवासिनो मन्यन्ते भवसागरं गुरुमपि क्षीणं
- 19 यथा [गोष्प]दम् ॥[१४॥*] आसीनस्य जितासनस्य विजने हृत्पद्ममध्यस्थितस्था—
णुध्याननिलीननिश्चलमनःसंवेदितान्तर्मुदः । जग्मुर्यस्य दिनानि दाननिरत—
- 20 — ०⁶[पाञ्चार्थिक]तत्त्व(त्त्व)ज्ञानविचक्षणैश्च गुणिभिः सार्द्धं परीक्षाक्षमः ॥ [१५॥*]
तीव्रांशोरंशुसंधा इव निरतिशयोल्लासिनः स्वैः प्रभावैर्यस्यान्तेवासिनोघस्तमसि नि—
- 21 [पतिता*][न्प्रत्यहं] वो(वो)धय[न्तः] । [लो*]कानालोकदानो[प]कृतिपरिणमत्कीर्तयः संभू—
ताज्ञा[शो]भा भूभृच्छिरोभिः प्रवरमुनिजनैरच्य(च्यं)मानाश्चरन्ति⁷ ॥ [१६॥*] तस्याम[व]—
- 22 [त्य*]र[शु]राम इवेश्वरस्य [शिष्य*]ः समस्तकविपुंगवगीतकीर्तिः । श्रीज्ञानशम्भुरखिलाव—
निपाल[मौ]लिलालामणिद्युतिपिशंगितपादपद्मः⁸ ॥ [१७॥*] नि[ज्जि]त्य
- 23 ००—०—०००—०—० [सर्व्वार्थि]नां येन श्रीगमितोपभोगपदवी⁹ [दौर्ग]त्यदुःखच्छिदा ।
सद्विद्या भवव(व)न्धनव्यतिकरप्रध्वन्स¹⁰कर्मक्षमव्यापारेति
- 24 [समग्रसं]०००—०—०—०—०¹¹ ॥ [१८॥*] यो माद्यत्कलिकालदन्तिदलनध्यापारपञ्चाननः
श्रीमन्मत्तमयूरवन्स¹²तिलको निःशेषविद्वानधिः । विद्वत्प—

¹ Metre of this and the following two verses: *Sārdūlavikrīḍita*.

² The engraver at first incised वी, but later on cancelled the curve on the top.

³ What looks like an *anuvāra* on *mi* is probably due to a fault in the stone.

⁴ Metre: *Vasantatilakā*.

⁵ Metre of this and the two following verses: *Sārdūlavikrīḍita*.

⁶ The damaged letters may be conjecturally restored here as —स्याध्यात्म—.

⁷ Metre: *Sragdharā*.

⁸ Metre: *Vasantatilakā*.

⁹ Banerji read पदवी, but the *anuvāra* on वी is clear in the impression. The sense also requires the use of the accusative.

¹⁰ Read —प्रध्वन्स—.

¹¹ Metre of this and the following verse: *Sārdūlavikrīḍita*.

¹² Read —वन्स—.

GURGI STONE INSCRIPTION OF KOKALLADEVA II





- 25 [पं]द - ० - ००० - - - ० - - ० - [तस्या]शेषगुणाक[रस्य भुवने] - - - म - - - ० - ¹ ॥
[१९॥*] [श्री]मत्प्रवो(बो)धशिवनामनिजानुजस्य स्थानं समर्थं विजि-
- 26 तं नि[जभक्तियोगात्*] ² - - - ० - ००० - ०० - ० - , - - ० - ००० - ०० - ० - - ³ ॥
[२०॥*] [येन*] त्यागतपःसमाधिनिधिना स्वस्वामिनिर्मापित-
- 27 - - - ०० - ० - ००० - - - ० - - ० - [१*] - - - ०० - ० - ००० - - - ० - - ० - -
[वांछि*]तसिद्धिवा(वा)धकभि[या] नोल्लंघयन्त्यम्ब(म्ब)रे⁴ ॥[२१॥*] कु-
- 28 [पं] - ०० - ० - ००० - - - ० - - ० - , - - - ०० - ० - ००० - - - ० - - ० - [१*]
- - - ० - ० [अर्थि*]निवह[प्राप्तो]प्यपूर्व्वेप्सितप्राज्यस्व-
- 29 ०० - ० - ००० - - - ० - - ० - [॥२२॥*] - - - ०० - ० - ००० - - - ० - - ० - ,
- - - ००० - ० वल्ल ०० - [स]त्कर्मनिर्मापितम् ।
- 30 - - - ०० - ० - ००० - - - ० - - ० - , - - - ०० - ० - ००० - - - ० - - ० -
[॥२३॥*] - - - ० - [तदनु ?] - ०० [र ?]न्नतात्मा तस्यास्पदेष्व-
- 31 ०० - ०० - ० - [१*] - - ० - ००० - ०० - ० - , - - - ० - ००० - ०० - ० - - ⁵
॥[२४॥*] - - - ०० - ० - ००० - - - [म ?]हेन्द्रेऽर्ध्वु(र्ध्वु) दे यस्योच्चैश्च
- 32 ० - ० - ००० - - - ० - - ० - [१*] - - - ०० - ० - ००० - - - ० - - ० - , - - -
०० - ० - ००० - - - ० [मासी]त्क्षमः⁶ ॥ [२५॥*] सामन्तपाट-
- 33 [क*] ० - ०० याय[पु ?] - , - - ० - ००० - ०० - ० - - [१*] - - ० - ००० - ०० - ० -
- , - - ० - ००० - ०० - ० नीना[म]⁷ ॥[२६॥*] एणाङ्कान्वय-
- 34 - ० - ००० - - - ० - - ० - , - - - ०० - ० - ००० - - - ० - - ० - [१*] - - - ००
- ० - ००० - - - [गृ]हीत्वा व(व)लात्स्वातं ख-
- 35 [ङ्ग*] ० - ० - ००० - - - ० - - ० - ⁸ ॥[२७॥*] - - ० - ००० - ०० - ० - , - - ०
- ००० - ०० - ० - [१*] [नि*][जि]त्य गूर्ज्जरपति
- 36 ०० - ० - , - - ० - ००० - ०० - ० - - ⁹ ॥[२८॥*] ०००००० - - - ० - - ० - ,
०००००० - - - ० - - ० - [१*] ०० परिजनरक्षो-
- 37 - ० - - ० - , ०००००० - - - ० - - ० - - ¹⁰ ॥[२९॥*] - - ० - ००० - ०० - ०
- , - - ० - ००० - ०० - ० - [१*]सा[मन्त]मौलिमणि-
- 38 [रञ्जि*]तपादरे[णुः] - - ० - [गजघटा] ०० - ० - - ¹¹ ॥[३०॥*] - - ० - ००० -
०० - ० - , - - ० - ००० - ० पराक्रमोभूत् [१*] [चि]त्रेपि य[कलित]-
- 39 खितरूपमवेक्ष्य - - वीरव्रतं ००० - ०० - ० - - ॥[३१॥*] - - ० जा ००० - [निजवैरि] -
- , - - [ण] विक्रमनिधिर्विपरीतमल्लः । आसी[न्]-
- 40 पः कविकदम्ब(म्ब)[घनाय*]मान - - ० - ००० - ०० - [शशा]ङ्कः ॥[३२॥*] तस्माद[भू]
००० - दितपुष्प[घन्यसंगी*]यमाणवपुरप्रतिमप्रतापः । कोकल्ल-

¹ The missing letters may be conjecturally supplied here as कि नाम नालोक्यते ।

² The first eight letters may be conjecturally supplied as शैवं जगाम भुवनं.

³ Metre: *Vasantatilakā*.

⁴ Metre of this and the two following verses: *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*.

⁵ Metre: *Vasantatilakā*.

⁶ Metre: *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*.

⁷ Metre: *Vasantatilakā*.

⁸ Metre: *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*.

⁹ Metre: *Vasantatilakā*.

¹⁰ Metre: *Mālinī*.

¹¹ Metre of this and the following three verses: *Vasantatilakā*.

- 41 देवनृपतिः [प]तिहृत्तमा[नां] ---०-०००-००-० [नान्मुः] (नांशुः) ॥[३३॥*] [प्र]-
विशति हृतशक्तिर्गु[र्ज] [रेशो हि*] माद्रि जलनिधिजलदुर्गं गौडराजोधिसे-
- 42 ते । निवसति वनवासे कुन्त[ले] [शः*] ०-०-०, ०००० ००-० [मण्डनं चास्य मन्ये]¹ ॥
[३४॥*] [स्थानं] ०-०००-००० कीर्तनी[यं] पुण्यान्विताय मुनये स्वयम-
- 43 च्चिताय । -- नमू(मु)ल्लिखित[शा] ००-०-०- [केयू*] रवर्धनृपतिः [स्वयमाजहार]² ॥
[३५॥*] पक्क०००-०- [तं ?] तथा सारसडोल्लकम् । वक्कडोल्लकरज्यो-
- 44 ढे को ०० [ना] सपुण्डिका³ ॥[३६॥*] ००००००-०, ०० पुरं खटोल्लिका⁴ । ०
नकलाभीरपल्ली ० ००० सरस्वती ॥[३७॥*] [एतेषां] द्वादशकञ्च कवचक्षेत्रमेव च ।
- 45 सामन्तपाटकश्चैव वट ०० ०-०० ॥[३८॥*] ००० या[तल्लपटी] शासनं [स*] त्रमित्यपि ।
सँ ०० भद्रचिउरा [कुमु ?] म्वा(म्वा)⁵ च कु[क्कु]डिया ॥[३९॥*] रजोग्रामान्विता-
- 46 [नेता][न्शा] सनत्वेन दत्तवा[न्*] ००००० [सिद्धा]⁶ त्तपारगाय गरीयसे ॥[४०॥*] पुरं
पौरजनाकीर्णं ०००० समस्तकम् । भक्त्या समर्पयामास शासनत्वे-
- 47 [न भू*] पतिः ॥[४१॥*] करोडकं ब्र(ब्र)ह्मपु[री] [सुसिद्धार्थ ?] कपोण्डिकाम् । नन्नेश्वर[क्षेत्र]-
मदात्सोमनाथाय श[म्भवे*] ॥[४२॥*] दत्ता श्रीयुवराजेन पालिता[न]न्तरं⁷ धूपैः । आकल्प-
- 48 [स्था*] [यि]नी भूयादृतिः शैवतपोभूताम् ॥[४३॥*] भारद्वाजान्वयश्रीमच्छयीव[र्द्ध]ननन्दनः । प्रस-
(श)[स्तिमकरोत्स्तुत्यो] मधुमधुरया गिरा ॥[४४॥*] अलेखि लेखकेनेयम-
- 49 [व्योक*] तनुजन्मना । अक्षरैर्दृषदि स्पष्टैः शिवनागेन धीमता ॥[४५॥*] उत्कीर्णा सूत्रधारेण
महेश्वरसुतेन च । माघवेन न -- ० [गु*] णिना विश्वकर्मणा ॥[४६॥*] सिद्धिः⁸ ॥

TRANSLATION

Success ! Adoration to [the holy Sōma]nātha !

(Verse 1) May the self-willed moon-crowned (god Śiva) living on the mountain (Kailāsa),—who made the world,—which had its multitudes of quarters covered by the best of aerial beings¹⁰ terrified by the clash of the rows of peaks of the excellent crystal mountain (Kailāsa) (*when it was*) shaken by the movements of the mighty arms of the lord of Lankā, —dreadful with the echoes of their cries at the thought that it was the end of the world, —increase your joy !

(V. 2) 'Nandin, who is this (*lady*) that has entered the abode of Paśupati ?¹¹ 'I think that she is none but your ladyship'. 'This is false. I am not she. She is some-

¹ Metre: *Mālinī*.

² Metre: *Vasantatilakā*.

³ Metre from here to the end: *Anuṣṭubh*.

⁴ Banerji read *Khaṇḍikā*.

⁵ Banerji read these two names as भद्रचिउरा and तनुज्मवा.

⁶ These two *akṣaras* are conjectural. Banerji suggested वेदा-.

⁷ Banerji's reading सान्तर- is not correct and does not give a good sense.

⁸ The starred *akṣaras* in the beginning of ll. 47-49, though lost in the accompanying plate, are read from an old estampage supplied by the Government Epigraphist for India.

⁹ Expressed by a symbol.

¹⁰ The reference here is to the denizens of Kailāsa, who were terrified by the shaking of the mountain, and not to mere birds as thought by Banerji.

¹¹ The verse refers to Pārvatī's jealousy of the river Gaṅgā which Śiva sheltered for a while in his matted hair. The verse is in the form of a dialogue first between Pārvatī and Nandin (Śiva's door-keeper) and next between her and Śiva who tries to conceal the Gaṅgā from his consort. For a similar dialogue between Śiva and Pārvatī, see *Mudrārākṣasa*, I, 1.

one else. O Íśa ! Who is seated in your matted hair ? 'You simple-minded, he is the enemy of gods who has assumed your form. See I have thrown him down before me !'¹ 'By what missile ?'—May Śiva who was thus silenced, being vanquished by the goddess (Pārvati) with harsh words, protect you !

(V. 3) There is in this world **Madhumatī**, the abode of those who are versed in the Śaiva Siddhāntas,—which contains excellent Āchāryas of noble conduct; in which the peacocks dance and shriek with joy at the untimely appearance of clouds caused by the uninterrupted mass of dark smoke of the ever-kindled (*sacrificial*) fires; (*and*) which laughs at the heavenly world with the mass of lustre of the large and resplendent jewels set on the rows of its high mansions;—

(V. 4) Where appeared the first best ascetics, whose minds were restrained by vows, (*and*) who taught the great and flawless doctrine of Śiva to their disciples;—whose well-known fame, having the bright lustre of nectar, even now whitens the universe, delighting the prosperous and learned men even as moonlight does the assemblage of night-lotuses.

(V. 5) In this very great succession of Śaivas there was the illustrious **Chūḍāśiva**, who was venerable to sages; who, with his shining lustre, was to sins what the forest fire is to dry fuel; (*and*) whose extremely white fame, which had arisen from the attainment of the perfection of knowledge through meditation on the feet of Śiva, roamed about inside the mansion of the three worlds.

(V. 6) His disciple was the wise sage called the illustrious **Prabhāvaśiva**, whose foot-stool was honoured by the mass of lustre of the crest-jewels on the heads of all kings bending (*in salutation*), and who deserved glorification in the three worlds.

(V. 7) Having brought him out of a natural desire, **Yuvarājadēva (I)**, the son of the illustrious **Mugdhatuṅga**, who was versed in policy, made him accept a monastery, which was constructed at an enormous expense, with the object of gaining excellent fame arising out of the benefit to creatures.

(V. 8) His disciple was the sage, the illustrious **Praśāntaśiva**, the sole abode of the exceedingly attractive qualities, who became famous in the whole world by his faultless austerities and increasing learning.

(V. 9) Attracted by his long-accumulated austerities, the goddess of fortune, (*though*) eager for the bodily contact of him who was always averse to enjoyment on account of his desire to attain final emancipation, remained steadfast like an exceedingly virtuous wife, in the houses of good persons who were dear to him, when she received his order to benefit others.

(V. 10) Having obtained the support of the post of (*his*) charity, having received the sprinkling of the water of (*his*) shining learning, and being protected all round by the force of (*his*) extending austerities, the wish-fulfilling tree of his fame grew up in course of time, which has completely filled the cavity of the vase-like universe.

(V. 11) To the north of the temple,² resembling the shining peak of the Kailāsa mountain, which was caused to be built by the illustrious **Yuvarājadēva (I)**, he erected a temple of Íśvara, well-known on the earth, which vies with the summit of the Sumēru (mountain) (*in altitude*), which causes wonder to all the three worlds, (*and*) which serves as a flight of steps to his fame rising to heaven.

¹ Śiva is referring to the stream of the Gaṅgā which flows down from his matted hair.

² Banerji translates *prāsāda* by 'a palace,' but it is probably used here in the sense of 'a temple'. Compare the Kāṛitālī inscription (No. 42), v. 18.

(V. 12) The learned one, whose great fame was well-known, installed Umā, Siva united with Umā, and the six-faced (Kārttikēya) in the shrines attached to the temple and also Gaṇapati and Sarasvatī at the gate.

(V. 13) He, who had satisfied the desire for wealth of hosts of suppliants with gifts of gold which had emerged (*purified*) by burning, caused to be built another abode for the *siddhas* on the bank of the Sōṇa; having entered which, the tranquil Yōgins, who have destroyed the impediments of mental anxieties by (*the performance of*) vows and who have clear minds, having attained success in meditation, reach the goal of final emancipation.

(V. 14) For the absolute rest of those who are intent on living in a holy place, he, the sage, caused to be built the (*well-known*) abode for performing austerities on the bank of the heavenly river (Gaṅgā); having resorted to which, those who live in Vārāṇasī (Banaras), devoted to the worship of Mahēśvara, consider the ocean of worldly existence, though extensive, to be as small in size as a puddle made by a cow's foot.

(V. 15) Seated in a solitary place he,—who had mastered (*all*) the *āsanas*, who felt the inner joy with his steady mind absorbed in the meditation of Siva seated in the midst of the lotus of the heart, and who was fond of making gifts,—passed his days in the company of meritorious persons who were adept in the philosophy of the Pāñchārthika¹ system and were capable of examining (*other systems*).

(V. 16) Extremely resplendent by their own majesty like the multitudes of the rays of the sun, his disciples,—who day by day arouse those who are steeped in ignorance (*as the rays awaken those enveloped by darkness*); whose fame is due to the benefit they confer on the people by their gift of knowledge (*as that of the rays is due to the light they give*); whose commands are borne by kings on their heads (*as the splendour of the rays is borne by mountains on their peaks*),—move about (*among people*) being honoured by the best of sages.

(V. 17) His disciple was the illustrious Īśānaśambhu, even as Paraśurāma was of Siva,—(*he*) whose fame was sung by all great poets, (and) whose lotus-like feet were red-dened by the rays of jewels on the rows of heads of all kings.

(V. 18) Having conquered he, who removed the misery of poverty, made the goddess of fortune become an object of enjoyment to all suppliants, and [devoted himself to] right knowledge, because it is capable of destroying the multitude of the bonds of worldly existence.

(V. 19) Of him, who was a lion in the act of destroying the rutting elephant that is the Kali age; who is the fore-head mark of the illustrious Mattamayūra lineage, and the store of all learning; (*who is*) the source of all excellences in this world the assembly of learned persons-[what has not been observed?].

(V. 20) Having made over his office (*as the head of the monastery*) to his younger brother, the illustrious Prabōdhaśiva, he [attained the world of Siva] which he had won by his devotion.

(V. 21) By him who was the store-house of charity, austerities, and meditation [was built a *maṭha* near the temple] erected by his teacher which [the celestial beings] do not cross for fear of obstruction in the attainment of the desired *siddhis*.

¹ The Pīśupata system is called *pāñchārthika*, because it treats of the five subjects, *kārya* effect, *kāraṇa* cause, *yōga* union of the soul with Īśvara, *vidhi* rites, and *duḥkḥānta* the cessation of misery. See *Sarvadarsanasaṅgraha*, Ch. VI.

(V. 22) And a well [was dug by him] The host of suppliants also having obtained abundant wealth which they had not (*even*) longed for before

(V. 23) caused to be built by his good work

(V. 24) Thereafter, the high-souled one in his place

(V. 25) His (*fame*) on high on the Mahēndra (*and*) Arbuda (*mountains*) was able

(V. 26) Sāmāntapāṭaka

(V. 27) In the lineage of the moon having snatched the well-known sword by force

(V. 28) Having vanquished the lord of Gūrjaras

(V. 29) the protection of the family

(V. 30) he, the dust of whose feet was reddened by the jewels on the heads of feudatories the herds of elephants.

(V. 31) was born the valiant one seeing whose beauty even as drawn in a picture the vow of heroes.

(V. 32) [From him was born] the king who was the store-house of valour, the terrible fighter who was to the poets what a cloud is to the kadamba trees

(V. 33) From him was born the king Kōkalladēva (II) of matchless prowess, whose (*beautiful*) form was praised by the god of love, (*who was*) the lord of the best

(V. 34) The Gūrjara lord enters the Himālaya, being deprived of power, the king of Gauḍa lies in the watery fort of the sea, the lord of Kuntala lives in the forest this I consider to be the ornament (*of his prowess*).

(V. 35) The king Keyūravārsha himself offered by an inscribed [charter] the famous abode to the ascetic possessed of religious merit whom he himself worshipped

(V. 36-7) The villages Pakka- and also Sārasaḍōllaka Vakkaḍōllaka and Rajyauddha Nāsapuṇḍikā -pura, Khaṭōllikā, -nakalā, Ābhīrapallī, (*and*) Sarasvatī.

(V. 38-40) The twelfth part of these and the Kavachakshētra, and also Sāmāntapāṭaka (*and*) Vaṭa- Tallapaṭī, Bhaddhachiurā, [Kusumbā] and Kukkuḍiyā, together with Rajōgrāma, [the king] gave as a grant to the great [ascetic] who had completely mastered the (*Saiva*) Siddhantas.

(V. 41) The king gave through devotion the whole city crowded with citizens as a grant.

(V. 42) (He) gave to the Śiva (*called*) Sōmanātha (*the villages*) Karōḍhaka, Brahmapurī, Susiddhārthaka, Pōṇḍikā (*and*) the Nannēśvarakshētra.

(V. 43) May this provision for the maintenance of Śaiva ascetics, made by the illustrious Yuvarājadēva (I) and preserved by the succeeding rulers, endure till the end of the *kalpa*!

(V. 44) The praiseworthy Madu, the son of the illustrious Trayivardhana of the Bhāradvāja family, composed this *praśasti* in sweet words.

(V. 45) The intelligent scribe Śivanāga, the son of Avvōka, wrote it on the stone in clear letters.

(V. 46) It has been inscribed by the *Sutrādharma*, the skilled artist Mādhava, the son of Mahēśvara

Success!

No. 47; PLATE XXXVII

MAKUNDPUR STONE INSCRIPTION OF GANGEYADEVA: (KALACHURI) YEAR 772

THIS inscription was brought to public notice by General Cunningham's Assistant Mr. J. D. Beglar who found a rubbing of it in the Asiatic Society's collection. He called attention to its date¹ in connection with the description of the ruins at Makundpur, a village about nine miles south by west of Rewa, in the State of Vindhya Pradesh. He could not, however, find the inscription when he visited the place in 1874-75. The record was next twice referred to by Dr. Kielhorn² who, drawing attention to its date, pointed out the desirability of examining it. Its impressions were not, however, accessible to him, when he wrote his exhaustive articles on the epoch of the Kalachuri-Chēdi era³, and none has noticed the inscription since then. At my request Dr. N. P. Chakravarti, the Government Epigraphist, kindly visited Makundpur in 1931. He was fortunately successful in tracing the inscribed slab, and supplied me with excellent estampages from which the inscription is edited here.

The record is incised on a slab lying on the ruins of a small temple⁴ situated to the north-west of Rūpasāgar, a large tank, at Makundpur. The inscribed surface measures 3' 2" in length and nearly 5" in height. The record has suffered considerably at the top, about half a dozen *aksharas* and the *mātrās* on the top of some more on the right-hand side of the first line being wholly or partially damaged.

The inscription consists of three lines of which the last two are shorter than the first. The characters belong to the Nāgarī alphabet of the eleventh century A.C. Most of the letters have a wedge or an inverted acute-angled triangle at the top. It is noteworthy that the left limb of *ś* is not joined to the right-hand vertical; *ṭh*, though still without a vertical, has, for the first time in the records edited here, a horizontal line at the top, and *h* has a fully drawn tail. The language is Sanskrit. Attention may be drawn to the incorrect causal participle *ghatāpita*, l. 3, formed on the model of *kārāpita* which figures in earlier records, and the wrong gender in *dharmam-idani*, l. 2. As regards orthography, the sign for *v* is used to denote *b* in *Vudha-*, l. 1, and the dental *ṣ* substituted for *ś* in *Jalaśayana-*, l. 2. The consonant preceding and following *r* is reduplicated in *Sūtradhāra-*, l. 3 and *dharmma-*, l. 2 respectively.

The inscription refers itself to the reign of Gāṅgēyadēva of the Later Kalachuri Dynasty. He is mentioned here with the title *Mahārha-mahā-mahattaka* which is rarely, if ever, seen to be assumed by rulers of the eminence and power of Gāṅgēyadēva. Owing to the mutilation of the Piawan rock inscription this is now the only known extant record of the reign of Gāṅgēyadēva. The object of the inscription is to record that the *Śrēṣṭhin* Dāmōdara, the ornament of the family of Gṛihapati, caused a temple of Jalaśayana⁵ (Vishṇu reposing on water) to be constructed. The work was executed by the *Sūtradhāra* Sāmbhūka.

The chief interest of the inscription lies in its date, which is given with full details in line 1 as *Samvat 772*, the 12th tithi of the bright fortnight of Kārtika, a Wednesday. Beglar called attention to the fact that from the form of the characters, the date cannot be referred to the Vikrama Samvat. He also suggested that it probably referred to the Chēdi

¹ C. A. S. I. R., Vol. XIII, p. 3, n. 1.

² *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XX, p. 85; *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, p. 354.

³ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XVII, pp. 215 ff. and *Festgruss an Roth*, pp. 53 ff.

⁴ This may be 'the Vaishṇavic temple' which, according to Beglar, supplied materials for a large Saiva temple nearby. See C. A. S. I. R., Vol. XIII, p. 4.

⁵ This form of the deity is probably identical with what is commonly called *Śeṣhaśayin* 'Vishṇu sleeping on his couch of the serpent Śēsha'. As the temple was situated near the large tank of Rūpasāgar, it was appropriately dedicated to this form.

MAKUNDAPUR STONE INSCRIPTION OF GANGEYADEVA: (KALACHURI) YEAR 772

Left Half



Right Half



era,—an opinion to which Dr. Kielhorn lent his support. This is no doubt the correct view, for the Banaras grant of Gāṅgēyadēva's son Karṇa which was made on the first anniversary of Gāṅgēya's death is dated in the Kalachuri or Chēdi year 793 *i.e.*, only twenty-one years after the date of the present record. According to the epoch of 247-48 A.C., the month of Kārttika should fall in 1019 A.C. if the Kalachuri year 772 was current and in 1020 A.C. if it was expired. But in 1019 A.C. the twelfth *tithi* of the bright fortnight of that month ended 11 h. after mean sunrise on Tuesday (the 13th October), while in 1020 A.C. the same *tithi* ended 5 h. after mean sunrise on Monday (the 31st October). In neither case was the *tithi* connected with Wednesday in any way. Even the epoch of 248-49 A.C. which suits earlier dates of the era will not do; for in 1021 A.C. which, according to it, should correspond to the expired Kalachuri year 772, the *tithi* fell on Friday (the 20th October). The date is, therefore, irregular. But of the three equivalents mentioned above, the first, *viz.*, Tuesday, the 13th October 1019 A.C. comes nearest to it. Overlooking the discrepancy of one day, the date of the present inscription may, therefore, be taken to correspond, for the current Kalachuri year 772, to the 13th October, 1019 A.C. This is one of the few dates in current years. It shows, again, that the Kalachuri year must have commenced on some day before the twelfth *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Kārttika.

TEXT¹

- 1 सिद्धिः² [१*] सम्बत्³ ७७२ कार्तिक शु दि १२ बु(बु)व[दिने]⁴ महा[हं]महामहत्तक[श्री]—
[महाराज⁵?] [श्री][गङ्गेयदेव⁶]रा[ज्ये] ग्रहपति—
- 2 कुलतिलकश्रेष्ठिदामोदरेण जलस(श)यनमठं कारितं⁷ धर्ममिदं⁸ ॥ मंगलं महाश्रीः ॥ सिद्धिः² ॥
- 3 सूत्रधारसाम्भूकेन घटापितमिति⁹ ॥

TRANSLATION

Success! (In) the year 772 on Wednesday, the 12th (lunar) day of the bright (fortnight) of Kārttika, during the reign of the *Mahārha-mahā-mahattaka*¹⁰ the illustrious [*Mahārāja*] Gāṅgēyadēva, the *Srēṣṭhīn* (merchant) Dāmōdara, an ornament of the family of Grahapati,¹¹ has caused (*this*) temple of (Vishṇu) who reposes on water, to be constructed. This is a pious work. (*May there be*) bliss and good fortune! Success!

(*This work*) was executed¹² by the *Sūtradhāra* (artisan) Sāmbhūka.

¹ From inked estampages, kindly supplied by the Government Epigraphist for India.

² Expressed by a symbol.

³ Read संवत्.

⁴ The *mātrās* and curves on the top of letters enclosed in brackets in l. 1 have been broken away.

⁵ Only the first *akṣhara* of this word is partly seen. I am not certain about the following three *akṣharas*.

⁶ Of the five *akṣharas* in this royal name, traces of the first are clearly seen, the third *akṣhara* *ya* is completely damaged, and only the *mātrās* over *ṅ* and *d* have been broken off, while the last *akṣhara* is quite clear. There is, on the whole, little doubt about the correctness of the reading given above.

⁷ The *anuvāra* over *ta* is wrongly placed over the following *akṣhara*. Read मठः कारितः ।

⁸ Read धर्मोयम्.

⁹ Read घटितमिति.

¹⁰ For *Mahattaka* used as an official title, see l. 77 of the Sanjān plates of Amoghavarsha, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 251.

¹¹ *Grabapati*, *lit.* the lord of planets, signifies the moon. The expression would then mean an ornament of the lunar race which would scarcely be appropriate in the case of a merchant. Perhaps *Grabapati* is a mistake for *Grihapati*, but even then it seems to be used here as a personal name rather than in the usual sense of 'a house-holder', or 'the head of a village.'

¹² *Ghaṭāpita* seems to be used in the same sense as *kārāpita*. For its sense, see Kielhorn's remarks on *kārāpaka* in *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIX, p. 62, n. 53.

No. 48; PLATE XXXVIII

BANARAS PLATES OF KARNA : (KALACHURI) YEAR 793

THE inscription on these plates was first brought to notice by Captain Wilford who described it as follows in the *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. IX, page 108:—

"A few years ago (in 1801) this grant was found at the bottom of an old well filled with rubbish in the old fort of Banaras. It is engraven upon two brass plates, joined by a ring, to which is affixed the Imperial seal. It is of the same size nearly and in the same shape with that found at Mongir. The writing is also the same or at least without any material deviation. The Imperial seal is about 3 inches broad: on it, in *bas-relievo*, is Pārvatī with four arms, sitting with her legs crossed; two elephants are represented, one on each side of her, with their trunks uplifted. Below is the bull, Nandi, in a reclining posture, and before him is a basket. Between Pārvatī and the bull is written *Srī-Karṇadēva*. The grant is dated in the second year of his new year and also of his reign answering to the Christian year 192 . . . The ancestors of *Srī-Karṇadēva* mentioned in the grant were, first his father *Gāṅgēyadēva*, with the title *Vijaya-kaṇṭaka*; he died in a loathsome dungeon. He was the son of *Kōkalladēva*, whose father was *Lakshmaṇarājadēva*."¹ The plates were subsequently edited in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. II, pp. 297 ff., with lithographs, but without a translation, by Dr. Kielhorn, who gives the following account of their subsequent history²:—

"The plates, thus described by Captain Wilford were lost for a long time; but they were rediscovered about 1862, when through the kindness of Mr. Griffith, then Principal of the Banaras College, Sir A. Cunningham received an impression, together with a transcript which had been prepared by one of the students of the College. Both were made over to Dr. F.E. Hall, who now at my request has placed them at my disposal and has thus enabled me to publish the text of the inscription, the original of which has again been lost sight of. Fortunately, the impression, which has thus come into my hands, has been prepared with great care, so that the loss of the original plates will be less felt than would have been the case otherwise." As the plates appear to have been lost forever, they are edited here from the facsimiles accompanying Dr. Kielhorn's article in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. II, pp. 297 ff.

The plates, which are two in number, appear to be 1' 4" broad by 11½" high each and are inscribed on one side only. They have each a hole about .6" in diameter for the ring which held them together. The letters appear to have been deeply incised. The inscription consists of forty-eight lines, of which twenty-eight are inscribed on the first and the remaining twenty on the second. The writer began with closely packed lines

¹ There are several mis-statements in this account. The figure on the seal must be taken to be that of Lakshmi. What is described as a basket before the Nandi is probably an incense pot. There must have been another like it behind the bull; see the seals of the Goharwa and British Museum plates (Nos. 50 and 54). The seal of Jayasimhadēva (Pl. LII) shows a handle to these pots, which makes it plain that they are not drums as conjectured by Hultsch (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XI, p. 140). The legend had probably a *vinarga* at the end as in the legend of other cognate plates. The mistake about the second regnal year was probably caused by the word *dvitīyāṁ* referring to the *tithi* in L.40. As regards Wilford's reading of the date, Cunningham has remarked, 'I suspect that the date was read by Wilford as 193 and that he afterwards forgot that he had obtained it from the plates,' (*C. A. S. I. R.*, Vol. IX, p. 82). *Vijaya-kaṇṭaka* is shown by Kielhorn to be a mistake for *vijaya-kaṇṭaka* 'a victorious camp'. Finally, the misconception about *Gāṅgēyadēva*'s dying in a loathsome dungeon was probably caused by a wrong interpretation of v. 25. See, however, Kielhorn's remarks in *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. II, p. 302, n. 38.

² *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. II, p. 297.

until he came to the middle of the second plate when he found that he had more than sufficient space at his disposal. He, therefore, left more space between his lines and wrote letters of a larger size especially in lines 38-40. The writing is in a state of good preservation.

The **characters** are of the Nāgarī alphabet. Some letters show considerable development, approximating to their forms in the modern Nāgarī alphabet, though they are still in the stage of transition. The initial *ē*, for instance, shows, for the first time in the records edited here, its left curve separated from the right vertical in *ēkasminī*-, l. 28; elsewhere it is joined to the latter, see *ēk-aika*-, l. 11; *kh* has its left member fully developed, see *khyāta*-, l. 13, but notice *Natt-ākhyā*-, l. 10 in which it shows the older form; *ñ* appears with a dot for the first time in *bhujāṅgā*-, l. 11 and *bhrū-bhaṁṛiga*-, l. 15, but without it in *=jaṅgamaḥ*, l. 31 and *-Gāṅgēyadēvasya*, l. 40. Similarly *th* has its upper loop open in *Dāsarathir*-, l. 15 and *-nāthaḥ*, l. 23, but in other cases it shows its older form, see *yasy-ārtha*- and *-tathā*, both in l. 8; *ph* has now a tail added to the loop on the right, see *phalam*, l. 45; *s* in *-sārthi*-, l. 31 has the same form as in the modern Nāgarī, but in other cases it has the older form. The subscript *ṛ* has the same form as when it is independent, see *Karṇa* and *iv-āvatirṇṇaḥ*, both in l. 29. Besides, owing to the carelessness of the writer or the engraver several letters appear in varying forms, see, for instance, *bh* in *bhāva*-, l. 1, and *-prabhaṇi*, l. 2; *y* in *dharmāya*, l. 7 and *Gāṅgēya*-, l. 28; *g* in *yōgāya*, l. 7 and *-gumanām*-, l. 18 and *r* in *kārunya*-, l. 20 and *parant*-, l. 32. In some cases it is difficult to distinguish between *bh* and *h* as well as between *v* and *dh*.

The **language** is Sanskrit throughout, except in verse 12 which is in Prakrit. The first thirty-two lines which contain the eulogistic portion of the record are in verse, with the exception of the introductory *ōm namaḥ Sivāya*, l. 1 and the words *kim=v=āparēṇa*, l. 13. This part of the record is written in the usual *kāvya* style. The description in vv. 16 and 20, which is based on *slesha* or *double entendre*, is cleverly done. It is noteworthy that v. 18 is taken from the play *Bālabhārata* (called also *Prachandapāṇḍava*) of Rājeśēkhara.¹ The formal part of the grant begins in l. 32 and is followed by six benedictive and imprecatory verses. The last line contains the date expressed in numerical figures. The record is very carelessly written. See, for instance, the mistake of concord in *yasy-ārtha-saktō matib*, l. 8, the wrong form *Trikalīṅg y-ādhipati*- for *Trikalīṅg-ādhipati*-, l. 34, the use of the short for the long vowel in *-bhupālē* in l. 9 and *vice versa* in *-dhanānū-samīdhita*-, l. 7, the use of *ē* for *ī* in *prathēta*-, l. 29 and the reverse of it in *-sārthishv*-, l. 31, the wrong elision of the final consonant in *sthir=āsi* for *sthir=āsīt* and of *visarga* in *Lakshmi* for *Lakshmīḥ*, both in l. 22. These and other mistakes, too many to be enumerated, make it very difficult to restore the original correct readings. The following **orthographical** peculiarities may also be noticed:—*s* is used for *ś* almost throughout except in the case of *śrī*, see *Sivāya* for *Śivāya*, l. 1, *=āslēsha* for *=āślēsha*, l. 3 *etc.*; *v* is employed for *b* in *sad-vrahmaṇē*, l. 1, *vavamīdha*, l. 4 and so forth; *y* takes the place of *j* in *tasy=ānryō* for *tasy=ānryō*, l. 22, *-yāyata* for *-jāyata*, l. 23 and *vice versa* in *dur-jjasah* for *dur-yyasah*, l. 27; *n* stands for *ṇ* in *ānṛīya*, l. 8 and *parjjanaishīt* for *paryyanaishīt*, l. 10; the *anusvāra* is wrongly changed to *m* in *kim=v=aparēṇa* l. 13 and to *n* in *-vansa*, l. 6 and *-vansē*, l. 45; *ksh* is written for *khy* in *saukshakṛit*, l. 7 and *kshātani*, l. 27 and *ky* for *ksh* in *kaukyēyakō*-, l. 26; the vowel *ri* is used for *ri* in *nistrimsatā*, l. 21 and *Trikalīṅg y*-, l. 34; finally, the consonant following *r* is repeated in many cases, see *Kārttavīryaḥ*, l. 3, *Karṇaḥ*, l. 29 *etc.*

The plates were issued by **Karṇa** of the **Later Kalachuri Dynasty**, from his

¹ See *Bālabhārata* (Nirṇayasāgara ed.), Act I, v. 62.

victorious camp at **Prayāga**. After the customary verse in praise of Brahman, commences the genealogy of the donor. From the famous king **Kārtavīrya** who subdued **Rāvaṇa**, were descended the **Haihayas**. An ornament of their family was **Kōkkala** who gave protection to **Bhōja**, **Vallabharāja**, **Śrī-Harsha**, the king of **Chitrakūṭa**, and the king **Śaṅkaragaṇa**. This **Kōkkala** is evidently identical with **Kōkalla** I mentioned in the **Bilhāri** stone inscription.¹ The first two kings mentioned here as having received help from him are also named in the **Bilhāri** inscription and are plainly identical with **Bhōja** I of the Imperial **Gurjara-Pratihāra** dynasty of **Kanauj** and **Kṛishṇa** II of the **Rāshtrakūṭa** family who, from **Rāshtrakūṭa** records, is known to have married **Kōkalla**'s daughter. **Śrī-Harsha**, the king of **Chitrakūṭa**, is the well-known king of that name in the **Chandēlla** dynasty, whose kingdom included that hill fort. Finally, **Śaṅkaragaṇa** is not **Kōkalla**'s own son as was supposed by Dr. Kielhorn, but the first prince of that name, the father of **Guṇāmbhōdhidēva**, mentioned in the **Kahla** plates of **Sōḍhadēva**.² As **Guṇāmbhōdhidēva** was a contemporary of **Bhōja** I, it is not unlikely that his father may have received some help from **Kōkalla** I in the early part of the latter's reign.

Verse 8 states that **Kōkalla** married the princess **Natṭā** of the **Chandēlla** family. By her he had a son named **Prasiddhadhavalā** who is evidently identical with the **Mugdhātuṅga** of the **Bilhāri** inscription.³ A **Prakrit** verse introduced here states that he conquered the **Pāli** country to provide for the great princes who would be born thereafter in his family. As already shown, this statement is corroborated by the **Bilhāri** inscription which mentions that **Mugdhātuṅga** took the country of **Pāli** from the lord of **Kōsala**.

The record next mentions **Prasiddhadhavalā**'s son **Bālaharsha** who is described in general terms. His name is omitted in the **Bilhāri** inscription, either because his reign was short or because he was a collateral. He was succeeded by his younger brother **Yuvarājadēva** I who is said to have attained the position of *Paramēśvara* (Emperor), through his devotion to **Śiva**. He was followed by his son **Lakshmaṇarāja** (II). As already observed, verse 18, which occurs in his description, is borrowed from the *Bālabhārata*, a **Sanskrit** play of **Rājaśekhara**. **Lakshmaṇarāja**'s son and successor was **Śaṅkaragaṇa** (III) who was followed by his younger brother **Yuvarājadēva** II. The latter's son was **Kōkalladēva** II who was succeeded by his own son **Gāṅgēyadēva**. The record finally mentions **Gāṅgēyadēva**'s son and successor **Karṇa** who granted the present plates. The eulogy of these princes is merely conventional and contains no reference to historical events.

The present record gives **Karṇa** the Imperial titles *Paramabhaṭṭāraka*, *Mahārājādhirāja* and *Paramēśvara*. He is also called here the lord of **Trikaliṅga** and a devout worshipper of **Mahēśvara**, who meditated on the feet of the *Paramabhaṭṭāraka*, *Mahārājādhirāja*, *Paramēśvara*, the illustrious **Vāmadēva**. **Vāmadēva** is clearly identical with **Vāmarājadēva** whose name is mentioned with the same Imperial titles in the **Saugor** stone inscription of the time of **Śaṅkaragaṇa** I.⁴ **Karṇa** made the present grant at **Prayāga** after bathing in the **Vēṇī** and worshipping **Śiva** on the occasion of the *sanivatsara-śrāddha* of his father, **Gāṅgēyadēva**, which he performed at **Prayāga**.⁵ The object of the grant was the village **Śrusī** situated in the *bhūmi* (sub-division) of **Kāśī**.⁶ The

¹ Above, No. 45, vv. 12 ff.

² Below, No. 74, v. 8.

³ Above, No. 45, v. 18.

⁴ Above, No. 35, l. 1.

⁵ Note *ib-aina* in l. 39 of the text.

⁶ See below, p. 244, n. 11.

donee was the Brāhmaṇa Viśvarūpa, son of Nārāyaṇa, grandson of Vāmana and great-grand son of Āmaha¹ who belonged to the Kauśika *gōtra* with the *pravara*s Auddālaka,² Dēvarāta and Viśvāmitra, who had emigrated from Vēsāla. The date of the *śrāddha* is given, in line 40, as Saturday, the second *tithi* of the dark fortnight of Phālguna and that of the charter, in the last line, as Monday, the 9th *tithi* of the dark fortnight of Phālguna in the year 793. The latter *tithi* and the year are expressed in numerical figures only.

As Dr. Fleet has shown from his calculation of the date of Karṇa's Goharwa plates, this *śrāddha* was performed on the first anniversary of Gāṅgēyadēva's death and this view is also confirmed by the wording of the grant.³ From other Kalachuri records⁴ we know that Gāṅgēya died at the foot of the holy banyan tree at Prayāga. Karṇa seems, therefore, to have especially gone to Prayāga to perform the first annual *śrāddha* of his father at the holy place where he had died. The dates mentioned in this inscription, like those in other Kalachuri records, must of course be referred to the Kalachuri era. Though no year is mentioned in connection with the first date, it is probably identical with that of the second; for, it is not likely that the issuing of the plates was delayed by more than a few days or months at most. Of these two dates, the second is quite regular; for according to the epoch of 247-48 A.C., the ninth *tithi* of the dark fortnight of the *pūrṇimānta* Phālguna in the expired year 793 ended 18 hours after mean sunrise on Monday, the corresponding Christian date being the 18th January 1042 A.C. The date of the *śrāddha*, however, if it refers to the same Kalachuri year as it evidently does, is irregular; for the second *tithi* of the dark fortnight of the *pūrṇimānta* Phālguna in that year commenced 5 h. 20 m. after mean sunrise on Sunday (the 10th January 1042 A.C.) and ended 7 h. 10 m. after mean sunrise next day.⁵ It was not, thus, connected with Saturday in any way. This date, therefore, appears to be irregular. Dr. Kielhorn, however, found by calculation that the same *tithi* of the previous month (*viz.*, the *pūrṇimānta* Māgha) was current at sunrise on Saturday, the 12th December 1041 A.C. He, therefore, supposed that the *śrāddha* was really performed on the second *tithi* of the dark half of Māgha, but 'the writer of the grant, who cannot be absolved of carelessness in other respects, wrongly put down in l. 40 the month in which he was writing the grant'. Such an explanation is not impossible and other cases of a similar type can easily be cited.⁶ But this involves the supposition that there was an interval of more than a month between the making of the grant and the recording of it. Some scholars have, therefore, attempted to explain away the irregularity of the present date in other ways.

Dr. Fleet thought that the mistake lay in the week-day (or else in the *tithi*) rather than in the month,⁷ but he offered no explanation of it. Rai Bahadur Hiralal, on the other hand, suggested that though Gāṅgēya died on the second *tithi* of the dark half of Phālguna, and hence the *śrāddha* must be performed on that date, in the year 793 it fell on a Sunday, which is not an auspicious day for such ceremonies. It was, therefore, per-

¹ See below, p. 244, n. 14.

² See below, p. 249, n. 20.

³ The text mentions the *saṁvatsara-śrāddha*, which means the *śrāddha* on the first anniversary. The *śrāddha* on a later anniversary is called *prati-saṁvatsarika-śrāddha*.

⁴ See, for instance, v. 12 of the Khairha plates of Yaśaḥkarṇa (below, No. 56)

⁵ According to Kielhorn's calculations, the *tithi* commenced 4 h. 15 m. after mean sunrise on Sunday, the 10th January 1042 A.C., and ended 5 h. 49 m. after mean sunrise of Monday, the 11th January, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. II, p. 300.

⁶ See, *e.g.*, the date of the Pēṇḍrābandh plates (below, No. 101).

⁷ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XI, p. 146, n. 7.

formed on the day before and while *dvitīyā*, the anniversary day, could not be changed, it had to be associated with the week-day on which the ceremonies actually took place.¹ This explanation also does not appear to be convincing; because, there is no authority in the Dharmaśāstras for changing the *tithi* for the performance of a *śrāddha*, even if it falls on an inauspicious day. We must, therefore, seek some other explanation of this irregularity.

It seems to me that the date of the *śrāddha* was really the second *tithi* of the dark half of Phālguna. As shown by Dr. Kielhorn, in the Kalachuri year 793 it was connected with the sunrise of Monday, but as the afternoon is preferred to the forenoon for the performance of a *śrāddha*², Karṇa must have performed the *śrāddha* of his father in the afternoon of the preceding day, i.e., Sunday, the 10th January 1042 A.C. when the second *tithi* was current. As we have seen before, this was the first anniversary of Gāṅgēyadēva's death. The Smṛitis lay down two or three *śrāddhas* which are to be performed before the *śrāddha* on the first anniversary of a relative's death.³ The ceremonies are, therefore, usually commenced one or two days before the day of the first anniversary. Karṇa also seems to have done the same. At the time of the *śmābdika śrāddha* on the day preceding the annual *śrāddha*, i.e., on Saturday, the 9th January 1042 A.C. he seems to have made a *saṅkalpa* about the grant. On the next day he performed the first annual or *saṁvatsara-śrāddha*. The grant was thus made by Karṇa on Saturday in connection with the *saṁvatsara-śrāddha*, which fell on the second *tithi* of the dark half of Phālguna. The writer of the grant has, by mistake, coupled Saturday, when the grant was actually made, with the *tithi* of the first annual *śrāddha* which was really performed the next day. The foregoing discussion will show that Gāṅgēyadēva died on Phālguna va. di. 2 of the Kalachuri year 792, corresponding to the 22nd January 1041 A.C.

As for the geographical names mentioned in the present grant, Dr. Kielhorn at first identified the river *Vēṇī* in which Karṇa had bathed before making the grant with the *Waingaṅgā* of Madhya Pradesh.⁴ Later on, however, he corrected himself and identified it with the confluence of the *Gāṅgā* and the *Yamunā* with the subterranean *Sarasvatī* at Allahabad.⁵ The village *Vēsāla*, from which the donee hailed, is plainly *Vaiśālī* which figures prominently in Buddhist literature. Archaeological excavation has identified it with *Basarh* in the *Muzaffarpur District*, Bihar.⁶ *Prayāga*, where the *śrāddha* was performed, is of course Allahabad. As for *Srusī*, it is probably identical with *Sursi* (long. 82° 52', East and lat. 25° 12', North) in the *Mirzapur District*, 9 miles north of *Chunār*.⁷ It is stated that the village was situated in the sub-division of *Kāśī*, modern Banaras, and it is noteworthy that *Sursi* is just outside the southern boundary of

¹ *Ibid.*, Vol. XII, p. 206, n. 3. He has not cited any authority for his statement that Sunday is regarded as an inauspicious day for the performance of a *śrāddha*.

² तथा ब्राह्मस्य पूर्वाह्नादपरान्हो विशिष्यते । *Manusmṛiti*, *adhyāya* III, v. 278. Compare also पूर्वाह्नास्तु त्रिष्यो देवकार्ये फलप्रदाः । अपराह्नास्तथा ज्ञेयाः पित्र्ये तु शुभावहाः ॥ Hemādri's *Chaturvargashintāmaṇi*, *Parīśeṣha-khaṇḍa*, (*Bibl. Ind.*), p. 283.

³ These are the *śmābdika*, which according to some is performed one day before, and the *sapīṇḍikaraṇa* and the *ābdika* (also called *saṁvatsara-vimāksa*), which are performed on the anniversary day. Some authorities identify the *sapīṇḍikaraṇa* and *ābdika śrāddhas*. See Hemādri's *Chaturvargashintāmaṇi*, *Parīśeṣha-khaṇḍa*, pp. 294 ff; *Nirṇayasindhu* (*Nirṇayasāgar* ed.), p. 427.

⁴ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. II, p. 299.

⁵ The *Kamauli* plates of *Jayachandra* also mention *Vēṇī* in this sense, *ibid.* Vol. IV, p. 122.

⁶ *A. R. A. S. I.*, for 1903-4, pp. 81 f.

⁷ The identification was first suggested in my article in the *Nagpur University Journal*, No. 1, pp. 51 ff.

the Banaras District. It may also be noted that the plates were found at the bottom of a well in Banaras which shows that the donee was a resident of the place. Karṇa seems to have specially invited him to Prayāga for the performance of the *śrāddha*.

TEXT¹

First Plate

- 1 सिद्धिः²[॥*] ओं नमः सि(शि)वाय ॥ निर्गुणं व्यापकं नित्यं सि(शि)वं परमकारणं(णम्) । भावग्राह्यं पर(रं) ज्योतिस्तस्मै सद्ब्रह्मणे³ नमः ॥⁴[१॥*] यद्वेध⁵स्थितमव्य[यं] प-
- 2 रमपि जो(ज्यो)तिस्वि(श्चि)दंसु(शु)प्रभं(भम्)।⁶ सूर्याखा(ख्य)स्य च [भा]स्वरप्रभृतयो यस्य स्फुरंत्यूर्म्मयः [१*] सर्वज्ञान[म*]यो व(व)भूव [भ]गवांस्तस्मान्मनुम्मनिसो यस्मात्सृष्टिरभू- [दियं गु]-
- 3 णवती स्त्रीपुत्रिमिता ततः।⁷[॥२॥*] देवः श्रीकात्तंवीयः क्षितिपतिरभवद्भूषण(णं) भूतधात्र्या हेलोत्क्षिप्ताद्वि(वि)भ्यत्तुहिनागिरिसुतास्ले(श्ले)षसन्तोषितेस(श)म् [१*]दोहंण्डा-
- 4 काण्डसेतुप्रतिगमितमहापूररेवाप्रवाहव्याघौतत्य⁸(व्य)क्षपूजागुरुजनितरुषं रावणं यो ववम्भ⁹। [१३॥*]यस्य भूभ्र(भ)[ङ्ग*]भीता ददति नृपतयः क्लिष्ट-
- 5 भावे प्रतिप¹⁰ आ के(कै)लास(सा)त्सहेलं हरवृषभसमुत्खात[सं](शृ)गाग्र[भि]तेः । आ चः¹¹ प्राचः समुद्रात्सुरसरिदतुलस्वूलमुक्तावलीकादम्भोर्ध्वेक्षिणाच्च स्फु-
- 6 रदतुलमणेः सेतुसीमन्त[भा]जः [॥४॥*] तद्वत्स¹²प्रभवा नरी(रं)द्रपतयः स्वाता[ः*] क्षितौ हैहयास्तेषामनु(न्व)यभूषणं¹³ रिपुमनोविन्यस्ततापानलः । धर्म्मध्यानव-
- 7 नानू(नु)संधितमुखः सस्वत्सता¹⁴ सौक्ष(ख्य)कृत्प्रेयास(न्स)व्वंगुणाङ्कितप्रभृतया श्रीमानू- भूकोक्कलः¹⁵। [॥५॥*] सम्यक्सा (क्शा)स्त्रविचारणा प्रतिदिनं धर्म्माय योगाय च¹⁷ इष्टा-
- 8 [पू]त्तंपरोपकारकृतये यस्यायंसक्तो(क्ता) मतिः ॥ (१) आनून्या(ण्या)धिगमाय दाननिरतिः सद्रंस(श)पुष्टेस्तथा ज्ञानाभ्यासवसा(शा)न्म(न्मु)मुक्ष(क्षु)पदवीमंते च यः प्राप्तवान् । [१६॥*] भोजे व-
- 9 ल्ल[भ*]राजे¹⁸ श्रीहर्षं(र्षे) चित्रकूटभु(भू)पाले । स(श)ङ्करगणे च रा[ज*]नि यस्यासीदभयदः

¹ From the lithograph accompanying Kielhorn's article in the *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, pp. 297 ff.

² Expressed by a symbol.

³ Read सद्ब्रह्मणे.

⁴ Metre: *Anuṣṭubh*.

⁵ Perhaps यद्वेधा स्थित- is the intended reading.

⁶ This sign of punctuation is superfluous.

⁷ Metre: *Sārdūlavikrīḍita*.

⁸ Kielhorn read this *akṣara* as व्य, but see its form in l. 3.

⁹ Read ववम्भ.

¹⁰ Read दधति नृपतयः क्लिष्टभावे प्रतिष्ठाम्.

¹¹ Read च.

¹² Read तद्वत्स-.

¹³ Kielhorn read भूषण, but the lithograph shows an *anusvāra* on ण.

¹⁴ Read सस्वत्सता.

¹⁵ Read श्रीमानूभूकोक्कलः. In v. 23 the metre requires the form कोक्कल or कोक्कल.

¹⁶ Metre of this and the following verse: *Sārdūlavikrīḍita*.

¹⁷ The hiatus here is due to the exigencies of the metre.

¹⁸ I fail to see any letter inserted between ल्ल and रा as observed by Kielhorn. र appears here with a loop.

- पाणिः ।¹[१७॥*] सचिमिवेन्द्र² कमलामुपेन्द्रो³(न्दो) नगेन्द्रकन्यामिव चन्द्रमौलिः । चन्देल-
यसप्रभवा
- 10 सुसिला नट्टाख्यदेवी स तु पज्जनेषित्⁴॥⁵[८॥*] उद्दामदर्पद्विषतो जयन्तं कद(न्द)र्पमापि-
(पी)नघनस्तनीनाम् । अजीजनत्स स्थितये जनस्य तस्यां महास(श)क्तिघ[रं] कु-
- 11 मारम् । [११॥*] नाम्ना प्रसिद्धो भुध(व)नत्रयेपि प्रसिद्धपूर्वो धवलः स राजा । बोडु (डु)
घुरं यो गुरुहारहा योज्यानूपेन्द्रान्कहार चकार⁶ ॥ [१०॥*] एकैक(क) ददता भुजङ्गमनि-
- 12 सं(शं) स्व(स्वं) जीवित(तं) रक्षता भक्ष्यार्थ(थं) गरुडाय नागपतिना न्यक्कार उन्मीलितः ।
चारित्राय ददो(दो) जलं सुरपतिर्गच्छन्न[ह*]ल्यामृतौ वन्द्यासा(या) भुवनत्रयेप्ययमभूदो-
- 13 चित्त(त्य)वृत्तेः प[द] (दम्) ॥⁷[११॥*] किम्बापरेण⁸ । होहिन्ति एत्य वंसे पुरिसा पुहृदय⁹-
गारवमहृद्वा[॥*] इअ भाविकुण जेणं पालीण परिग(ग)हो गहिओ ॥¹⁰[१२॥*] तत्सुनुः¹¹ ह्यात-
- 14 कर्म्मा दिगिभकरनिभाजानुवा(वा) हुमंहात्मा भूमेभ(भं)त्तावि(व)भूवदातरिपुनूपतिव्वी(व्वी)लहं-
षः (ह्वं):¹² सु[ज*]न्मा । यं सद्वृत्तानुरागानुकृतकृतय(यु)गाचारमासु(थ्रि)त्य जातस्त्य-
- 15 क्तान्योन्योपमहंस्थिरवसतिरपास्तारिवर्गं(स्त्रि)वर्गः ।¹³[१३॥*] । धन्योत्र दास(श)-
रधिरेव रिपुहंसा(शा)स्यो यस्याभवत्किमपरं समरोत्सवाय भूभङ्ग¹⁴[भ*]नसकलद्विषतो
- 16 धिगस्मानात्मानमाह्वरसादिति यः सुसोच¹⁵ ॥¹⁶[१४॥*] सत्यव्रतैकनिरतस्य युधिष्ठिरस्य
तस्यानुयः(जः) प्रथितवा(वा)हुव(व)लो व(व)भूव । दुर्योधनारिव(व)लवि(वी)रवधैकध-
- 17 न्वी पार्थोपरः कलियुगे युवराजदेवः । [१५॥*] भु(भू)भारक्षमदृक्सति¹⁷प्र[ण*]यिनीमालम्ब-
(म्ब)मानस्तन(तुं) कुर्व्वाणः समरेपि नाग(क)पथगानागच्छतो विद्धिः(द्विषः) ॥ (१) विल्या-
- 18 तां भुवि भूरिमागंगमनामुच्चैर्दृष्ट्वाही(हि)नीं यः साक्षात्परमेस्व(स्व)र[ः*] समभवत्स-
म्यक्सि(क्षि)वाराधनात् ॥¹⁸[१६॥*] तस्मादभूलक्ष्मणराजदेवः पुण्यै¹⁹ज्जनाना(तां)
- 19 जनितव्यवस्थः । आ(अ)वाप्य यं धर्ममिव क्षितीसं(शं) चिराय लेभे जननी सुखानि ॥²⁰ता
[१७॥*] यः सत्यस्य निधिः सि(थ्रि)यां च सरणिः साम्ना च धाम्ना [च*] यो यो दाता च
दयालु-

¹ Metre: *Āryā*.

² Read शचीमिवेन्द्रः.

³ Kielhorn read मुपेन्द्रो, but the facsimile does not show any subscript *r* in this *akṣara*; see the form of *द्र* in नगेन्द्र-.

⁴ Read the second half of the verse as चन्देलवंशप्रभवां सुशीलां नट्टाख्यदेवीं स तु पर्यवेषीत् ॥

⁵ Metre of this and the following two verses: *Upajāti*.

⁶ Read गुरुभारयुक्तामन्यानूपेन्द्रान्करदीचकार ॥

⁷ Metre: *Sārdūlavikrīḍita*.

⁸ Read कि वापरेण.

⁹ Kielhorn read this as एहृदय, but the form of ए, which occurs in this line and in l. 28 are different.

¹⁰ Sanskrit—भविव्यन्त्यत्र वंसे पुरुषा पूयिव्यां गौरवमहार्घाः ।

इति भावयित्वा येन पालीनां परिग्रहो गृहीतः ॥ Metre: *Āryā*.

¹¹ Read तत्सुनुः.

¹² Kielhorn read -व्वी(व्वी)लह्वं, but the facsimile shows *rāpha* over ह.

¹³ Metre: *Sragdharā*.

¹⁴ The *anusvāra* on भ्र is clear and distinct. Read भ्रूभङ्ग-.

¹⁵ Read सुसोच.

¹⁶ Metre of this and the following verse: *Vasantatilakā*.

¹⁷ Read दृक्सति-.

¹⁸ Metre: *Sārdūlavikrīḍita*.

¹⁹ The reading is clearly पुण्यै-, and not पुण्यौ- as taken by Kielhorn.

²⁰ Metre: *Upajāti*.

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2 4 6 8 10 12 14 16 18 20 22 24 26 28

[illegible]

2 4 6 8 10 12 14 16 18 20 22 24 26 28

- 20 रेव च पदं कीर्तिस्व(श्च) नीतेस्व(श्च) यः । तस्यासीत्परमेष दूषणकण[*] कारुण्य(ण्य)–
पुण्यात्मनः पात्रापात्रविवेचनं न यदभूत्सर्वस्वदानेष्वपि ॥¹[१८॥*] श्रीस(श)ङ्करगणदेव–
21 स्ततोभवत्सकलभुवनतलतिलकः । सा(शा)सति वसुधां यस्मिन्पलायित(तं) क्वापि कलि-
नापि ॥²[१९॥*] असौ निस्तुं(स्त्रिं)स(श)ता यत्र वक्रत्वं पलितागमे [१*] रथचक्रेयू(यु) चारि-
22 त्वं वायो(यौ) स्वच्छन्दचारिता³ ॥⁴[२०॥*] तस्यानुयो(जो)भु(भू)द्युवराजदेवः पतिः
क्षितेः क्षत्रकुलप्रमु(सू)तिः । यस्यासिधाराजलघौतमु(मू)र्त्तस्वि(श्चि)रं स्थिरासिचपलापि
लक्ष्मी⁵ ॥⁶[२१॥*] अर्थि–
23 सा[र्था]वधिस्त्यागः से[सं] सूरतयावधिः⁷ । यस(श)[सां] धर्म्मरासे(शे)स्व(श्च) नावधिर्यस्य
भूपतेः ।⁸[२२॥*] स्त्रीसास्वतोयायत यातकीर्तुः कोकलदेवो वस्वधिकनाथः⁹ । ज(य)
न्मण्ड–
24 लाभो रिपुमण्डलानि पुरो दधातीति यथायं स(श)ब्द(ब्द)ः ।¹⁰[२३॥*] नम्र कामुकवत्
कृतं नियमितं तूणीरवत्पृष्ठतः ।¹¹ काष्ठासु क्षणमात्रस्त्रविहितः भ्रान्तरादादण्डवत्[१*]
25 कृत्वा साधुपरिच्छदेन रहितं सम्यक्करे स्थापितं सत्रणामखिलं कुलधेनुरपतिवि भयेनासिवत्¹² ॥¹³
[२४॥*] काककलनृपादवाप्तसकलक्षणीवपदक्षी¹⁴–
26 रक्षालितहारगो(गौ)रगुणभूर्गावदेवाभत्¹⁵ । यस्याजायत केवलं रणमुखे कौक्ये(क्षे)यकोप्रेसरः
।¹⁶ स्तत्रैव प्रतिविवि[य] पुनरभूदालावरं सन्मुखा¹⁷ ॥¹⁸[२५॥*]
27 अगुणेजो ज लोलेति क्षातं यदिह दुर्जसः¹⁹ । लक्ष्म्या तदधुना धौतं दिव्यमादाय तद्वपुः ।²⁰
[२६॥*] ख्यात[*] सत्यतया स धर्म्मतनयः त्यागेन विरोर–
28 तिः²¹ सोयेनेद्रसुर²² न चैतदभवत्सत्यं गता²³ चेतसि । एकस्मिंस्त्रितयं कलो(लौ) समनिकं²⁴
गांगेयदेवे नृपे दृ[स्ता]रिस्वितमिव तेर–

¹ This verse is borrowed with a slight change from Rājāśekhara's *Prachandapāṇḍava* (I, 62). The latter reads तस्यैतस्य स एष in place of तस्यासीत्परमेष. Metre: *Sārdūlavikrīḍita*.

² Metre: *Arjā*.

³ Metre: *Anuṣṭubh*.

⁴ Read स्थिरासीच्चपलापि लक्ष्मीः ॥ Metre: *Upajāti*.

⁵ Read शौर्यं सूरजयावधि.

⁶ Metre: *Anuṣṭubh*.

⁷ Following Kielhorn, I read the line as श्रीमांस्ततोजायत जातकीर्तः कोकलदेवो वसुधैकनाथः. The metre does not require कोकल to be changed to कोकल.

⁸ Metre: *Upajāti*.

⁹ This *danda* is superfluous.

¹⁰ Kielhorn has ingeniously restored this very corrupt stanza as follows:—

नम्रं कामुकवत्कृतं नियमितं तूणीरवत्पृष्ठतः
काष्ठासु क्षणमात्रदृष्टविहितभ्रान्तं च दोहण्डवत् ।
कृत्वा साधु परिच्छदेन रहितं सम्यक्करे स्थापितं
शत्रूणामखिलं कुलं नरपतिश्रेष्ठेन येनासिवत् ॥

¹¹ Metre: *Sārdūlavikrīḍita*.

¹² I propose to restore the first quarter as follows. श्रीकोकलनृपादवाप्तसकलक्षणीवपदः [श्रीयुतः*]. The last three *akṣaras* which are wholly omitted in the text are supplied conjecturally.

¹³ Read –गाङ्गेयदेवोभवत्.

¹⁴ Read –सरस्तत्रैव प्रतिविवितं पुनरभूदालावितं सन्मुखम् ॥

¹⁵ Metre: *Sārdūlavikrīḍita*.

¹⁶ Read अगुणेजो लोलेति ख्यातं यदिह दुर्जसः । as in the Goharwa plates.

¹⁷ Metre: *Anuṣṭubh*.

¹⁸ Read वैरोचनिः.

¹⁹ Read शौर्येणेन्द्रसुतो.

²⁰ Read सतां.

²¹ Read समधिकं.

Second Plate

- 29 वितथं¹ पूव्वे(व्वे) ये(य)योक्ता भू(नृ)पाः ॥²[२७॥*] तस्यात्मजः कर्ण इवावतीर्णः
कर्णः पृथिव्या(व्यां) प्रये(धि)तपू(प्र)भावः । यस्याभिसे(वे)क[स्त्र](श्र)वणाद्वि(द्धि)व-
30 द्विर्नष्ट(ष्टं) प्रहृष्टं द्विजमित्रवर्गः ॥³[२८॥*] यत्कीर्त्तिलतया दूरं प्रसरन्त्या दिने दिने ॥(१)
द्र(व)ह्याण्डमण्डपाभोगः स्वल्पतामुपनीयते ॥⁴[२९॥*] स्वय(यं) समु-
31 त्मृजन्नर्थानिषिसार्थिष्वचिन्तितीन् । कोपे(प्ये)ष भूषण(णं) भूमेर्जङ्गमः कल्म(ल्प)पादपः ॥
[३०॥*] स(श)क्तित्रयं(यै)कने(नि)लयस्य गुणाकरस्य घम्मा(म्मा)त्मनः
32 स्तुतिपदं किमिहास्ति कि(किं)चित् । आसा(शा)स्यते परमिदं कृतिभिः सदे(दै)व राजन्वती
वसुमती भवते(तै)व भू(भू)यात् ॥⁵[३१॥*] तवे(दे)व(वं) गुणमणालंकृत-
33 स(श)रीरः स्व(प्र)यागसमावासितश्रीमद्विजयक[टा] (टका)त्परमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराज-
परमेस्व(स्व)रश्रीवामद(दे)वपादानुध्यान(त)परमभट्टा-
34 रकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेस्व(स्व)रपरममाहेस्व(स्व)रतृ(त्रि)कल्लिया(गा)धिपतिश्रीमत्कर्णदेव[*]
कुस(श)ली महादेवी महाराजपु[त्रा]⁷ महामं-
35 त्रि[णो] महामात्या⁸ महासन्धिविग्रहिका महाघम्माधिकरणिका महाक्षपटलिका महाकरणिका
स(म)हाप्रतीहारो महासामतो(न्तो)
36 महाप्रमातारो महास्व(स्व)साधनिको महा[भा*]ण्डागारिको महाध्यक्ष⁹ एतानन्यांस्व(स्व)
कीर्त्तिताकीर्त्तिता(तां)स्व(स्व) यथाहं(हं) मानयति वो(वो)घयति समाजापयति [१*]
विदित-
37 मसु(स्तु) भवता(तां) यथाहपाथा¹⁰कासि¹¹[भूम्य]न्तर्गतसुसिग्रामः सात्र(म्र)मधूकः सगर्तस्थ-
लजलोषरः सर्व्वीकरख[नि*]प्रभृतिसमुत्प-
38 त्तिसमेतस्व(स्व)नुराघ(घा)टसीमापर्यन्तः ।¹² वेतालग्रामविनिर्गताय को(को)सि(शि)कगो-
त्राय ।¹³ ओदलदेवरात्रविस्वामित्र¹⁴त्रि-
39 प्रवराय वाजसनेयसाखाया¹⁴महप्रन(ण)त्रे वा[म]ननप्त्रे नारायणपुत्राय पण्डितश्रीविस्व(स्व)-
रूपाय ।¹² इहैव पितुः श्री-
40 मद्गाङ्गेयदेवस्य संवत्सरे साद्धे¹⁵ फाल्गुनव(व)हुलपक्षद्वितीयायां स(श)नैस्व(स्व)रवासरे
वेण्यां स्नात्वा भगवंतं(वन्तं) देवं(व)देवं त्रिलोचन-

¹ Read दृष्ट्वा निश्चितमेव तैरवितथं.

² Metre: *Sārdūlavikrīḍita*.

³ Metre: *Indravajrā*.

⁴ Metre of this and the following verse: *Anushtubh*.

⁵ The lithograph clearly has सार्थिष्व- . Read -सार्थेष्वचिन्तितान्.

⁶ Metre: *Vasantatilakā*.

⁷ The Goharwa plates read महाराजपुत्रो.

⁸ As Kielhorn has observed, what was intended to be incised here was perhaps महामात्य । महासन्धि-विग्रहिक । *etc.* Or read महामात्यो, महासन्धिविग्रहिको *etc.* in conformity with महाप्रतीहारो *etc.*

⁹ This official is omitted in the Goharwa plates.

¹⁰ The three *akṣaras* are superfluous.

¹¹ Read काशीभूम्यन्तर्गतसुसी-. Kielhorn admitted that he could not make out the proper reading of the name of the district in which the donated village was situated. He read the name of the village as सुसि, but it is clearly mentioned as सुसी in L. 42, below.

¹² This *danda* is superfluous.

¹³ Read औदालकदेवरात्रविस्वामित्र-.

¹⁴ Kielhorn read -नालाय । मह-.

¹⁵ Read संवत्सरसाद्धे, as proposed by Kielhorn. Fleet later on remarked that the change was

- 41 मस(श)नस(सं)भारप्रकल्पितपंचोपच(चा)र[प्र*]पंचेन परया भक्त्या समभ्यर्च्यसिमस्र(थ)–
दध्र(द्ध)या स्रा(श्वा)द्धं विश्वायोभयभोगेन¹ सा(शा)स[न*]त्वेन यप्रदत्तः² । अतः, श्रीमत्क–
42 ण्णदेवपादा[ः*] स्तुसीग्रामनिवासिनः समस्तजनपदान्समादिस(शं)ति [1*] विदितमस्तु भवता(तां)
यवा ग्रामोयं स्माभिः³ सा(शा)सन्त्वेन प्रदत्त इति मत्वा–
43 भागभोगकरहिरण्यदण्डादायकासोत्पन्तिप्रभृति⁴समस्तराजप्रत्यादाय(या) अस्योपन(ने)[त*]व्या
इति [1*] तदपचिकीर्षया मध्ये वातेनापि न
44 गंत(गन्त)व्यमिति ॥ अभ्यर्थेना ॥ सर्वानेता[न्*] भाविनो राजपुत्रा[न्*] भूयो भूयो याचते
रामभद्रः । सामान्योय(यं) धर्मसेतुनू(नू)पाणा(णां) काले का–
45 ले पालनीयो भवद्भिः⁵ । [1३२॥*] व(व)हुभिव(वै)सुधा भुक्ता राजभिः सगरादिभिः ।
यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फलम्⁶ । [1३३॥*] अस्मिन्वत्से⁷ द्विष्ना–
46 पि⁸ यस्वा(श्वा)न्यो नृपतिर्भवेत् । तस्यापि हस्तलग्नोहं सा(शा)सनं न व्यतिक्रमेत् ॥ [३४॥*]
यानीह दत्तानि पुरा नरेन्द्रैदा(दां)नानि धर्मार्थयस(स)स्करा[णि] ।
47 नृमाल्य⁹वा प्रतिमानि तानि को न(ना)म साधुः पुनराददीत ॥¹⁰[३५॥*] अस्व(श्व)मेघ-
सहस्रेण राजसु(सू)यसहतेन¹¹ च [1*] गवां कोटिप्रदानेन भूमिह–
48 र्त्ता नसु(शु)ध्यति (॥)¹² [३६॥*] सुवर्णमेक(कं) गामेका(कां) भूमेरप्येकमङ्गुल[म्*] ।
हरन्न [रक?] माप्नोति यावदाभु(भू)तस(सं)प्लवं(वम्) ॥ [३७॥*] संवत् ७९३ फाल्गुन–
वदि ९ सोमे [॥*]

TRANSLATION

Success ! Ōm ! Adoration to Śiva !

(Verse 1) Adoration to that reality Brahman, which is attributeless, all-pervasive, eternal and auspicious, the ultimate cause (of the universe) (and) supreme light conceivable by the mind !

(V. 2) That which, though highest and changeless, appears in two forms,¹³—the light which has the refulgence of intelligence; from which in the form of the sun there shine forth waves such as the days¹⁴,—from it there sprang forth the venerable mind-born

unnecessary. But this was the *śrāddha* on the first anniversary of the death of Gāṅgēyadēva, which is called संवत्सरश्राद्ध. Subsequent annual *śrāddhas* are called प्रतिसंवत्सरिकश्राद्धा.

¹ The *akṣaras* here are quite clear. Perhaps the intended sense is —योदकसर्गेण, as suggested by Kielhorn.

² Read संप्रदत्तः ।

³ Read ग्रामोयमस्माभिः.

⁴ Kielhorn proposed to read दायाकरोत्पत्ति—.

⁵ Metre: *Sālinī*.

⁶ Metre of this and the following verse: *Anuṣṭubh*.

⁷ Read —न्वशे.

⁸ Read द्विजघ्नोपि.

⁹ Read निर्माल्य—.

¹⁰ Metre: *Indravajrā*.

¹¹ Read राजसूयशतेन च.

¹² Metre of this and the following verse: *Anuṣṭubh*.

¹³ These may be the male and the female. Compare द्विधा कृत्वात्मनो देहमर्धेन पुरुषोऽभवत् । अर्धेन नारी
... ॥ *Manuṣṛiti*, ch. I, v. 32.

¹⁴ The *Śabdakalpādruma* gives *bhāmara* in the sense of 'a day' and cites the work *Rājjanirghaṇṭa* as its authority.

Manu, the repository of all knowledge, from whom proceeded this entire creation possessed of *guṇas*¹ through male and female (*creatures*).

(V. 3) There was the king, the divine and illustrious **Kārtavīrya**, the ornament of the earth,—who threw into bondage Rāvaṇa who had propitiated Īśa (Śiva) by making the terrified daughter (Pārvatī) of the snow-mountain embrace him when he (Rāvaṇa) lifted up the mountain Kailāsa with ease, (*and*) who was greatly enraged when his offerings to the three-eyed (Śiva) were washed away by the stream of the greatly flooded Rēvā which was turned back by the suddenly placed dam of his (*i.e.*, Kārtavīrya's) mighty arms.²

(V. 4) Being frightened by his frown, kings (*of the countries*) extending as far as Kailāsa, the slopes on the tops of whose summits are dug up by Śiva's bull, and as far as the eastern ocean which has a string of matchless and large pearls in the form of the celestial river (*i.e.*, the Gaṅgā), (*and*) again as far as the southern ocean which has a shining peerless jewel³ and a parting line of hair, *viṣ.* the bridge (*of Rāma*), adhere steadfastly to affliction.

(V. 5) The lords of kings, who were born in his race, became famous on the earth as the **Haihayas**. An ornament of their family was the illustrious **Kōkalla (I)**⁴ who kindled the fire of anguish in the minds of his enemies; whose pleasures were linked with the wealth of religious contemplation; who always made good people happy; (*and*) who was dear (*to all*) as his majesty was marked by all good qualities.

(V. 6) Day by day he duly reflected on the *śāstras* for (*the knowledge of*) religion and union (*with God*),—(*he*) whose mind was fond of wealth (*only*) for religious and charitable works (*and*) for the benefit of others; who was devoted to charity to pay off the debt he owed for being brought up in a noble family; and who ultimately reached the path of beatitude through application to knowledge.

(V. 7) His hand afforded protection to **Bhōja**, the king **Vallabha**, the illustrious **Harsha** who was the lord of **Chitrakūṭa**, and the king **Śaṅkaragaṇa**.

(V. 8) As Indra married Śachī, Upēndra (Vishṇu) Kamalā (Lakshmi), the moon-crested god (Śiva) the daughter of the mountain (*i.e.*, Pārvatī), even so did he espouse the good-natured queen **Naṭṭā**, born in the **Chandēlla** family.

(V. 9) For the establishment of good order among the people, he begat on her a prince endowed with great prowess, who vanquished (*his*) enemies, possessed of haughty arrogance, and who was the god of love to ladies of fully-developed and compact breasts.

(V. 10) The king was well-known in all the three worlds by (*his*) name **Dhavalā** with **Prasiddha** prefixed (*to it*),⁵—who, in order to bear the very heavy yoke (*of governing the earth*), made other kings lend their (*helping*) hands⁶ (*i.e.*, *exactd tribute from them*).

(V. 11) By making over constantly serpents one by one to the Eagle, (Śeṣha), the lord of serpents, caused (*his own*) humiliation. The lord of gods (*i.e.*, Indra) lost his

¹ *Viṣ.*, *sattva*, *rajas* and *tamas*, which in different proportions constitute the nature of all beings.

² For the story, see the *Rāmāyaṇa* of Vālmiki, Uttarakāṇḍa, Adhyāyas 32 and 33.

³ This is probably the island of Ceylon, which, being situated opposite Rāma's bridge, appears like a jewel worn by a woman at the parting line of her hair.

⁴ The name appears here as *Kōkalla* due to the exigency of metre.

⁵ *i.e.*, the name was *Prasiddhadhavalā*.

⁶ There is a play on the verb *karadī-chakāra*. *Prasiddhadhavalā* made kings pay taxes for carrying on the government of the earth, as he would have taken their help to bear a heavy yoke.

character by having intercourse with Ahalyā in season. This king (*on the other hand*) became the resort of proper conduct, adorable in all the three worlds.

(V. 12) Why say (*anything*) else?

'In this family there will be men highly precious on account of their greatness in this world'—Thinking so, he took possession of (*the country of*) Pālī.¹

(V. 13) His high-souled son, Bālaharsha of noble birth, whose deeds are well-known, and whose arms resembling the trunks of the quarter-elephants stretched to (*his*) knees, became the lord of the earth, having destroyed all hostile kings. By resorting to him, who followed the practices of the Kṛita age out of his love for good conduct, the three (*purushārthas*),² giving up their mutual hostility and doing away with the host of their enemies (*i.e.*, passions), found a stable resting place.

(V. 14) 'Blessed was here the son of Daśaratha (*i.e.*, Rāma) alone, who had—what else?—an enemy in the ten-faced (Rāvaṇa) for (*enjoying*) the festivity of fighting. Fie on us, who have routed all (*our*) enemies by a (*mere*) frown!—Thus did he blame himself out of love for fighting.

(V. 15) Of him, who was Yudhishṭhira, being solely devoted to truth, there was a younger brother (*named*) Yuvarājadēva (I), endowed with well-known might of arms, a second Arjuna in the Kali age, the pre-eminent bow-man in exterminating warriors in the army of his invincible foes as Arjuna was in slaughtering those in the army of Duryōdhana.³

(V. 16) Having (*acquired*) knowledge suitable for bearing the burden of the earth, having a mind (*lit.*, body) fond of the Vēdas, sending his advancing foes along the path of heaven, and leading his powerful army, famous in the world, which marched by several routes, he, through his devotion to Śiva, became actually an Emperor (or Śiva⁴ incarnate, who is possessed of a body which is fond of serpents capable of bearing the burden of the earth, who sends his foes along the path of heaven and bears on high the river Gaṅgā that flows in several streams⁵).

(V. 17) From him was (*born*) Lakshmaṇarājadēva (II) through the religious merit of the people,—(*he*) who established order (*in this world*), and in whom the people, having obtained a (*righteous*) king like Dharma,⁶ became happy for a long time.

(V. 18) He was a treasure of truth, the path for fortune (*won*) by conciliation and prowess,—who, liberal and kind as he was, obtained fame and political wisdom. Meritorious as he was by compassion, he had this slight blemish that he did not discriminate between the worthy and the unworthy even when he was giving away all his property.

(V. 19) From him was born the illustrious Śaṅkaragaṇadēva (III), the ornament of the expanse of the whole world. While he was ruling over the earth, even Kali fled away, one does not know where.

(V. 20) (*Under his rule*) (*only*) the sword was *nistrinśa* (measuring more than thirty fingers) (*none else being nistrinśa or devoid of compassion*), (*only*) grey hair was curly (*none else*

¹ This verse is in Prakrit and is probably intended to represent what the people said about Prasiddha-dhavaḷa.

² These are *dharma* 'religious merit,' *artha* 'wealth' and *kāma* 'enjoyment of pleasures'.

³ There is a play on the word *duryōdhana* here.

⁴ The other meaning of *Paramēśvara*, viz., 'Śiva' is also intended; for, as shown below the adjectival expressions are so worded as to describe both an Emperor and Śiva. In the former alternative *bhū-bhāra-kṣama-drik* is to be separated from *śruti-praṇayinīm* and construed with *Paramēśvaraḥ*; in the latter *drik-śruti* means a serpent. There is also a play on the word *vāhinī* which means here (1) an army and (2) a river.

⁵ The Gaṅgā is called *tri-pathagā* because it flows in heaven, on the earth and in the nether regions.

⁶ *I.e.*, Yudhishṭhira who was noted for his benevolent rule.

being crooked), and (only) the wheels of the chariot had *aritra* (i.e., had spokes) (there being *aritra* or hostility nowhere else), (and) (only) wind blew where it liked (but none else acted in a self-willed manner¹).

(V. 21) His younger brother was Yuvarājādēva (II) the lord of the earth, born of a warlike race; being bathed with the water of the sharp edge² of whose sword, even the fickle goddess of fortune became steady.

(V. 22) His charity was limited (only) by the multitude of his suppliants, and his prowess (only) by the victory over (his) brave (adversary); but to that king's fame and accumulation of religious merit there was no limit.

(V. 23) From that famous (king) was born the illustrious Kōkalladēva (II) the sole lord of the earth. His *maṇḍalāgra*³ (sword) was rightly called so since it kept (in check) the *maṇḍalas* (multitudes of enemies) in front of it.

(V. 24) That foremost of kings made the entire host of his adversaries submissive even as he bent his bow, held it in check in the rear as he tied his quiver on (his) back, routed it in all directions the moment he cast an (angry) glance at it even as he whirled his arms whose revolutions in the different directions were noticed (only) for a moment, and depriving it completely of its possessions, made it pay tribute even as he completely unsheathed his sword and grasped it with the hand.⁴

(V. 25) Then there was the (illustrious) Gāṅgēyadēva who obtained the kingdom of the whole earth from the illustrious king Kōkalladēva (II), who was the abode of virtue as stainless as a pearl-necklace washed with milk; who was preceded in the forefront of the battlefield only by his sword,⁵ and whose beautiful face became crooked (only) when it was reflected in that very (sword).

(V. 26) By resorting to his divine person, the goddess of fortune has now got rid of the scandal that she does not appreciate merit (and) is fickle.

(V. 27) That (well-known) son of Dharma (i.e., Yudhisṭhira) was known for his truthfulness, the son of Virōchana (i.e., Bali) for his liberality, (and) the son of Indra (i.e., Arjuna) for his valour—this was not believed by the minds of the good. Seeing (however) that all the three (virtues) were present in (even) a greater measure in the king Gāṅgēyadēva, they concluded that the aforesaid kings were truly as described.

(V. 28) His son is Kārṇa of well-known valour, who is as it were Kārṇa⁶ descended on the earth. Hearing of his coronation, his enemies disappeared, (while) hosts of Brāhmaṇas and friends rejoiced.

(V. 29) Extending far and wide, the creeper of his fame, day by day, reduces the empty space inside the pavillion of Brahmā's egg.⁷

(V. 30) Granting personally inconceivable objects to multitudes of supplicants, he is some strange moving wish-fulfilling tree, decorating the earth.

¹ There are puns on several words here *nistṛiṇṣa* (1) 'a sword' (lit., 'measuring more than thirty fingers') and (2) 'devoid of compassion'; *aritra* is to be understood as derived from (1) *arin*, 'a wheel' (containing spokes) and (2) *ari* 'an enemy'.

² *Dbārā* (a sharp edge) also means 'a shower.'

³ *Maṇḍalāgra* means (1) 'a sword' and (2) 'that which has a host (*maṇḍala*) (of enemies) in front of it.'

⁴ The description is so worded as to be applicable to the host of enemies on the one hand and to the king's bow, arms and sword on the other. As before, *kars* means (1) 'a tax' and (2) 'the hand'.

⁵ I.e., he needed none else to help him.

⁶ The well-known hero of the Bhārata war.

⁷ I.e., the universe.

(V. 31) Is there any (*adequate*) word of praise for him, the righteous-minded one, who is the sole abode of the three royal powers,¹ (*and*) a mine of virtues? This is, however, prayed for by wise persons—'May the earth have always a good king only because of you!'

(Line 32) From his glorious and victorious camp fixed at Prayāga,—the *Paramabhaṭṭāraka*, *Mahārājādhirāja*, and *Paramēśvara*, the illustrious *Karṇadēva*, the devout worshipper of Mahēśvara, the lord of *Trikaliṅga*, whose person is adorned by the multitude of such qualities,² who meditates on the feet of the *Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja*, and *Paramēśvara*, the illustrious, *Vāmadēva*, being in good health, duly honours, informs and commands the following and other (*officers*) whether named or not, (*viz.*,) the *Mahādēvi*,³ the *Mahārājaputra*,⁴ the *Mahāmantrins*,⁵ the *Mahāmātya*,⁶ the *Mahāsāndhivigrahika*,⁷ the *Mahādormādhikaraṇika*,⁸ the *Mahākṣhapatalika*,⁹ the *Mahākaraṇika*,¹⁰ the *Mahāpratihāra*,¹¹ the *Mahāsāmanta*,¹² the *Mahāpramātri*,¹³ the *Mahāśvasāadhanika*,¹⁴ the *Mahābhāṇḍagārika*,¹⁵ (*and*) the *Mahādhyaksha*—¹⁶

(L. 36) "Be it known to you that on Saturday, the second (*tithi*) of the dark fortnight of *Phālguna*, on the occasion of the first annual *śrāddha*¹⁷ of our father, the illustrious *Gāṅgēyadēva* at this very place. We, having bathed in the *Vēṇī*, having worshipped with great devotion and with the five kinds of offerings made with a collection of food and having performed the *śrāddha* with unequalled faith, have given as a grant with a libation of water, the village *Srusī* included in the *bhūmi* of *Kāśī*,—together with mango and *madhūka* trees,¹⁸ inclusive of pits, (*cultivable*) land, water and waste land, together with the produce of mines, quarries and so forth, extending to the four boundaries and limits,—to the illustrious Paṇḍita *Viśvarūpa*, the son of *Nārāyaṇa*, grandson of *Vāmana*, (*and*) great-grandson of *Āmaha*,¹⁹ of the *Vājasanēya śākhā*, the *Kauśika gōtra* (*and*) the three *pravaras* *Audālaka*, *Dēvarāta* and *Viśvāmitra*,²⁰ who has emigrated from the village *Vaiśālī*."

(L. 41) Wherefore, the illustrious and revered *Karṇadēva* commands all people living in the village *Srusī*—"Be it known to you. Knowing that this village has been

¹ See above, p. 42, n. 9.

² *Viz.*, those which are described in verses 28-31.

³ The Great Queen, the Queen-consort.

⁴ The Great Prince, the heir-apparent to the throne.

⁵ The Chief counsellors. The word appears in the singular in other Kalachuri records.

⁶ The Chief Executive Officer.

⁷ The Chief Minister for Peace and War.

⁸ The Head of the Department of Religion.

⁹ The Chief Keeper of Records.

¹⁰ The Chief Secretary.

¹¹ The Chief Usher.

¹² The Chief Feudatory.

¹³ The Chief Surveyor. He was probably the Chief Revenue Officer.

¹⁴ The Great Equeury. For his duties, see the *Arthasāstra* of Kauṭilya (II, 30). There the officer is called *Aśvādhyaksha*.

¹⁵ The Chancellor of the Exchequer, called *Sannidhātṛi* in the *Arthasāstra* (II, 4).

¹⁶ The Great Superintendent, who probably exercised supervision over all departments. He is, however, omitted in the Goharwa plates. The Khairhā plates of Yaśaḥkarṇa (No. 55, l. 26) mention him.

¹⁷ See above, p. 239 n. 3.

¹⁸ *Bassia Latifolia* from the blossoms and seeds of which liquor was distilled.

¹⁹ Kielhorn read this name as *Maha*, see above p. 244, n. 14.

²⁰ Kielhorn proposed to read the names of the *pravaras* as *Audāla*, *Dēvarāta* and *Vaiśvāmitra*, but the *Gōtrapravaranibandhakadamba* gives the *pravaras* as above.

given by us as a grant, (*you*) should pay all dues such as *bhāga*,¹ *bhōga*,² taxes, levy in gold, the produce of mines and so forth to this (*grantee*). Not even wind should blow in (*the village*) with a view to harm him!"

(*The following is*) the solicitation (*of the grantor*):—

(*Here follow six benedictive and imprecatory verses*).

(*In*) the year 793, on the 9th (lunar) day of the dark (fortnight) of Phālguna, on Monday.

NO. 49; PLATE XXXIX

PAIKORE STONE PILLAR INSCRIPTION OF KARNA

This inscription was discovered by Mr. Nagendranath Basu, and a transcript of it made by him and M. M. Haraprasād Sāstrī was first published without any facsimile in the *Bīrbhūmabibaraṇa*, Vol. II, p. 10. Its transcript was subsequently given together with a description and a photograph of the pillar on which it is engraved by Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshit in the *Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India* for 1921-22, pp. 78 ff. and pl. XXVIII (a). The inscription is edited here from a set of impressions kindly supplied by the Superintendent of the Archaeological Section, Indian Museum, Calcutta.

'Paikore'³ is about three miles to the east of the Murarai Station on the Loop Line of the E.I. Railway. The name is supposed to be a corrupted form of *Prāchīkōṣa* or the 'Eastern Citadel' The most important antiquities of Paikore are the two inscribed pillars at Nārāyaṇa-chatvara, lying on a masonry platform by the side of a tank, along with an image of Narasimha and several others. The inscriptions refer to the Chēdi King Karṇa and King Vijayasēna. Both the pillars seem to have been crowned with images and the inscriptions engraved on them must have referred to the dedication of the images. The Vijayasēna pillar clearly exhibits the headless figure of the goddess Mānasā, while the Karṇadēva pillar being broken off just at the commencement of the inscription shows no trace of the image. The pillars must have been sunk into the floor, as we see from the rough-hewn surface of the lowermost portion of the Karṇadēva pillar, the square and octagonal sections of the shaft above being highly polished and decorated with beautiful tracery. The design on each side of the square is that of a vase (*maṅgala-kalāṣa*), the top and bottom of which are covered with full-blown lotuses and foliage, while at the centre appears a *kīrtimukha*, the necklaces of pearls issuing from which are held by bearded attendants.

'The inscription begins on the tapering circular portion of the shaft and is continued over the octagonal section.'⁴ It consists of six lines of unequal length, the first measuring only 1.5" and the last 9". It has suffered by exposure to weather especially in the first four lines. The characters belong to the proto-Bengali variety of the North Indian alphabets. The average size of the letters is .2". The forms of *j*, *ṭ*, *p* and *s* are specially noteworthy. The letters were written in a hurried cursive hand and were incised very shallow. The reading is, therefore, doubtful in many cases. At the top of some letters such as *d*, *p* and *y* there appears a hook such as is noticeable in some places in the Bēlāva copper-plates of Bhōjavarman⁵ and the Deopārā stone inscription of Vijayasēna.⁶ R,

¹ *Bhāga* is a share of produce.

² *Bhōga* probably refers to some petty taxes in kind such as are mentioned in the *Manusmṛiti*, Adhyaya VII, vv. 130-132.

³ Properly, *Pāikōḍa*, a corrupt form of *Prāchīkōṣa*.

⁴ *A. R. A. S. I.* for 1921-22, p. 79

⁵ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XII, pp. 37 ff.

⁶ *Ibid.*, Vol. I, pp. 303 ff.

which has the same form as *ch*, seems to be distinguished from it in some places by a dot in its triangle. As the first member of a conjunct, the letter appears generally above the line, but in *Karṇadēvasya* in line 5 it is written on the line as in the Deopārā stone inscription.¹ The ligature *ṇṇ* has two different forms in *Karṇa* and *dān-a(ā)ṇṇava*, both in line 5. The language is Sanskrit and the inscription is in prose throughout. The only orthographical peculiarity it presents is the doubling of a consonant after *r*.

The inscription is one of the Kalachuri king Karṇa² who is styled here *Mahārāja* and the King of Chēdi. It is not dated. The object of it is evidently to record the dedication, by the king Karṇa, of the image of a goddess whose name has not been specified.

TEXT³

- 1 श्री⁴ श्रीगणपति [१*]
- 2 [तत्प्र]ति[पालित ?]⁵
- 3 सिद्धिः⁶ [१*] दे⁷वद्विजगुर(रू)[न्*] [भज ?]न्ता (ता) [श्री चे] [दि*] दव(देवे)न भ[क्ति]नात्र⁸
- 4 नेह्यन्⁹ [अद्ध]या [हम ?]न[ः*]¹⁰कर्मणा राजश्रीक[ण्ण]देव[स्य]।¹¹
- 5 सिद्धिः¹² [१*] स्वस्ति [श्री¹³]म[ह]राज¹⁴श्रीचेदि[रा][ज*]स्य श्रीकण्णदेवस्य दान(ना)-
ण्णवा (व ?)¹⁵कीर्तिप्र[ता]प¹⁶न्याये*—
- 6 पु(?) तन्मय¹⁷ विस्व(श्च)कर्म¹⁸र(च)रणप्रसादात् (त्) देवीमूर्तिनृम्मिता¹⁹[स्ती]य-
(यं) श्री[की²⁰]र्तिः ॥

¹ *Loc. cit.*, p. 305.

² The name of the king occurs in two places at the end of line 4 and in the middle of line 5.

³ From inked estampages.

⁴ The superscript *ī* is imperfectly formed.

⁵ No transcript of this line is given by Haraprasād Śāstrī and Dikshit. Almost all the *akṣaras* except *ti* are doubtful.

⁶ Expressed by a symbol.

⁷ Haraprasād Śāstrī read the line as देवद्विजगुरुभजन्तो दैष्णवादयः स्वं भिनन्ति दू * *, while Dikshit gave the transcript *dēva-dviija-gura[bbajab]ntari . . .* The *akṣaras* between गुर(रू) and द(दे)व(वे)न are extremely doubtful.

⁸ Read भक्त्यात्र. There is space for two more *akṣaras* at the end of this line if it was of the same length as the following one. But there are no clear traces of letters. Perhaps किञ्चित् is intended.

⁹ Haraprasād Śāstrī read निवेदयन्, but the impression shows only four, not five *akṣaras*. I follow Dikshit's reading here.

¹⁰ Both Haraprasād Śāstrī and Dikshit read अद्धयास्मिन् कर्मणि, but I fail to see any trace of the superscript *i* of *smi* and *ni*. I therefore propose the reading given above, though with diffidence.

¹¹ The sense requires a form in the instrumental. Read नेह्यता . . . कर्मदेवेन.

¹² Expressed by a symbol.

¹³ The superscript *ī* is imperfectly formed as in the case of the first *ī* in L. 1.

¹⁴ Haraprasād Śāstrī read समुद्रराट् and Dikshit समुद्रराज्य. The first *akṣara* appears like that in the beginning of L. 1, which both of them read as श्री, while the last *akṣara* appears to be clearly *ja*. It has a flourish at the bottom as in राजेन in the inscription of Vijayasēna on another pillar at Paikore. I therefore propose to read श्रीमहाराज, though I must confess that the *akṣara* *hā* is very doubtful.

¹⁵ Haraprasād Śāstrī reads ध्वनन्ति वा and Dikshit जय नन्तरा, neither of which is satisfactory.

¹⁶ This word is read as प्रशस्ति by Haraprasād Śāstrī and as प्रसास्ति (?) by Dikshit. The last *akṣara* is clearly *q*; in any case it shows no sign of the superscript *ī*. The middle *akṣara* is probably *sa*; see प्रसादात् in line 6. The left curve here is irregularly broken in two parts.

¹⁷ These four *akṣaras* are omitted by Dikshit. Haraprasād Śāstrī read स्वहस्तिय which makes no sense. The sense seems to require a reading like तन्मयेन.

¹⁸ Read विश्वकर्म—.

¹⁹ Read मूर्तिनिर्मिता—.

²⁰ This *akṣara* was read as का, but in view of the *visarga* which follows त्ति I think it is probably की, the superscript *ī* being imperfectly formed. See श्री in lines 1 and 5.

TRANSLATION

The holy Gaṇapati. Being protected(?) by him

(Line 3) Success! (*This image has been set up*) by the illustrious king **Karṇadēva**, the glorious lord of **Chēdi**, who honours gods, Brāhmaṇas and preceptors with devotion, . . . desiring no (*reward*) for his faith and doings (?)¹

(L. 5) Success! Hail! This is a famous glorious work,—the image of the goddess made, by the grace of the feet of Viśvakarman, (*by an artist*) who is absorbed in the glory (*springing from*) the ocean of liberality, prowess (*and*) justice of the *Mahārāja*, the glorious lord of **Chēdi**, the illustrious **Karṇa**.

No. 50; PLATE XL

GOHARWA PLATES OF KARṆA

THESE plates were turned up by the plough of a Kewat in an old fort at **Goharwa**, a village in the Manjhanpur *tahsil* of the Allahabad District. They were edited, with collotype plates, but without a translation, by Dr. E. Hultzsch in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XI, pp. 139 ff. They are edited here from the same plates.

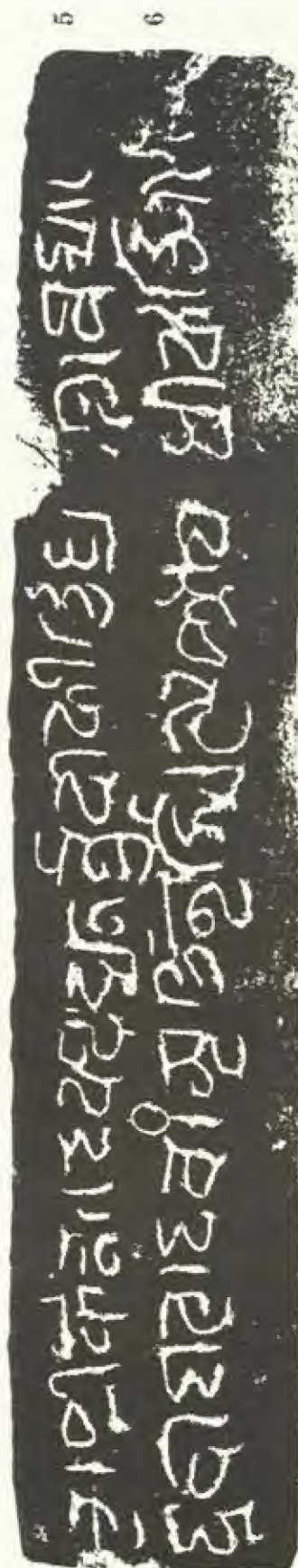
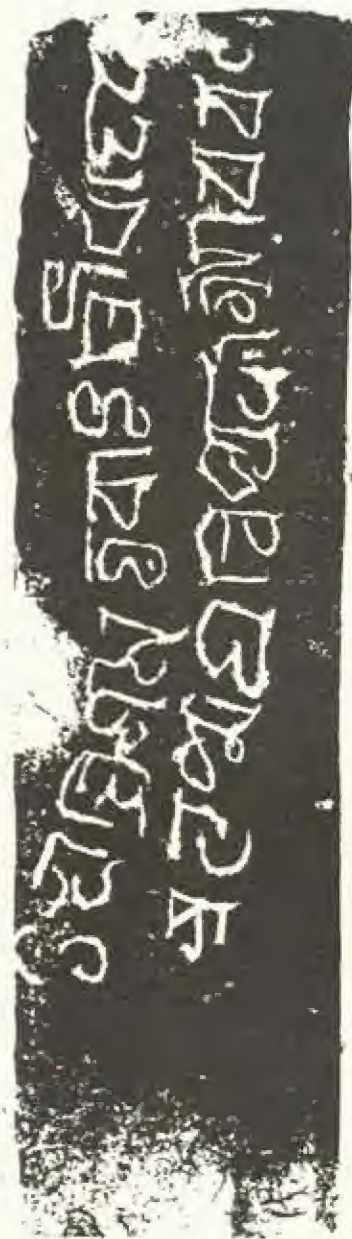
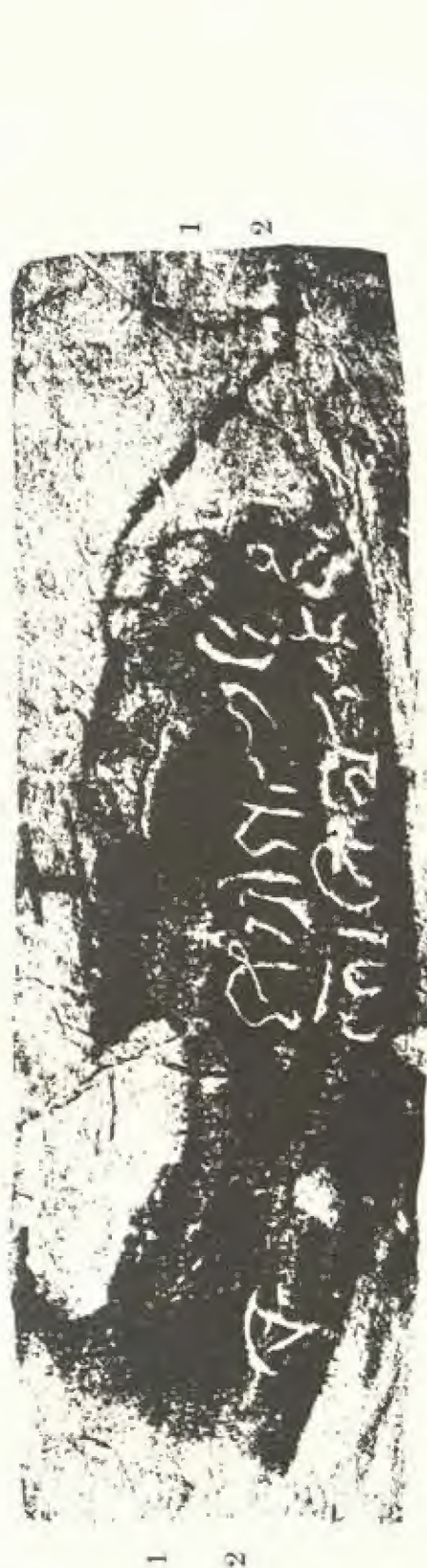
‘These are two copper-plates, resembling ordinary trays, which fit one into the other and form a compact box, with corresponding ring holes at the bottom of the first and the top of the second plate. They were originally held together by a ring, in such a way that the inscription was inside. The box measures nearly 15½ inches in length and about 11½ inches in breadth. The second plate, which fits into the box, is a little smaller than the first. The depth of the margin of each plate is about ½ inch.’ The plough in turning up the plates broke the ring. The seal was thus detached from the plates. ‘It is bell-shaped and has an almost circular surface which measures 3 inches in diameter. The upper portion of the seal bears in relief a seated figure of the goddess Lakshmi, facing the front and attended by two elephants pouring water over her. At the bottom is a bull couchant, facing the proper right between two indistinct symbols (drums?). Across the centre is engraved the name of the king who issued the plates—*Srīmat-Karṇadēvaḥ*.’² The inscription is throughout in a state of excellent preservation.

The characters belong to the Nāgarī alphabet and resemble those of the Banaras plates of the same king. There are, however, some minor differences. The letter *ṇ*, for instance, is everywhere without a dot; similarly the upper loop of *ṭh* is closed in all cases. But in the case of the initial *i*, *ṭh*, *ph*, *bh* and *ś*, the present record invariably shows an advanced stage. The older form of the initial *i*, consisting of a comma below two dots, which is seen to continue even in the Banaras plates, is here replaced by a sign approximating to the modern form of the vowel, see *iti*, l. 3; *ṭh* appears here for the first time with a vertical stroke over the loop, see *-pāda-piṭhas-*, l. 8; the tailed curve to the right of the vertical of *ph* has now sunk lower down, see *phalan-*, l. 46; the wedge on the left of *bh* has given place to a vertical which is joined to the right limb by means of a horizontal stroke, see *alabhata* and *-bhūshaṇam-*, both in l. 4; *ś* has everywhere the modern Nāgarī form, see, e.g., *krama-vaśāt-* l. 14; the peculiar form of the ligature *sr* is also approximated in this record, see *śrīkaṇṭha-*, l. 6. Besides these, we may note that *n* is in many cases written without a loop,

¹ As the readings in this and the following lines are in many cases doubtful, I am not quite sure of the intended sense.

² From the account given by Hultzsch, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XI, pp. 139-40. I take the symbols near the bull to be incense-pots, see above, p. 236, n. 1.

PAIKORE STONE PILLAR INSCRIPTION OF KARNA



see *-ratnam* 1.3, *-vandha*, ll. 5-6 etc.; the forms of *v* and *ch* have in some cases been confused, see, e.g., *-abhūvan*, 1.7, *van-āśraya-*, 1.30 and *-charitam*, 1.28; similarly those of *p* and *y*, see *nityam*, 1.1, *-madhya-*, 1.5 and *ripu-*, 1.20. The vertical dash is introduced here for the first time at the end of the lines 33, 36, 39, 43 and 47. The *akshara chh* with two upright strokes on either side is used to mark the end of a section in ll. 33, 35 and 44.

The language is Sanskrit. The first thirty-three lines which contain the eulogistic portion are in verse with the exception of the opening *Svasti, ōm Vra(Bra)hmaṇē namah*. There are thirty verses in this portion of which three (*viṣ*, 1, 12 and 18) are common to the earlier Banaras inscription. It is noteworthy that one of them (*viṣ*, v. 12) occurs there in a different context. It praises there not Yuvarājadēva II as in the present record, but his grandfather of the same name, i.e., Yuvarājadēva I. The formal part of the grant which is in prose begins in line 33. Then come six benedictive and imprecatory verses, and finally the mention of the writer's and engraver's names and the customary *maṅgalam mahā-śrīḥ*. The record is carelessly written. Final consonants are not so indicated in many cases, which has resulted in the neglect of *sandhi* in *-pranṛityata vētālō*, ll. 26-27, *-vaśāta bhaikshāch=cha*, 1.30 etc. Cases of wrong *sandhi* are seen in *-vandyō Chēd-īndra=*, 1.11, *-āśram-ēka-*, 1.30 etc. The *visarga* is incorrectly omitted in some places (see *-grāmaṇi*, 1.6, *ākramata*, 1.25) and added in others (see *-vihitahśrīkaṇṭha*, 1.6). In a few cases, consonants are seen wrongly omitted, added or substituted by others, see, e.g., *-samārambhē* for *-saṅgam-ārambhē*, 1.14, *svam=īndrajāl-ōpamam* for *svapn-īndrajāl-ōpamam*, 1.6. As regards orthography, we may notice that the sign for *v* is employed to denote *b*, see *vrāhmī* 1.2, *Vudhaḥ*, 1.3 etc; *ś* is used for *s* in *-śruta*, 1.26 and *vice versa* in *bhrisam* and *āsā-*, both in 1.15; the vowel *ri* is used for *ri* in *tri-bhuvana-*, 1.4, *p* for *ph* in *pūtaka-*, ll. 15 and 24, *j* for *y* in *iyāja*, 1.33, and *sh* for *kh* in *-mayāsha-*, 1.3; the *anusvāra* before *s* is incorrectly changed to *n* in *yaśānsi*, 1.32, while in *-tāmvra-* 1.32, and *t-āmvra-* 1.39, a superfluous *v* is inserted after *m*.

After two verses in praise of Brahman, begins the eulogy of Karṇa of the Later Kalachuri Dynasty and his ancestors. Karṇa's pedigree is here traced back to the moon. The first historical personage, mentioned after such mythical and legendary heroes as Budha, Purūravas, Bharata and Haihaya, is Lakshmaṇarāja (II), who is said to have won victories over the kings of Baṅgāla Pāṇḍya, Lāṭa, Gurjara and Kāśmīra. His son was Yuvarājadēva (II). The name of Yuvarājadēva's elder brother Śaṅkaragaṇa (III) is here omitted, probably because he was a collateral. Verse 12 states that he attained an Imperial position, but, as already pointed out, the verse was originally composed for his grandfather Yuvarājadēva I. Yuvarājadēva II was succeeded by his son Kōkalla (II), whose description given here is purely conventional. About his son and successor Gāṅgēyadēva, however, the record gives more information. He is said to have thrown the king of Kīra into prison, exacted a heavy tribute from the lord of Aṅga, vanquished the ruler of Kuntala, and raised his arm like a pillar of victory after defeating the prince of Utkala. He was followed by his son Karṇa who granted the present plates. Though the poet has devoted as many as eleven stanzas to his glorification, the description is entirely conventional and altogether devoid of historical interest.

The prose portion, which follows v. 30, gives the same description and mentions the same Imperial titles of Karṇa as the corresponding part of his Banaras plates. Besides these, there is one more title of Karṇa mentioned here, which is not noticed in the earlier record. He is said to have, by his arm, attained overlordship over the three kings, the lords of horses, elephants and men.

The present plates were granted by Karṇa at his victorious camp fixed at the Karṇatīrtha which was probably a *ghāṭ* built by him at Allahabad.¹ The object of the inscription is to record the grant of the village Chandapahā, situated in the Kauśāmbapattalā, which was made by Karṇa after bathing in the Gaṅgā at the Arghatīrtha and worshipping the god Śiva. The donee was the learned Śāntīśarman, the son of the Āvasathika Mālhū and grandson of the Upādhyāya Silū of the Vājasaneyā *śākhā* and the Vidarbhi-Kauṇḍinya *gōtra*,² with the three *pravaras* Āṅgiraśa, Ambarīśha and Yauvanāśva. The grant was made on Thursday, the full-moon day of Kārttika, in the seventh year of the administration renowned by the illustrious Karṇa.

Unlike the Banaras plates, the present inscription does not mention any year of the Kalachuri era. It gives however 'full titles of paramountcy' to Karṇa, which makes it plain that the seventh year mentioned here is of his own reign. We have seen above³ that the *saṃvatsara-śrāddha* mentioned in the Banaras plates was performed on the first anniversary of Gāṅgēyadeva's death. Gāṅgēyadeva must have, therefore, died on Phālguna va. di. 2 in the expired Kalachuri year 792 corresponding to 22nd January 1041 A.C. As the Kalachuri year was *Kārttikādi*, the month Kārttika in the first year of Karṇa's reign fell in the expired Kalachuri year 793. The same month in his seventh year must, therefore, have fallen in the expired Kalachuri year 799 (1047-48 A.C.) The full-moon *tithi* of Kārttika in this year ended 13 h. 30 m. after mean sunrise⁴ on Thursday, and was, therefore, civilly connected with that day. Thursday, the 5th November 1047 A.C. is thus the date of the present grant.

If, on the other hand, we suppose that the *śrāddha* mentioned in the Banaras plates dated K. 793 was performed not on the first, but on some subsequent anniversary of Gāṅgēya's death, Karṇa's accession will have to be dated before 1041 A.C. and his seventh regnal year will fall in some year before 1047 A.C. We know that Gāṅgēyadeva was reigning in 1030 A.C.⁵ We have, therefore, to see in which of the years between 1036 A.C. and 1047 A.C. the full-moon *tithi* of Kārttika was connected with Thursday. The only year which satisfies these requirements is 1044 A.C. In that year, the full moon *tithi* of Kārttika ended 20 h. after mean sunrise on Thursday, the 8th November 1044 A.C. This would place Karṇa's accession in 1038 A.C. The date of Gāṅgēya's death which occurred on Phālguna va. di. 2 will, on this supposition, be the 25th January 1038 A.C. This would suit somewhat better the Tibetan tradition, according to which Atiśa intervened during an invasion of Nayapāla's territory by king Karṇa of the west before he started for Tibet in *circa* 1040 A.C. as shown by Prof. Levi.⁶ But it would make the coupling of Saturday with Phālguna va. di. 2 in the Kalachuri year 793 quite inexplicable.⁷ The selection of Prayāga for the performance of the *śrāddha* would, again, appear specially appropriate only on the supposition

¹ The grant was made after bathing in the Gaṅgā and worshipping Śiva, and the village was situated not very far from Allahabad. The *ghāṭ* was, therefore, probably built at the holy place of Prayāga.

² Hultsch took the expression to mean 'of the Kauṇḍinya *gōtra* residing at Vidabhi.' But it may be noted that a Brāhmaṇa Vidarbhi-Kauṇḍinya is mentioned in the *Bṛihadāranyaka Upaniṣad*, II, 6,3, and IV, 6,3.

³ See above, pp. 239 f.

⁴ According to Fleet's calculations it ended 11 h. 45 m. after mean sunrise (for Ujjain), *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XI, p. 146.

⁵ Albérūṇi, writing in 1030 A. C. mentions Gāṅgēyadeva as the king of Dāhala.

⁶ *Le Nepal*, Vol. II p. 189.

⁷ The apparent irregularity can be explained if the *śrāddha* was performed on the first anniversary of Gāṅgēya's death, see above, p. 240.

that it was performed on the first anniversary of his death which, as already stated, is known to have occurred at that holy place. The only way to reconcile the dates of the Banaras and Goharwa plates is, therefore, to place Gāṅgēya's death and Karṇa's accession in 1041 A.C.¹ As stated before, this makes the date of the present grant regularly correspond to Thursday, the 31st November 1047 A.C.

As for the geographical names occurring in the present grant, Baṅgāla, Kāśmīra and Gurjara are too well-known to need identification. Lāṭa has already been identified. Aṅga comprised the country round modern Bhāgalpur and Kīra that near Baijnath in the Kangra valley.² Kuntala was the country under the rule of the Later Chālukyas and comprised parts of the Southern Maratha Country and the adjoining Kanarese districts.³ Utkala included much of the territory now comprised in the State of Orissa. Prof. Hultsch has correctly identified Kōśamba with the modern Kōsam, 36 miles west of Allahabad. The donated village Chandapahā, which has remained unidentified, is Chanpahā, about three miles N. N. W. of Kōsam. The close similarity of its name to Chandapahā and its proximity to Kōsam (ancient Kauśāmbī), leave little doubt about the correctness of the proposed identification.

TEXT⁴

First Plate

- 1 सिद्धिः⁵ [१*] स्वस्ति ॥ ओं ब्रह्माणे⁶ नमः ॥ निर्गुणं व्यापकं नित्यं शिवं पर[म]कारणं(णम्)। भावग्राह्यं परं द्यो(ज्यो)तिस्तस्मै सद्ब्रह्माणे⁷ नमः ॥⁸ [१॥*] शुद्धे हृदयक्षेत्रे वल्लीमिव रोपयन्ति
- 2 यां मुनयः ॥ (१) मोक्षमहाफलजननी ब्रा(ब्रा)ह्मी सूक्ष्मापि सा जयति ॥⁹ [२॥*] क्षीरोदधेरपरिमेयसुधानिधानमाविर्ब(वं)भूव भवभूषणमिन्दुरेवः ।
- 3 अस्मादजायत बु(बु)धः स किल क्षितीशमाद्य(द्यं) पुरुषसमाप तनूजर[लं] (लम्) ॥¹⁰ [३॥*] इति महति सुधामयूष(ख)वंशे नृपतिरजायत मौक्तिकायमानः ॥ (१)
- 4 अलभत भरतस्स चक्रवर्ती तृ(त्रि)भुवनभूषणं (ण) भूयमेकमेव ॥¹¹ [४॥*] अत्रे (त्रो) दितोदितकुले जगतीपतीनामीशः क्रमादजनि हृहयचक्रवर्ती [१] य-
- 5 स्य प्रचण्डभुजपंजरमध्यवर्ती काराग्र(गृ)हे घृत इव प्रसभं दशास्यः ॥¹² [५॥*] वैरिध्वान्तभिदः सहस्रकरता (तो) भूपालवूडामणेर्यस्मादद्भुतवा (वा)हुव (व)-
- 6 न्विविबुरो नक्तंचरप्रास(म)णी [१*] हि (हे) लोल्लासितवा (वा)हुदण्डविहितः श्रीकण्ठशैलोद्धतिः¹³ प्राग्विक्रान्तममू(म)न्यत स्वयमपि स्वमिन्द्रजालोपमं (मम्)¹⁴ ॥ [६॥*] यज्ञाग्नि-

¹ Tibetan tradition does not give a certain date for Atiśa's departure to Nepal. If the event occurred before 1040 A. C., Karṇa may have invaded Magadha during his father's lifetime.

² *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, p. 97.

³ *I. H. Q.*, Vol. XXII, pp. 309 f.

⁴ From the lithograph accompanying Dr. Hultsch's article in *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XI, pp. 139 ff.

⁵ Expressed by a symbol.

⁶ Read ब्रह्माणे.

⁷ Read सद्ब्रह्माणे.

⁸ Metre: *Anuṣṭubh*.

⁹ Metre: *Āryā*.

¹⁰ Metre: *Vasantatilakā*.

¹¹ Metre: *Pushpitāgrā*.

¹² Metre: *Vasantatilakā*.

¹³ Read -विहितश्रीकण्ठशैलोद्धतिः.

¹⁴ Read स्वप्नेन्द्रजालोपमम् as in the British Museum plate (No. 54, l. 6). Metre: *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*.

- 7 धूमैः परितोपितेन्द्रास्तस्मादभूवन्व(न्व)ह्वो नरेन्द्राः । राज्ये न येषां विरराम वृष्टिर्विषक्ष-
नारीनयनान्नु(म्बु)वाहैः ॥¹¹[७॥*] व(व)ङ्गालभङ्गनिपुणः परि-
- 8 भूजपाण्यो(ण्ड्यो) लाटेशलुण्डनपटुज्जितगुज्जरेन्द्रः । काश्मीरवीरमुकुटान्वितपादपीठस्तेषु
क्रमादजनि लक्ष्मणराजदेवः ॥¹²[८॥*] आसीद्यद्वि-
- 9 जयप्रयाणजनितव्यायामस्वेदोदयोन्मज्जनसैनिकगात्रसिद्धर³शिरःसिद्धरपूला(रा)रुणः त्वङ्गतु-
(त्तु)ङ्गतु(त)रङ्गताडितमहाक्षोणीभू-
- 10 दाम्भोनिधिः⁴ पूष्णो वैरिकठोरकचदलनास्वसिद्धवपूरैरिव⁵ ॥⁶[९॥*] साहित्यविद्याण(ल)-
लनाभुजङ्गो निःशेषवा(धा)त्रीधरणाय शेषः । ततः स
- 11 जज्ञे जगदैकवंद्यो⁷ चेदोन्द्रचन्द्रो(न्द्रो) युवराजदेवः ॥⁸[१०॥*] यौवनेन तनौ यस्य प्रतापेनारि-
म(मू)र्द्धसु । कुलाद्रिकु[ञ्जे]ष्वरिभिस्त्रि(स्त्रि)भिस्तुल्यं पदं ।⁹
- 12 दधे ॥¹⁰[११॥*] भूभारक्षमधूकश्रुति¹¹प्रणयिनीमालव्य(व)मानस्तनुं ।¹² कुब्जाणिः समरेपि
नाकयगानागच्छतो विद्विषां(पः) । विख्यातां भुवि भूरिभार्गगं(ग)-
- 13 मनामुच्चैर्दवद्वाहिनीं यः साक्षात्परमेश्वरः समभक्तसम्यक्शिवा राघनात् ॥¹³[१२॥*] दिक्प-
र्यन्तनिखान(त)यूपनिचयः क्षमापालचूडामणस्त-
- 14 स्मादद्भुतविक्रमः क्रमवशात्कोकल्लनामाभवत् । चक्रे यद्विजयप्रयाणपणवः स्व[र्गा]ङ्गनास-
[ङ्ग*]मारम्भे मङ्गलतूर्यकार्यमहितक्षोणीप-
- 15 तीनां भृशं(शम्)¹⁴ ॥[१३॥*] आसा(शा)जये समर्पसिधुरगंधरोषाद्यस्योद्यदायतकराः ककुभां
करीन्द्राः । पू(फू)त्कारमार्त्तमिव खेचरनायकस्य चक्रः
- 16 कपोलमधुपध्वनिभिर्निराशाः ॥¹⁵[१४॥*] यस्मिन्सुखैकप्रभवे प्रजानां तेजोनिधौ चेतसि वर्तमाने ।
तत्त्वे(त्त्वे) परस्मिन्निव योगमाजां निता-
- 17 त्तमन्तस्तमसा प्रलीनां¹⁶ ॥¹⁷[१५॥*] आकामदूर्ध्वं(दूर्ध्वं) व(व)ह्याग्दसंघट्टस्फुटित यशः ।
मन्ये यस्येन्दुनक्षत्रताराद्याकारतां गतं(तम्) ॥¹⁸[१६॥*] कारापंजरव(व)द्वकी-
- 18 रनूपतिदी(र्दी)प्तोङ्गलक्ष्मीचयैः¹⁹ तस्मात्कुन्तलभङ्गभङ्गिरसिको गाङ्गेयदेवोभवत् । येनाकारि
करीन्द्रकुम्भदलनव्यापारसारात्मना

¹ Metre: *Upajāti*.

² Metre: *Vasantatilakā*.

³ Read -चेदोदयात्पूज्जत्सैनिकगन्धर्वसिधुर- as in the British Museum plate (No. 54, l. 9).

⁴ Read -दंभोनिधिः.

⁵ Read -कठोरकण्ठदलनामृक्सिन्धुपूरैरिव as in the Rewa stone inscription (No. 51, l. 7) and the British Museum plate (No. 54, ll. 9-10).

⁶ Metre: *Sārdūlavikrīḍita*.

⁷ Read जगदेक-वंद्यश्चेदोन्द्र-.

⁸ Metre: *Upajāti*.

⁹ This mark of punctuation is superfluous.

¹⁰ Metre: *Anuṣṭubh*.

¹¹ Read -इकश्रुति-.

¹² This *daṇḍa* is superfluous.

¹³ Metre of this and the following verse: *Sārdūlavikrīḍita*.

¹⁴ The Rewa stone inscription and the British Museum plate read रसन्.

¹⁵ Metre: *Vasantatilakā*.

¹⁶ Hultzsch proposes to read प्रलीनाः, but as the impersonal construction is intended here, प्रलीनम् is required.

¹⁷ Metre: *Upajāti*.

¹⁸ Metre: *Anuṣṭubh*.

¹⁹ Read -चयैस्तस्मा-.

GOHARWA PLATES OF KARNA

First Plate

Seal



From a photograph.

[illegible]

26 तिनोपक्रमप्रसङ्गतिर्यस्याख्यात्रुमितोवावदिदिनपानदि कुं सुभाजामत ॥ पान्तः स्यात्तव नृषिनीकरिकप्रसादा
 26 नालिनामिभक्तकालावलिषीद्वजपु मुदधिरु कदमाद्युष्टनिः ॥ यंकु नृपतशयुः सततविनयथाघो नमत प्रनृत्पतावत
 28 गालातलावाववसतिनककुपु नृमयीत्रसीमिभेयायालकृवातासमितिहृगतसदत्रहस्तादिसंज्ञायापामामराण्यवनम
 28 गालाविकुप्रमासांमहर्षी ॥ अतद्वमद्युष्टमनसुमनातकीर्तिः संग्रामयज्ञावित्तमित्तां पुनस्तानावीनस्यवीनवायेतननृत्तकव
 30 तिलिहृठग्रहकाठान्तुज्योत्सवा ॥ नोतषप्रमद्युष्टियाविविनाप्रागुहवारिवत्सोद्वं वतुनस्यटहृष्टपदवाकागृहृष्टापाताव
 30 नप्रकृष्टपदवनाययवरातातस्यात्रावाकाधैतः ॥ पान्तघवतुनारमकगुरुतामप्राकृतारावृष्टा ॥ यसाधिबुद्धवाकिताविकेष्ट
 32 प्राप्तातेसगातः प्राकपुण्यगवर्णावनात्रनस्यघनतसु ॥ रज्ज्वाषाणापततिमिभितमाः पुनपनिनातवृद्धा ॥ पुनमिनकद्यसम्प्रा
 32 त्रियशासिावदिदिनपातनाकुलात्तविना ॥ किंतस्यकार्त्तवपातघेनवर्त्तयामोयसादिजातिजन्मासततोघुपाद्विडैकीयमाणानिचि
 34 जलुगवक्रवातवाचालितवेविनतावमियाडावित्या ॥ कृष्णपषपनमसदानकमलानाजाविगाजपनमखगुरीवा माहवपादायु
 34 पातापनमसदानकमलानाजाविगाजपनमखगुरीवा माहवपादायु ॥ पान्तियमकलदवनिजलजापादितास्यपनिगजप
 36 तिनरपतिगजत्रयाविपनिः ॥ यमकसीदवः कुशली ॥ काजयकृतीवागयामकसीतीवीवितासितमहाददीमहागजपुतासहम
 36 त्रिमहाविाविहका मलाभाया मलावमीवकगणकामलाप्रतीहानामलाकपटीलका महासापुगानिका महासा मत्रामक्षपु
 38 मत्रवायामलाखसावानकः ॥ पतानन्यास्कीत्रितानयधात्माननिपुत्र ॥ सजपुत्रायायवाप्रतिष्ठा नकोशमपतलायायदमहाग्रामिनि
 38 वासितानिखलजनेपदापधाहमानयनिवावयनिसभाजपयानिचिदतमस्तुतवतायवागामायमस्यातयतुनोपाटविमुद्धः सजल
 40 कलः सास्त्रमप्रकसेगात्राषः सलोहलेवणाकनः ॥ सतीमापरीत्रसतनटापुत्रागवपयैत्राविदतीकोपुत्रगात्रायादिनसा म्वा
 40 गीषापोवनाम्यात्रः प्रवगायवाजसनयसाखानुपायायसीत्प्रपोत्रायआवसाधिकमात्तुपुत्रायपडितर्यायात्रिधश्रीणेवाहपाय
 42 गामायेपतषोपवक्रवास्यामकलप्रकाशिवतह ॥ नलसप्रमसंवसात्रकात्रकमासिहृष्टपदकारिकापासिमाभ्यांनिलोपुत्रादि
 42 नप्रवसेवस नमासपशुतिविवागानुक्रमणाघिहसीमकअधनोर्षिगंगायात्तावातगवत्रंरिवसद्यनकसमभ्यार्षीमातापित्रा
 44 ननखेपुष्ययासासिबृद्धायवज्राकृतेतिपधेनेरासनखनप्रद्वतहतिमवायवादीयमाननागतागहिनयादिसमस्तनाजपा
 44 पादायाः ॥ तस्याहोत्यवणविदियात्रयद्यतया ॥ नदपविकीर्षघानाकनापिनगनृयामिताका ॥ सवत्रिवात्रपुष्पारलकाः
 46 मधीताननोविनः पाषावद्वानन्रयाध्रयायावानरामसदः सामान्योयवर्मसतुनृपाणाकालकालपालनीयानुवक्षिः ॥ व
 46 हनिर्वस्तुमस्तुनागजोतः सगनादिसिः यस्यायसाधेदात्रमिस्तस्यनसातदाफल ॥ तमिधः प्रविष्टज्ञानियहवत्रमिप्रकृति
 48 उतातापुष्पाकनीणा निघनहमगात्रिता ॥ षष्ठिवर्षमहस्याणिहृष्टनिष्ठनिष्ठमिदः ॥ आकृतावानुमन्तावताम्बवननकवा
 48 मितामिहवस्रविज्ज्वापियखान्यापतिमवतातस्यापकरलस्याहसासन्ननवातकामतास्तुवर्ममकगामिकात्तमनापा
 तनद्वानाहनत्रनकमाप्रातयावसरनमप्रवालिखितवचदकनणि कसीसधीनदेना उकीर्त्तितवविद्यानदेना ॥ मद्रलमस्वरगी

- 19 निर्जित्योत्कलमवधिसीम्नि जयस्तम्भः¹ स्वकीयो भुजः ॥² [१७॥*] अगुणज्ञेति लोलेति ख्यातं
यदिह दुर्यशः । लक्ष्मास्तदधुना³ धौतं दिव्यमादाय—
20 तद्वपुः॥⁴ [१८॥*] अतिमनोरथमर्थिजने घनं दिशति यत्तत्स⁵ कल्पतरुस्तदः । रिपुयशःकुमुदाकर⁶—
भास्करः सुतमसूत स कर्णनराधि—
21 पम् ॥⁷ [१९॥*] आक्रान्तदृप्तसामन्तप्रतापप्रसरादिव । चरणी रणशौण्डस्य सोष्माणौ यस्य
रेजतुः ॥⁸ [२०॥*] स्फुरद्भूयां वज्रचक्राभ्यामेक [व्या]जे[न] ह—
22 स्तयोः । व(व)भार यः श्रियं सा[क्षा]दिन्द्रोपेन्द्रविजं (जं) भिनीं (णीम्) ॥ [२१॥*] सूडोद्धत⁹—
घराभारदिवकुंजरकराय[तो] । आनद्यतां¹⁰ भुजौ यस्य हेलोद्धत¹¹ वसु—
23 न्वरो ॥ [२२॥*] त्याग[व्य]सनिनो यस्य विपुलं शंखयोद्धयं (यम्) । निधानं विधिना मन्ये
द्विगुणीकृतमर्पितं (तम्) ॥ [२३॥*] उदण्डसुण्डाग्रविमि[स्त्रि]ते—
24 न¹² पू(फू)त्कारचूर्णीकृतशीकरेण । मुक्तातपत्रायितमम्ब(म्ब)राद्धे यस्य प्रयाणे पृतनागजा-
नाम् ॥¹³ [२४॥*] नाहं नाथ विपक्षगोत्रवस—

Second Plate

- 25 तिनं [त्य]क्तपूर्वस्थितिर्यस्याख्यातुमितीव चेदिर्दिनपतेर्दिक्क्रमाक्रामत¹⁴ ॥ (1) प्रान्तः श्रान्त-¹⁵
वरुथिनीकरिकरास्फाला—
26 बहेलोल्लासितकल्लोलावलिर्विहृ¹⁶ च(द) ण्डमुदधिश्चक्रंद सान्द्रस्वनैः ॥¹⁷ [२५॥*] यत्कुन्त-
प्रोतशत्रुश्रुत¹⁸ रुधिरसुरापानमत्तप्रनृत्यतवेता—
27 लोत्ताल¹⁹ तालाखभरितककु[प्व]र्ययान्तसीम्नि²⁰ । अन्योन्यालक्ष²¹ वाचां समिति सु(स)रभसं
दत्तहस्तादिसंज्ञाव्यापारेणामराणां वररम—
28 णविधिः कुप्त²² मासीन्मुहूर्तं (तम्) ॥²³ [२६॥*] आनन्दमन्दसुमनस्सुमनोवकीर्णः²⁴ संग्रामरङ्गभुवि
भूमिभूतां पुरस्तात् (त्) । वीरस्य वीरचरितं ननूबे (ते) कवं (वं)—

¹ Read —त्कलमवधिसीम्नि विजयस्तम्भः as in the Rewa stone inscription.

² Metre: *Sārdūlavikrīḍita*.

³ Read लक्ष्म्या तदधुना.

⁴ Metre: *Anuṣṭubh*.

⁵ Read यत्र स.

⁶ Read रिपुयशःकुमुदाकर—.

⁷ Metre: *Drutavilambita*.

⁸ Metre of this and the following three verses: *Anuṣṭubh*.

⁹ Read सूडोद्धत—.

¹⁰ Hultzsch proposes to read आनद्येतां, but the sense requires a form like आनन्दतां.

¹¹ Read हेलोद्धत—.

¹² Read —शुण्डाग्रविनिःसृतेन.

¹³ Metre: *Indravajrā*.

¹⁴ Read चेदिनपतेर्दिक्क्रमाक्रामतः.

¹⁵ Read प्रान्तश्रान्त—.

¹⁶ Read —स्फालावहेलोल्लासितकल्लोलावलिर्विहृ—.

¹⁷ Metre: *Sārdūlavikrīḍita*.

¹⁸ Read —श्रुत—. The *visarga* after शत्रु is struck out.

¹⁹ Read —प्रनृत्यतवेतालोत्ताल—.

²⁰ Read —पर्यन्त—.

²¹ Read अन्योन्यालक्ष—.

²² Read कष्टमासी— as in the Rewa stone inscription (No. 31, below), verse 20.

²³ Metre: *Sragdharā*.

²⁴ The engraver at first incised —सुमानो, but afterwards cancelled the second vertical stroke of मा.
Read —सुमनोवकीर्णसंग्राम—.

- 29 धैर्लक्ष्मीहठग्रहकठोरभुजस्य यस्य ॥¹ [२७॥*] नीतेषु प्रमदावियोगविधिना प्रागु(म्ब)ह्यचारि-
व्रतं² सार्द्धं व(व)न्वुतया गृहस्थपदवीं कारागृहस्थापनात् [1*] वा—
- 30 नप्रस्थपदं [व]नाश्रयवशात्(द्) भैक्षाच्च ति(भि)क्षोः स्थितिः।³ येनेव्वं⁴ चतुराश्रमेकगुक्ता⁵
स्पष्टा कृता शत्रुषु ॥⁶ [२८॥*] यस्यार्थिव्रजवांछिताधिकफल—
- 31 प्राप्त्यै निसन्य भूः⁷ प्राक्प्रत्यग्रघरणीघरान्तरस्य परतस्फुरद्वोषणाः⁸ । एते⁹ निर्मितमाः पुरा
परिनिते ब्रह्माण्डे अस्मिन्¹⁰ कथ(यं) सम्मास्य—
- 32 न्ति यशान्ति चेदिदिनपतेराकुलो¹¹ भूच्चिरं(रम्) ॥¹² [२९॥*] किं तस्य कर्णनृपतेव्वं(व्वं)त
वर्णयामो यस्य द्विजातिजनशासनता[म्ब] (म्ब) पट्टः । उत्कीर्यमाणनिवि(वि)—
- 33 डाक्षरचक्रवालवचालितैवं(वं) धिरभावामियाज(य) विव्वं(व्वम्) ॥¹³ [३०॥*] छ ॥ स
प(ए)व परमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरश्रीवामदेवपादानु¹⁴—
- 34 ध्यात ।¹⁵ परमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरपरममाहेश्वरपतित्रिकलिङ्गाधिपति श्रीमत्कर्णदेव¹⁶
निजभुजां पार्जितास्व(स्व)पतिगजप—
- 35 तिनरपतिराजत्रयाधिपतिः¹⁷ श्रीमत्कर्णदेवः कुशली ॥ छ ॥ जयस्कन्धावार¹⁸ श्रीमत्कर्णतीर्थाधि-
वासिते महादेवी महाराजपुत्रो महाम—
- 36 न्त्री महासान्धिविग्रहिको महामात्यो महाधर्म्मधिकरणिको महाप्रतीहारो महाक्षपटलिको महा-
भाण्डागारिको महासामन्तो महाप्र—
- 37 मत्तवारो महास्वसाधनिकः¹⁹ एतानन्याश्च(श्चा) कीर्त्तितान(न्) यथास्थाननियुक्तराजपुरुषा-
(षा)न्यथा प्रतिस्थान²⁰ कोशम्बपत्तलायं²¹ ॥ चन्दपहाग्राम—
- 38 निवासिनो निखिलजनपदान्यथाहं मानयति बोधयति²² समाजा(जा)पयति [1*] विदितमस्तु
भवतां यथा ग्रामोयमस्माभिश्चतुराष्टाटविशुद्धः सजल—
- 39 स्थलः साम्प्र²³ मधूक[1*] सगर्तोषरः सलोहलवणाकरः स्वसीर्मा(मा) पर्यन्त[1*] सवनत्णयूति-
गोचरपर्यन्तः ।²⁴ विदभी(भी) कौण्डिन्यगोत्रायाज्जिरसाम्ब(म्ब)—

¹ Metre: *Vasantatilakā*.

² The Rewa stone inscription (No. 45, below) has द्राम्ब(म्ब)ह्यनारिव्रतं.

³ Read स्थितिः. The following *daṇḍa* is superfluous.

⁴ Read येनेव्वं.

⁵ Read चतुराश्रमेकगुक्ता.

⁶ Metre: *Sārdūlavikrīḍita*.

⁷ Read निशम्यात्मभूः.

⁸ Hultzschi proposed to emend this as —घरणीघरान्तररसापारात्, but the correct reading is प्राक्प्रत्यग्रघरणीघरान्तरचरस्फुरद्वोषणाः. See the Rewa stone inscription (No. 51, below), verse 31.

⁹ Read एतन्.

¹⁰ Read परिमितं ब्रह्माण्डमस्मिन्.

¹¹ Read यशान्ति चेदिदिनपतेरित्याकुलो—.

¹² Metre: *Sārdūlavikrīḍita*.

¹³ Metre: *Vasantatilakā*. This verse with a slight change occurs in the Chandravatī plates dated V. 1050 of the Gāhaḍavāla Chandradēva, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIV, p. 195.

¹⁴ There is a vertical dash at the end of ll. 33, 36, 39, 43 and 47.

¹⁵ This *daṇḍa* is superfluous.

¹⁶ The *akṣharas* श्रीमत्कर्णदेव are superfluous here.

¹⁷ Read —राजत्रयाधिपत्यः.

¹⁸ Read जयस्कन्धावारे.

¹⁹ Here and in some places below the rules of *sandhi* have not been observed.

²⁰ Read यथास्थान.

²¹ Read कौशाम्बीपत्तलायां. The following *daṇḍas* are superfluous.

²² Read बोधयति.

²³ Read साम्प्र—.

²⁴ Read —पर्यन्तो. The following *daṇḍa* is superfluous.

- 40 रीषयीवनास्पत्रिःप्रवराय¹ वाजसनेयसा(शा)स्त्रिने उपाध्यायसीलूपौत्राय आवसधिकमाहू-
पुत्राय पण्डितश्रीशान्तिसम्मर्णे² वा(त्रा)ह्मणाय
- 41 ग्रामोयं एतेषां प(ए)वं कृत्वा श्रीमत्कर्णप्रकाशे व्यवहरणे सप्तमसंवत्सरे कार्तिके मासि सु(शु)-
क्लपक्षकार्तिकीपौर्णमास्यां तिथौ गुरुदि-
- 42 ने एवं संवत्सरमासपक्षतिथिवारानुक्रमेणाद्येह श्रीमत अर्धतीर्थे³ गंगायां स्नात्वा भगवन्तं शिव-
भट्टारकं समभ्यर्च्य मातापित्रोरा-
- 43 त्मनश्च पुण्ययशोभिवृद्धये चन्द्रावर्कक्षितिपर्यन्तं शासनत्वेन प्रदत्त इति मत्वा यथादीयमानभागभोग-
हिरण्यादिसमस्तराजप्र-
- 44 त्यादायाः एतस्याज्ञाश्रवणविधेयीभूय दातव्याः । तदपत्तिकीर्षया न केनापि न⁴ गन्तव्यमिति ॥ छ ॥
भवन्ति चात्र पुण्यश्लोकाः ।
- 45 सर्वानेतान्भाविनः पार्थिवेन्द्रान्⁵ भूयो भूयो याचते रामभद्रः [1*] सामान्यो[यं] धर्मसेतुनृ(नृ)-
पाणां काले काले पालनीयो भवद्भिः ॥⁶ [३१॥*] व(व)-
- 46 दृभिर्वसुधा भुक्ता राजति(भि)ः सगरादिभिः । यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फलं(लम्)॥⁷
[३२॥*] भूमि यः प्रतिगृह्णा(ह्णा)ति यश्च भूमिं प्रयच्छ(च्छ)ति ।
- 47 उभौ तौ पुण्यत्र(क)र्माणौ नियतं स्वर्गगतिनौ⁸ ॥ [३३॥*] षष्टिं वर्षसहस्राणि स्वर्गं तिष्ठति
भूमिदः । आच्छेत्ता चानुमन्ता च तान्येव नरके व-
- 48 सेत(त्)॥ [३४॥*] अस्मिन्वसे(शे) द्विजघ्नोपि यश्चान्यो नृपतिर्भवेत्(त्) । तस्यापि
करलग्नोहं शासनं न व्यतिक्रमेत्(त्) ॥ [३५॥*] सुवर्णमेकं गमेकां भूमेरप्ये-
- 49 कमङ्गुलं(लम्) । हर्त्नरकमाप्नोति यावदाहू(भू)तसंप्लवं(वम्)॥ [३६॥*] लिखितं
चेदं करणिकशी(श्री)सर्वानन्देन । उत्कीर्णितं⁹ च विद्यानन्देन ॥ मङ्गलं महाश्रीः ॥

TRANSLATION

Success! Hail! Ōm! Adoration to Brahman!

(Verse 1) Adoration to that reality, Brahman, which is attributeless, all-pervasive, eternal and auspicious, the ultimate cause (*of the universe*), (*and*) supreme light conceivable by the mind!

(V. 2) Glorious is that Brāhmī,¹⁰ which sages plant like a creeper in the pure field of their heart, and which, though subtle, bears the great fruit of final emancipation.

(V. 3) From the milk-ocean there came out this moon, the store of immeasurable nectar, (*who is*) an ornament of Siva. From him was born Budha. He, they say, obtained a jewel-like son, (*namely*) the primeval king Purūravas.

(V. 4) In that great family of the nectar-rayed (moon), there was born a king

¹ Read -यीवनास्पत्रिप्रवराय.

² Read -शम्मर्णे.

³ Read श्रीमदर्धतीर्थे.

⁴ This word is superfluous. The Banaras plates (No. 48, l. 43) read तदपत्तिकीर्षया भव्ये वातेनापि न गन्तव्यम् ।

⁵ Read पार्थिवेन्द्रान्.

⁶ Metre: Śālinī.

⁷ Metre of this and all the following verses: Anushtubh.

⁸ Read स्वर्गगामिनौ

⁹ Read उत्कीर्ण.

¹⁰ I. e., the knowledge of Brahman, the ultimate reality.

who appeared (*bright*) like a pearl. He, the universal sovereign **Bharata**, obtained (*the distinction of*) being¹ the sole ornament of the three worlds.

(V. 5) In this very illustrious family of kings there was born, in course of time, the lord **Haihaya**, the universal sovereign; being caught in the midst of whose cage-like mighty arms, the ten-faced (*Rāvaṇa*) was, as it were, confined in a prison.

(V. 6) Finding himself (*quite*) helpless in the bondage of the marvellous arms of (*that*) crest-jewel of kings (*i.e.*, **Haihaya**), who being thousand-armed routed his enemies even as the thousand-rayed (sun) dispels darkness, the leader of demons (*i.e.*, *Rāvaṇa*), who had lifted up the mountain of *Śrīkaṇṭha* (*Kailasa*) with his sportfully waved arms, himself thought that his previous valiant deed was like a dream and an illusion.

(V. 7) From him were descended many kings who pleased *Indra* with the smoke of their sacrificial fires; in whose kingdom there never ceased showers from the clouds which were the eyes of their enemies' wives.

(V. 8) Among them was born in course of time **Lakshmaṇarājadēva** (II) who was clever in routing the king of **Baṅgāla**; who defeated the **Pāṇḍya** (king); who was adept in plundering the king of **Lāṭa**; who vanquished the **Gurjara** king; and whose footstool was honoured by the crowns of the heroes of **Kāśmīra**.

(V. 9) The ocean, which became red, being flooded with (*the streams of*) vermillion from the heads of the huge scent-elephants in (*his*) army through exertion caused by his victorious marches, and which dashed against huge mountains with its dancing high waves, appeared to be filled as it were with the flooding streams of blood from the cut-off stiff necks of his enemies.

(V. 10) From him was born that **Yuvarājadēva** (II), the moon-like lord of **Chēdi**, the sole object of veneration to the (*whole*) world, who was fond of literature as a lover is of his beloved, and who, like the serpent *Sēsha*, supported the whole world.

(V. 11) Three things found a footing simultaneously, (*viz.*) youth in his body, (*his*) valour on the heads of (*his*) enemies, and (*his*) enemies in the thickets on the principal mountains.²

(V. 12) Through his devotion to *Śiva* he became actually an Emperor (or, *Śiva* incarnate), having acquired knowledge suitable for bearing the burden of (*i.e.*, governing) the earth, being fond of the *Vēdas* (*as Śiva is possessed of a body which is fond of serpents capable of bearing the burden of the earth*), sending (*like Śiva*) his adversaries along the path of heaven, and leading his powerful army, famous in the world, which marched by several routes (*as Śiva bears on high the river Gaṅgā flowing in several streams*).

(V. 13) From that crest-jewel of kings, there was (*born*) in course of time, (*a king*) named **Kōkalla** (II), possessed of marvellous prowess, who planted a number of sacrificial posts in the farthest regions, and the drum, (*beaten*) at whose victorious march, served exceedingly well as an auspicious musical instrument at the commencement of the union of hostile kings with celestial damsels.

(V. 14) On the occasion of his conquest of the quarters, the lordly elephants (*stationed*) in the quarters, which raised their long trunks in rage on (*smelling*) the fragrance of his rutting elephants, despaired (*of defeating them*), (*and*) gave out, as it were, a distressing cry to the lord of celestial beings (*i.e.*, of *Indra*) through the hum of bees (*hovering*) over their temples.

¹ For the form *bhūya* used in the sense of *bhūva*, see Pāṇini, III, 1, 107.

² *I. e.*, when he attained youth, his power was felt by his enemies, who leaving their kingdoms sought shelter in the thickets on mountains.

(V. 15) While he, who was a store of valour and the sole source of (*their*) happiness, dwelt in the mind of (*his*) subjects, their inward distress completely disappeared even as the ignorance of the *yōgins* does when the highest principle (Brahman), which is the repository of lustre and the unique source of bliss, shines in their minds.

(V. 16) His glory, rising high and breaking (*to pieces*) owing to its collision with (*the upper shell of*) Brahmā's egg, has, I fancy, taken the forms of the moon, constellations, stars and so forth.

(V. 17) From him was (*born*) Gāṅgēyadēva, who threw into the cage of a prison the king of Kīra,¹ who looked radiant with the mass of wealth of (*the king of*) Aṅga who was fond of defeating (*the king of*) Kuntala in a (*clever*) manner, and who, strong as he was in the action of splitting open the temples of lordly elephants, made his (*own*) arm a pillar of victory on the shore of the (*eastern*) ocean, after vanquishing (*the king of*) Utkala.

(V. 18) By resorting to his divine person the goddess of fortune has now got rid of the infamy that she does not appreciate merit and is fickle.

(V. 19) Where he bestowed more wealth on suppliants than they desired, the wish-fulfilling tree was (*no better than*) an ordinary tree.² He, who was to the enemies' fame what the sun is to an assemblage of night-lotuses,³ begat the king Karṇa.

(V. 20) The feet of him (*i.e.*, Karṇa) who was skilled in war, appeared lovely, being warm as if because they had trampled over the spreading valour⁴ of the neighbouring haughty princes.

(V. 21) Under the sole guise of (*the symbols of*) the thunderbolt and the discus on his hands, he bore (*with himself*) the goddess of fortune herself, who (*usually*) shines with Indra and Upēndra.

(V. 22) His arms, which were long like the trunks of the elephants of the quarters, which have lifted up the earth with their heads, were delighted to rescue the earth with ease.

(V. 23) The two large (*symbols of*) conches on (*his*) hands were, I imagine, the treasure (*of Kubēra*) which the Creator offered after doubling⁵ to him who was intently attached to charity.

(V. 24) At his march, the spray of water, which issued from the tips of the formidable trunks of the elephants in (*his army*) and which was turned to particles by their puffing, appeared like an umbrella in the sky.

(V. 25) 'I do not harbour, O Lord! the families of (*your*) enemies; nor have I transgressed the past limits.'⁶—In order as it were, to say this to the King of Chēdi, who was over-running the circuit of regions, the ocean roared in a deep sound, throwing about his arms of waves to scoff at the movements of the trunks of elephants in the army which, being fatigued, (*had encamped*) in its vicinity.

(V. 26) In his war, when the farthest confines of the circuit of regions were filled with the noise of the loud clapping of the goblins who were dancing in intoxication caused by drinking the liquor-like blood flowing from (*the bodies of his*) enemies wounded by his

¹ There is a play on the word *kīra*, meaning (i) a country of that name and (ii) a parrot. The king was thrown into prison as a parrot is caged.

² For the celestial tree yielded only what was desired by the suppliants.

³ *I.e.*, the enemies' fame contracted like night-lotuses during day-time.

⁴ There is a play on the word *pratāpa* which means (i) valour and (ii) heat.

⁵ *Śaṅkha* is one of the treasures of Kubēra. As Karṇa had the symbol of *śaṅkha* (conch) on both the hands, the poet imagines that he had double the treasure of Kubēra.

⁶ This is supposed to be said by the ocean.

arrows, the ceremony of choosing (*their*) husbands in an assembly was, for a short time, performed with difficulty by the immortal (*i.e.*, celestial) damsels, who could not hear one another's words, by means of the hasty signs such as those of their hands.

(V. 27) On the stage of battle-field which was strewn with flowers scattered by the gods who were stupefied with joy, the heroic deeds of the valiant (*Karṇa*), whose arms were merciless in forcibly dragging the (*enemy's*) fortune, were represented in dancing by headless trunks in the presence of kings.

(V. 28) He thus showed himself to be a unique teacher of the four *āśramas* to his enemies,—who were, first, taught the vow of the *Brahmachārin*¹ by being separated from (*their*) wives, (*then*) the order of the house-holder by being imprisoned together with their kinsmen, (*then*) that of the forest-dwelling hermit by (*being forced to seek*) shelter in the woods, and that of the religious mendicant by (*being made to live on*) alms.

(V. 29) Having heard the loud proclamations, resounding in the land extending from the eastern to the western mountain, that the hosts of suppliants (*coming*) to him would obtain gifts exceeding their desires, the self-existent (*Brahmā*) was long perplexed with the thought, 'Alas! this *brahmāṇḍa* has already been created so limited in expanse! How will the glory of the King of Chēdi be contained in it?'

(V. 30) What can we describe of that king *Karṇa* by whose copper-charters, (*given*) to *Brāhmaṇas*,—which made a loud noise as multitudes of closely packed letters were being incised on them,—the (*whole*) universe is deafened.

(Line 33) This *Paramabhaṭṭāraka*, *Mahārājādhirāja* and *Paramēśvara*, the illustrious *Karṇadēva*, the devout worshipper of *Mahēśvara*, the lord of *Trikaliṅga*,—who has by his arm acquired sovereignty over the three kings, (*viz.*) the lord of horses, the lord of elephants (*and*) the lord of men, (*and*) who meditates on the feet of the *Paramabhaṭṭāraka*, *Mahārājādhirāja* and *Paramēśvara*, the illustrious *Vāmadēva*,—being in good health duly honours, informs and issues the (*following*) command at his victorious camp fixed at the famous *Karṇatīrtha*, to the following, (*viz.*) the *Mahādēvi*, the *Mahārājaputra*, the *Mahāmantrin*, the *Mahāsāndhivigrahika*, the *Mahāmātya*, the *Mahādharmaḍhikaraṇika*, the *Mahāpratihāra*, the *Mahākṣhapāṭalika*, the *Mahābhāṇḍāgārika*, the *Mahāsāmanta*, the *Mahāpramattavāra*,² the *Mahāśvasādhānika* and other unnamed officers appointed to their respective posts as well as all people residing in their respective places the village *Chandapahā* in the *pattalā*³ of *Kauśāmbī*:—

(L. 38) "Be it known to you that for the increase of the religious merit and fame of (*Our*) parents and Ourselves, We, having bathed at the glorious *Arghatīrtha* here and having worshipped the divine (god) *Śiva* today, **Thursday, the full-moon day of Kārttika in the seventh year of administration** rendered glorious by (*us*) the illustrious *Karṇa*,—in the aforesaid year, month, fortnight, *tithi* and day respectively, have given as a grant, with the words 'this village is his,' this village,—with its four boundaries well-determined, inclusive of water and land, the mango and *madhūka* trees, together with its pits and barren land, together with mines of iron and salt, extending to its boundaries and together with woods, meadows and pasture-lands, to last as long as the moon, the sun and the earth will endure,—to the *Brāhmaṇa* the illustrious *Paṇḍita Śāntīśarmaṇ*, the son of *Āvasathika Mālhū* and grandson of the *Upādhyāya* *Silū*, of the *Vājasaneyā śākhā*, the *Vidarbhī-Kauṇḍinya gōtra*⁴ and the three *pravaras* *Āṅgīrasa*, *Ambarīsha*, and *Yauvanāśva*. Knowing this

¹ *Viz.*, *celibacy*. Compare *Manumṛiti*, II, 177.

² This is a technical official title meaning probably 'the Chief Commander of the elephant force'. Compare *Aśvavāra*, a horseman.

³ *Pattalā* is a territorial division corresponding to the modern *tahsil*.

⁴ The sage *Vidarbhī-Kauṇḍinya* is mentioned in *Br. Up.* II, 63; and IV, 6, 3.

and submitting to him by listening to his commands, you should pay all royal dues such as *bhāga*, *bhōga*, gold and others to him as you paid them (*to us in the past*). None should trespass with a view to harm him." In this matter there occur the (*following*) holy verses:—

(Here follow six benedictive and imprecatory verses.)

(L. 49) This has been written by the *Karaṇika*, the illustrious *Sarvānanda* and engraved by *Vidyānanda*. (*May there be*) bliss and good fortune!

NO. 51; PLATE XLI

REWA STONE INSCRIPTION OF KARNA: (KALACHURI) YEAR 800

THIS inscription was discovered by Dr. N. P. Chakravarti, Government Epigraphist for India, at Rewa, the chief town of Vindhya Pradesh in 1936. The slab, on which it is inscribed, is now lying in the guard hall of the old palace at Rewa. It is said to have been previously built into a wall of the *Zenānā Mahāl* of the same palace, from where it was removed a few years back and preserved in its present place. The inscription was edited by me for the first time in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XXIV, pp. 101 ff. It is edited here from two excellent estampages kindly supplied by the Government Epigraphist.

The record is incised on a large slab. The inscribed surface measures 7' 2" broad and 3' 1½" high. As shown below, the inscription was originally put up at a temple of Śiva and seems to have been brought over to Rewa from somewhere else.¹ The record has suffered considerably on the right and left hand sides and especially in the lower portion comprising lines 23-31, in which, in some places, only a word here and there can be read with confidence. Even in other parts, where it is better preserved, the *mātrās*, the *anusvāra*, the sign for the superscript *r* on the top of letters and the horizontal stroke in the body of *sh* have, in many cases, disappeared. The inscription consists of thirty-one lines and falls into two parts which are separated by an ornamental figure in line 19. Except for the obeisance to Śiva with which it seems to have opened, and a few words recording the date at the end, the whole inscription is in verse. The first part of it, which eulogizes the reigning Kalachuri king Karṇa and his ancestors, comprises thirty-three verses. As many as twenty-two² of these occur in the Goharwa plates of that king.³ In many cases, therefore, the damaged letters of the present inscription can be easily supplied from the latter record. The second part, comprising verses 34-59, contained a legendary account of the origin of the *Kāyastha* caste as well as the genealogy of the minister of Karṇa, who founded the temple of Śiva at which the present inscription was set up. The mutilation of a considerable portion of the record in this part is very much to be regretted, as none of the damaged verses are known to occur anywhere else. We have, consequently, lost not only an account of the achievements of the minister and his ancestors, but, except in one case, even the names of all of them. Besides, the present record, had it not been so badly mutilated, would have thrown much welcome light on the notions current in the eleventh century A.C. about the caste of the *Kāyasthas*. As shown below, the mutilated condition of the present record makes its evidence doubtful.

¹ In his report for 1935-36 the Government Epigraphist has conjectured that 'the slab might have been brought from Gurgi like so many other inscriptions and statues which are now lying in the State Treasury or in the compound of the Prince's Palace.' *A. R. A. S. I.* for 1935-36, p. 89.

² *Viz.*, verses 4, 6-18, 20-22, 24, 26, 30-32.

³ Above, No. 50.

The characters belong to the Nāgarī alphabet. The size of the letters varies from .8" to 1". Medial diphthongs have generally been indicated by *prishthamātrās*. *Kh* has attained its fully developed Nāgarī form, see *-nikhāta-*, 1.8, but *ñ* is still without its dot, see *Vaṅgāla-bhaṅga-*, 1.6; *ṭh* has developed a vertical at the top, see *luṭhantu* 1.3 and *-pīṭha-*, 1.6; the upper loop of *th* is closed, see *-pāthō-mashī-*, 1.16; its subscript form, however, is not now laid on its side, see *-sthalē-*, 1.15; the left portion of *dh* is still undeveloped; the letter is, therefore, distinguished from *ṣ* which it closely resembles by the absence of the horizontal line at the top, and in the case of *dhā* by a horizontal stroke joining the two verticals, see *-avaidhavya-vidhāna-*, 1.15; the right-hand curve of *ph* is open and is added at the top of its vertical as in *-phala-*, 1.3, or a little lower down as in *-āsphāl-*, 1.13; the curve of *ś* is joined to its vertical on the right, see *-śāsana-*, 1.18; the letter can in many cases be distinguished from *s* only by its round top. Finally, *h* shows no tail, see *mahati*, 1.4.

The language is Sanskrit. As stated above, except for a few words in the beginning and at the end, the whole record is metrically composed. There are fifty-nine verses in all, none of which is numbered. Of these, thirty-three fall in the first, and the remaining twenty-six in the second part of the record. In its first part the present inscription has as many as twenty-two verses in common with the Goharwa plates of Karṇa, there being only slight variations in their readings here and here as pointed out in the foot-notes to the transcribed text. In two cases (verses 20 and 26), the order of verses in this inscription differs from that in the Goharwa plates. The verses consequently refer to different kings in these two records;¹ but as they contain mere conventional praise, the change does not affect the historical information. As regards orthography, we may note that the consonant following *r* is doubled in many cases; see, e.g., *Sambhōr=jjatā-*, 1.2; *b* is throughout denoted by the sign for *v*, see *-vaddh-ō-*, 1.1; *mura* is used for *mra* in *-tāmura-paṭṭaiḥ*, 1.18; similarly *n* is wrongly substituted for *anusvāra* in *-pānsu-*, 1.21. In *surā-pāṇa*, 1.11, we have the change of *n* to *ṇ* in accordance with Pāṇini's rule VIII, 4, 10.

The inscription refers itself to the reign of Karṇa of the Later Kalachuri Dynasty. The object of it appears to have been to record the construction of a temple of Śiva by a minister of Karṇa, who belonged to the Kāyastha caste.² The record is dated, at the end, in the year 800 (expressed in numerical figures only) of an unspecified era, the cyclic year being Khara.³ The date must obviously be referred to the Kalachuri era. As an expired year, it corresponds to 1048-49 A.C. The corresponding cyclic year was Khara according to the northern luni-solar system. This is the only date in the records of the Kalachuris, in which a cyclic year has been mentioned.⁴ In the absence of the necessary details the date does not admit of further verification.

The record seems to have opened with an obeisance to Śiva. This is followed by three *maṅgala-śloka*s in praise of Śiva, the last of which describes his *Ardha-nārīśvara* form.

¹ An analogous instance is furnished by the Goharwa plates. The verse *Bhū-bhāra-kṣama-drik, etc.*, employed to describe Yuvarājādēva II in the present plates occurs in the eulogy of his grandfather Yuvarājādēva I in the Banaras plates of Karṇa. See above, p. 242.

² His name is lost in the lower mutilated portion. He was mentioned in verse 32 of the Ratanpur stone inscription of Jājalladēva I (No. 77, below, l. 30), but there too, his name is lost.

³ This name of the cyclic year had escaped my notice when I edited this inscription in the *Ep. Ind.* After *Kāchharaya* in 1.31 there is room for only two *akṣaras*, of which one is clearly *ra*. There is, therefore, no doubt that the intended name of the year is *Khara*. This corroborates my reading of the figures of the date, one of which was somewhat doubtful.

⁴ Another instance in which a cyclic year is coupled with a Kalachuri date occurs in the Tahankāpār plate of Pamparāja (K. 966), No. 117, below.

After two more verses,—one in praise of Brahman and the other in that of poets' speech,—begins a description of the ancestors of the reigning king Karṇa. As in the Goharwa plates, his pedigree is traced to the moon, but the first historical personage mentioned after such mythical and legendary heroes as Budha, Purūras, Bharata and Haihaya is **Lakshmaṇarāja** who is evidently identical with the homonymous prince mentioned as the son and successor of Yuvarājadēva I in the Bilhāri stone inscription and the Banaras plates of Karṇa. The description of this king and of his successors down to Gāṅgēyadēva is, in the main, given as in the Goharwa plates. In connection with **Gāṅgēyadēva**, however, the draft used here slightly differs from that of the Goharwa plates. Of the four verses devoted to his description, three (*viṣ.*, vv. 18, 20 and 21) occur in the latter record, but one of them (v. 20) is employed there to describe his son Karṇa. Verse 19, which is not known to occur anywhere else, describes in a conventional manner Gāṅgēyadēva's victory near the sea-coast. This may refer to his campaign in Orissa which is specifically mentioned in the preceding verse (18).

Gāṅgēyadēva's son and successor **Karṇa** is next eulogized in as many as twelve verses. Of these, six (*viṣ.*, 22, 24, 26, 30, 31 and 32) occur in the Goharwa plates. Of the remaining six, three contain a description of his achievements. Verse 23 states that 'the ship of the king of the Eastern Country, being driven by the storm of unparalleled arrogance, was submerged in the ocean of his (*i.e.*, Karṇa's) forces, its joints being rent by (dashing against) the promontories of the mountains of his elephants.' Stripped of its metaphor, the verse means that Karṇa achieved a victory over the king of the Eastern Country, who lost his life in the encounter. This probably refers to the overthrow of the contemporary Chandra king,¹ after which Karṇa seems to have placed Vajravatman in charge of the newly acquired territory.

Verse 25 refers to Karṇa's conquests in the south. It states that 'overrunning the district of Kāñchī, he thoroughly enjoyed the southern region, in which the fortune of the **Kuntala** was shaken by forcible seizure and the low **Pallavas** were destroyed, as though covering the hips of a woman, he was ravishing her, the beauty of whose hair was marred by forcible seizure and whose tender lower lip was wounded in kissing.' The description here is evidently dictated by the poet's penchant for *double entendre*. The earliest verse of this type is traditionally ascribed to Mayūra and is taken by some scholars to contain references to Harsha's expedition in the south. In later times, poets composed such verses containing puns on names of countries to flatter their patrons in utter disregard of historical facts. For instance, three such verses, besides the aforementioned one ascribed to Mayūra, have been collected in the *Saduktikarṇāmpita* of Śrīdharadāsa. It is, therefore, difficult to say how far the description in verse 25 of the present inscription can be taken to be historically true. But Karṇa's conflicts with the contemporary Chōla king, who is probably meant here as the ruler of Kāñchī, and the Chālukya king of Kuntala at least are substantiated by other evidence.²

Verse 27 states that 'when Karṇa approached (the Gurjara country), tears mixed with collyrium flowed on the cheeks of Gurjara women living in the neighbourhood and

¹ It may be noted in this connection that verse 12 of the Bhērāghāt inscription mentions that when Karṇa gave full play to his heroism the Vaṅga trembled with the Kaliṅga. The contemporary Chandra king is evidently referred to as the Vaṅga here; for the Chandras were ruling over Vaṅga, or Eastern Bengal.

² See verse 21 of the Karaṇbēl inscription of Jayasīṃhadēva, below, Appendix, No. 3 and VDC. Canto I, śl. 102-3.

colour-marks indicative of their non-widowhood slipped as it were from their foreheads.¹ This is, of course, too vague a description to indicate an actual conflict with the Gurjara king, but unless it is altogether meaningless, it suggests that Karna's relations with the contemporary Gurjara king were already strained as early as 1048-49 A.C.

The second part of the record commences with verse 34, which states that the twice-born caste undertook the work of a minister to augment the *mantra-śakti* (power of good counsel) of kings who were possessed of the other two powers, viz., the *utsāha-śakti* (personal energy) and *prabhu-śakti* (power derived from their royal position). We next get an account of the Kāyastha caste. There was a great sage (*muni-īndra*) named Kāchāra who derived his holy birth from the three-eyed god Śiva. He made the town Kulāñchā an ornament of the three worlds. A person of the fourth caste (*turiya-janman*) respectfully propitiated him on the bank of the heavenly river (*i.e.*, Gaṅgā). The next verse, which is partly mutilated, seems to describe the boon granted by the sage, apparently to the Sūdra who had been serving him, that he would have a son of well-known and righteous deeds, who, having his head sanctified by the dust of earthly gods (*i.e.*, Brāhmaṇas), would become almost like the councillor of the lord of heaven (*i.e.*, Bṛihaspati). The sage next declared that his caste would thereafter be known by the name of *Kāyastha*, since he had innumerable merits in his *kāya* (body). Verse 39, which is only partially preserved, refers to the birth of a son (apparently to the Sūdra), from whom sprang the caste of the Kāyasthas. We are next told that in his race were born wise, grateful, virtuous and meritorious diplomats who gave security from fear to all beings. Verse 41 describes a personage of matchless prowess, who was distinguished among the rest as the Kaustubha is among all the gems produced from the milky ocean, but unfortunately his name is lost in the damaged portion.¹ Verse 43 also mentions a person whose name, again, is illegible, but who was apparently an object of veneration to the illustrious king Lakshmaṇarāja as Viṣṇu is to the three worlds. This personage seems to have been eulogized in the next two verses (44 and 45). The preserved portion of verse 46 states that Sōmēśvara who dedicated himself to the welfare of the people was born from the aforementioned personage. The next verse seems to have described some achievements of his through intelligence and personal prowess. From line 26 the record has unfortunately been too much mutilated to yield any useful information. We have, consequently, lost even the names of the descendants of Sōmēśvara, of whom the last one mentioned in the present inscription seems to have been a minister of Karna. From the description of the white splendour of a temple in verse 54, that it was, as it were, due to the laughter of Śiva, who rejoiced to have such an excellent abode, it seems that it was a temple of Śiva, at which the present inscription was put up. This surmise receives confirmation from the opening verses which eulogize Śiva, as well as from the statement in v. 58 that the person who caused the temple of the enemy of Smara (*i.e.*, Śiva) to be constructed himself composed the present *prafastī*.

As already observed, the present inscription, if it had been in a state of good preservation, would have proved valuable for the history of the Kāyastha caste. Even as it is, it clearly shows that the Kāyasthas had crystallized into a caste in the beginning of the eleventh century A.C.; but we have still earlier records which unmistakably prove the existence of the caste two centuries earlier.² The fanciful derivation of the caste-name *Kāyastha* given

¹ His name ended in *kura* and may have been *Prabhākara*.

² In his article 'The Nāgar Brāhmaṇas and the Bengal Kāyasthas' (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. LXI, p. 48) D. R. Bhandarkar has drawn attention to the Sanjān plates of Amoghavarsha I (871 A. C.) and the Gurmhā plates of Jayādityadēva II (870 A. C.) as the earliest records mentioning the Kāyastha caste.

here occurs also in the *Naishadhīyacharita* (Canto XIV, v. 66). The present inscription seems to connect the caste with a sage named Kāchara.

The tendency to trace the origin of royal families to well-known legendary heroes or sages was widely prevalent in the middle ages; but the name of Kāchara as an eponymous hero occurs nowhere in ancient mythological or legendary literature.¹ It would seem, therefore, that an attempt has been made here to give a legendary explanation of the name of the caste which had become current in the eleventh century A.C.² From the introductory verse of the second part of the present record, viz., v. 34, the poet's intention seems to have been to show that the Kāyasthas belonged to the Brāhmaṇa caste. It looks strange, therefore, that he should refer in verse 36 to a Śūdra (*turiya-janman*) as a Kāyastha and the progenitor of that caste, and describe his son as having his head purified by the dust from the feet of earthly gods (i.e., Brāhmaṇas). Owing to the unfortunate mutilation of the lower part of the inscription, it is now impossible to say how the Śūdra origin of the caste referred to in vv. 36-38 was reconciled with the claim to Brāhmaṇhood which seems to have been made in verse 34.³

The names of the distinguished members of this Kāyastha family, who seem to have served Kalachuri kings as their ministers, have been lost with the single exception of Sōmēśvara. This latter is eulogized in vv. 46 and 47, as one who had dedicated himself to the welfare of the people and distinguished himself by his prowess as well as by intelligence. The mention of Lakshmaṇarāja's name in one of the preceding verses suggests the identification of this Sōmēśvara with the homonymous son of Bhākamiśra, who was a minister of Lakshmaṇarāja as stated in the Kāritālāi stone inscription.⁴ A careful comparison of the descriptions in the two records would show, however, that the identification cannot be upheld. For, Sōmēśvara of the Kāritālāi inscription was undoubtedly a Brāhmaṇa, as he is called Bhaṭṭa therein⁵ and is said to have belonged to the Bharadvāja *gōtra*.⁶ From the lengthy description of his accomplishments in that record we learn that he was proficient in various arts, but we do not find therein a single reference to his skill in the use of arms.⁷ Sōmēśvara of the present inscription, however, was a Kāyastha, distinguished as much for personal valour as for intelligence. Besides, he does not seem to have been a contemporary of Lakshmaṇarāja himself, but of his successor; for, from verses 43-46 we learn that he was the son of a person who was honoured by Lakshmaṇarāja. He is not, therefore, likely to have been identical with Sōmēśvara of the Kāritālāi inscription.

Most of the geographical names occurring in the present record find mention

¹ In the Ajayagadh inscription of Nāna, a minister of the Chandēlla Bhōjavarmān, the origin of the Kāyasthas is traced to the sage Kāśyapa (see *J.A.S.B.*, Vol. VI, p. 882).

² Is *kāchara*, like *kbachara* (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XL, p. 31), identical with *Kbaṣar*?

³ It is, of course, possible to take *turiya-janmā* in the sense of a Brāhmaṇa by dissolving the compound as *turiyārthan* (*yajñārthan*) *janma yasya sah*, i.e., one who is born for (the performance of) a sacrifice, a Brāhmaṇa. Both the *St. Petersburg Lexicon* and the *Vāchaspathyam* give this sense of *turiya*, citing the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, IX, 2, 3, 11 etc., in support of it. But such an explanation would appear forced, since the word does not bear that sense in classical Sanskrit. Halāyudha gives *turiya-varṇa* in the sense of a Śūdra. Note also *agajanman* (first-born) which means a Brāhmaṇa. Besides, the expression *yā bhūmi-dēva-pada-pānu-pavitra-manliḥ* in l. 21 suggests that the son did not belong to the caste of the earthly gods or Brāhmaṇas.

⁴ See verses 7-17 of No. 42, above.

⁵ *Ibid.*, v. 9.

⁶ *Ibid.*, v. 2.

⁷ It must, however, be stated that verse 16 of the inscription mentions that Sōmēśvara's deeds were praised by bards in the fore-front of the battlefield.

in the Goharwa plates also. Their identification has, therefore, been already discussed. Kulāñchā, the town founded by the sage Kāchāra, is evidently identical with Kōlāñcha, Krōḍāñchi or Krōḍāñja met with in epigraphic records ranging in date from the tenth to the twelfth century A.C., which have been discovered in the modern States of Uttar Pradesh, Assam, Bihar, Orissa and Madhya Bharat.¹ From the statements in these records the place seems to have been a stronghold of the Brāhmaṇas of the Sāṇḍilya gōtra, most of whom belonged to the Sāmavēda. According to the tradition recorded in the Kulapañjikās of the Rāḍhī and Vārēndrī Brāhmaṇas, five ancestors of these Brāhmaṇas came to Bengal from Kōlāñcha at the invitation of the king Ādisūta for the performance of a Vedic sacrifice. The present inscription shows that the place was also the home of the Kāyasthas. In a copper-plate inscription from Assam the village is said to have been situated in Srāvastī.² Rao Bahadur K.N. Dikshit identifies it with Kulanch in the Bogra District of North Bengal.³

TEXT⁴

- 1⁵[1*] --- - - - - ॐ मण्डलीगण्ड[शै]ले [सं*][वे]ल्लत्कण्ठ[जान्ध]-
व्यतिकरिणि जटाजूटकूटोदयादौ । देयादुष्णीषव(व)द्वोरग[म]णि[किरण*]श्रेणिशोणा सुधा-
शोर्लालक्ष्मीदिचरं वस्तिमिरमवलितोदीयमानेव [शम्भोः]⁶॥[१॥*] य-⁷वनमन्दरोदरच-
लत्पुत्कार --- - - - - ,
- 2 --- - - - - ॐ - - - - - [वेल्लित]त[म्] । तच्चण्डा[नि]लनेत्रदावदहनज्वालाजटाली-
कृतं स्व[र्णा]द्रे[रि]व सोद[रं] विजयने शम्भोज्जटामण्डलम्⁸॥[२॥*] व्यालव्याकुलम[दं]म-
[दं]मप[रं] लीलालस[लोचनं] --- - - - - [मदंमपरं] --- - - - - [1*] --- - - - -
- - - - - ,
- 3 --- - - - - ॐ - - - - - [रं] वपुः ॥[३॥*] [शु]द्धे हृदयक्षेत्रे व[ल्ली]मिव रोपयन्ति
यां मृणयः । मोक्षमहाफलजननी त्रा[त्रा] [ह्री] सू [क्ष्मापि] सा जयति⁹॥[४॥*] रसामृतसुधावाचः
कवी[नां] सद्गुणाश्रयाः । लुण्ठन्तु विदुषां कण्ठे [अवेच ?] [वि]ततं यशः ॥¹⁰[५॥*] क्षीरो-
दधेरपरि[मे][यसुधानिधानमाविर्वं(वं)भूव भवभूषणमिन्दु*]¹¹ -
- 4 [रेषः । अस्मादजायत बु(बु)धः स किल क्षितीश*]माद्यं पुरुरवसमाप तनूजरत्नम्¹²॥[६॥*]

¹ Mr. J. C. Ghosh mentions six such charters, *Ind. Cul.*, Vol. II, pp. 358-59. To them I add the Kahla copper-plate grant of the Kalachuri Sōḍhadēva, below, No. 74. I have shown that in l. 44 of that inscription the correct reading is Kulāñchīya (*i.e.*, of Kulāñcha). It is note worthy that the Brāhmaṇa Jālu, mentioned therein as hailing from Kulāñcha, belonged, like other Brāhmaṇas of that place, to the Sāṇḍilya gōtra and the Sāmavēda.

² Padmanatha Bhattacharya, *Kāmarūpa-Sāsanāvalī*, p. 155. This Srāvastī was probably situated in Bengal, for the family, to which the minister of Karṇa belonged, is called *Gauḍa* in verse 32 of the Ratanpur stone inscription of Jājalladēva I (below, No. 77).

³ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXIII, p. 103.

⁴ From inked estampages.

⁵ The inscription seems to have opened with ओं नमः शिवाय, for the temple where it was put up was dedicated to Śiva. See above, p. 266.

⁶ Metre. *Sragdharā*.

⁷ Restore यच्चडावन-.

⁸ Metre: of this and the following verse: *Sārdūlavikrīḍita*.

⁹ Metre: *Āryā*.

¹⁰ Metre: *Anuṣṭubh*.

¹¹ The starred *akṣaras* in rectangular brackets in lines 3-18 are supplied from the Goharwa plates of Karṇa (above, No. 50).

¹² Metre: *Vasantatilakā*.

[illegible]

- इति महति सुधामयूख[वं]शे नृपतिरजायत [मौ]वित्कायमानः । अलभत भरतः स चक्रवर्ती
त्रिभुवन[भूष]णभूयमेक एव¹॥७॥* त[त्रो]दितोदितकुले जगतीपतीना[मौ]शः [क्रमा]दजनि
[हंहयचक्र][वर्ती १*] यस्य प्रचण्डभुजपञ्जर*—
- 5 [मध्यवर्ती कारागृहे धृत इव प्र*]स[भं] दशास्यः² ॥८॥* वेरिध्वान्तभिदः सहस्रकरतो
भूपालचूडामण[यं]स्मादद्भुतवा(वा)हव(व)न्धविधुरो न[क्तं]चरग्रामणीः । हेलोल्लासितवा(वा)—
हुदण्डविहितश्रीकण्ठशैलोद(दृ)ति[*] प्राग्विक्रान्तममन्यत स्वय[मपि स्वमिन्द्रजालोपमम्]³॥
[९॥*] यज्ञा[ग्नि][धूमः परितोषितेन्द्रास्तस्मा*]—
- 6 [दभूवन्व(न्व)हवो नरेन्द्राः १*] रा[ज्ये न] ये[षां] विरराम वृ[ष्टिर्वि]पक्षनारीनयनाम्बु[म्बु]—
वा[हं]⁴॥१०॥* व(व)ङ्गालभङ्गनिपुणः परिभूतपाण्डचा(ण्डचो) लाटेशलुण्टनपटुर्जित—
गुर्जरेन्द्रः । काश्मीरवीरमुकुटाच्चितपादपीठस्तेषु क्रमादजनि लक्ष्मण[राजदेवः]⁵ ॥ [११॥*]
आसीद्यद्विजयप्रयाण[जनित][व्यायमखेदोदयोन्मज्ज*]—
- 7 [त्सैनिकगात्रसिन्धुरशिरः*][सिन्दूरपूरा]रुणः । त्वङ्गत्तुङ्गतरङ्गताडितमहाक्षोणीभृदम्भोनिधिः
पूर्णो [वै]रिकठोरकण्ठदलनासृक्सिन्धुपूरैरिव⁶॥ [१२॥*] साहित्यविद्याललनाभुजङ्गो निःशेष—
धात्रीधरणाय शेषः । ततः स ज[ज्ञे] जगदेकवन्द्यश्चेदी[न्द्र]च[न्द्रो] युवराजदेवः⁷ ॥ [१३॥*]
[यौ]वनेन त[नौ] य[स्य प्र]—
- 8 [तापेनारिमूढं सु । कुला*][द्विकृञ्जे]ष्वरिभिस्त्रिभिस्तु[ल्यं] प[दं] दधे⁸ ॥ [१४॥*]
दिवपर्यन्तनिखातयूपनिचयः क्षमापालचूडामणिस्तस्मादद्भुतविक्रमः क्रमवशात्कोकल्लनामाभवत् ।
चक्रे य[द्विजय]प्रयाणपणवः स्वर्गाङ्गनासङ्गमारम्भे मङ्गलतु[र्यं]का[र्यं]महितक्षोणीपती[नां]
रसन्¹⁰ ॥ [१५॥*] य[स्मिन्सुखैकप्र]—
- 9 [भवे प्रजानां*] [तेजोनिधौ] चेतसि व[त्तं]माने । तत्वे(त्वे) परस्मिन्निव योगभा[जां] नितान्त—
मन्तस्तमसा प्रलीनम्¹¹ ॥ [१६॥*] आक्रमाद्दु[ध्वं] व्र(व्र)ह्माण्डसंघट्टस्फुटि[तं] यशः । घत्ते
यस्येन्दुनक्षत्रताराद्याकारमम्ब(म्ब)रे¹² ॥ [१७॥*] कारापञ्जररुद्धकीरनूपति[र्दी]प्तोज्जलक्ष्मी—
चयैस्तस्मात्कुन्तलभङ्गभङ्गिर[सि]को गा[ज्ञे]य—
- 10 [दे*][वो]भवत् । येनाकारि करीन्द्रकुम्भदलनव्यापारसारात्मना नि[जि]त्योत्कलमब्धि(ब्धि)—
सीम्नि विजयस्तम्भः स्वकीयो भुज[ः]¹³॥ [१८॥*] यत्सेनाचरचक्रवालदलितक्षमापालदन्तावल—
श्रेणीशोणित[पं]किले[षु] परितः प्रान्ते[षु] पाथोनिधेः । दृप्यद्वारणदारणोद्धतम[दैर्लीनं] सल—
[ज्जै]रिव [प्रालेयाचलक]—

¹ Metre: *Pusbpitāgrā*.

² Metre: *Vasantatilakā*.

³ Metre: *Sārdūlavikrīḍita*. The Goharwa plates also have the same reading as here, but the metre is defective. Read —स्वप्नेन्द्रजालोपमम् as in line 6 of the British Museum plate of Karna, below, No. 34.

⁴ Metre: *Upajāti*.

⁵ Metre: *Vasantatilakā*.

⁶ Metre: *Sārdūlavikrīḍita*.

⁷ Metre: *Upajāti*.

⁸ Metre: *Anuṣṭubh*.

⁹ The Goharwa plates read क्षमापालचूडामण— The *aksaras* here are quite clear.

¹⁰ The Goharwa plates have भूसं(भम्). Metre: *Sārdūlavikrīḍita*.

¹¹ Metre: *Upajāti*.

¹² The Goharwa plates read the second half of the verse as मन्ये यस्येन्दुनक्षत्रताराद्याकारतां गतम्. Metre: *Anuṣṭubh*.

¹³ Metre of this and the following verse: *Sārdūlavikrīḍita*.

- 11 नन्दोदरदरी[छिद्रेषु कण्ठीरवैः] ॥[१९॥*]¹ यत्कुन्तप्रोतश[वृक्षु]तरुधिरसुरापाणमत्तप्रनृ-
त्यद्वेतालोलालालारवभरितककुप्चक्रपर्यन्तसीम्नि । अन्योन्यालक्ष(क्ष्य)वाचां समि[ति] सरभसं
दत्तहस्तादि[सं]ज्ञान्यापारेणामरी[णां] वरवरणविधिः क[ष्ट]²भासीन्मुहूर्त[त्त]म(म्)³ ॥[२०॥*]
अतिमनो[रथ]म[र्थ]जने
- 12 [धनं दिशति] यत्र स कल्पतरुस्ततः । रिपुयशःकुमुदाकरभास्करः सुतमसूत स क[र्ण]नराधिप-
म्⁴ ॥[२१॥*] आनन्दमन्दसुमनःसुमनोवकीर्ण[सं]ग्रामरङ्गभुवि भूमिभृ[तां] पुरस्तात् ।
वीरस्य वीरचरितं ननूते कव(व)न्धैलक्ष्मीहठग्रहकठोरभुजस्य यस्य⁵ ॥ [२२॥*] दर्पकदु-
[र्वा]तरयेण नुन्नो गजाद्रि-
- 13 -- ७⁶[वि]दीर्णसन्धिः । अन्त[र्]यदीयस्य व(व)लाम्बु(म्बु)राशे[र्म]मज्ज पूर्वविनिराज-
पोतः⁷ ॥[२३॥*] ना[हं] नाथ विपक्षगोत्रवसति[नं] त्यक्तपूर्वस्थितिर्यस्याख्यातुमितीव
चेदिनृपतेदिवचक्रमाक्रमतः । प्रान्तभ्रान्त⁸वरुथिनीकरिकरास्फालावहेलोल्लसत्कल्लोलावलिवा(वा)-
हुदण्डमुदधिश्च-
- 14 [क्रन्द सान्द्रस्वनैः] ॥*⁹ [२४॥*] हठग्रहान्दोलितकुन्तलश्री[वि]खण्डचमानाधरपल्लवा च ।
आक्रान्तकाञ्चीविषयेण येन दिग्दक्षिणा संवु(वु)भुजे प्रकामम्¹⁰ ॥[२५॥*] आशाजये समद-
सिन्धुरगन्धरोषाद्यस्योद्यदायतकरा[ः] ककु[भां] करीन्द्राः । पूत्कारमार्तमिव खेचरनायकस्य
च[क्रुः] कपोल-
- 15 [मधुपध्वनिभिर्नि]राशा[ः]¹¹ ॥ [२६॥*] यस्मिन्समासीदति गूज्जरी[णां] गण्डस्थले
साञ्जनवा(वा)ष्पलेशाः । भालादवैधव्यविधानवर्णाः पर्यन्तभाजां स्थलिता इवासन्¹² ॥
[२७॥*] हरिभिरनघिग[म्यं] यत्सटालीजटालै[र्यं]दप[रिमि]तख[ड्गं] वारणैर्दृष्टं यत् ।
विपिनमिव यदीयो दावव[ह्निस्तदुच्चै]रदह-
- 16 ७ ७ ७ --- कमेक[ः] प्रताप[ः]¹³ ॥[२८॥*] भूर्जत्वचः सङ्कुलितेभदानपाथोमपीव[र्ण]--
विशेषभाजः । हिमाचले येन वशीकृतानां भुजिष्यपत्राण्यभवन्नुपा[णां](णाम्)¹⁴ ॥[२९॥*]
नीतेषु प्रमदावियोगविधिना द्राम्र(म्ब्र)ह्यचारित्र[तं] सा[हं] व(व)न्धुतया गृहस्थपद[वी]
कारागृह[स्थापनात्] । वानप्रस्थपदं
- 17 [वनाश्रयवशाद्भ्राञ्च*] भिक्षो[ः] स्थि[ति] येनैवं चतुराश्रमैकगुस्ता स्पष्टीकृता शत्रुषु¹⁵ ॥
[३०॥*] यस्यार्थव्रजवाञ्छिताधिकफलप्राप्त्यै निशम्यात्मभूः प्राक्प्रत्यन्धरणीधरान्तरचरस्फार-

¹ In the Goharwa plates this verse occurs after नाहं नाथ विपक्षगोत्रवसतिः (v. 24 below), and therefore describes Karṇa.

² The Goharwa plates have कुप्तासीत्- which Dr. Hultzsch proposed to change to कल्प आसीत्-. Here the *aksbaras* are clear except that the horizontal stroke in the square of the superscript *sb* has been obliterated.

³ Metre: *Sragdharā*.

⁴ Metre: *Drutavilambita*.

⁵ Metre: *Vasantatilakā*.

⁶ The missing *aksbaras* were probably कूटेषु.

⁷ Metre: *Upajāti*.

⁸ The Goharwa plates have भ्रान्त.

⁹ Metre: *Sārdūlavikrīḍita*.

¹⁰ Metre: *Upajāti*.

¹¹ In the Goharwa plates this verse is placed after यस्मिन्सुखप्रभव *etc.*, (verse 16 above) and is therefore intended to describe Kōkalladēva (II). Metre: *Vasantatilakā*.

¹² Metre: *Indravajrā*.

¹³ Metre: *Mālinī*.

¹⁴ Metre: *Upajāti*.

¹⁵ Metre of this and the following verse: *Sārdūlavikrīḍita*.

स्फुरद्घोषणाः । एतन्निर्मितमा[ः] पुरा परिमि[तं] ब्र(ब्र)ह्माण्डम[स्मिन्कथं संमास्यन्ति] य-
शान्ति¹ [चे]-

18 [दिनृप]ते[रित्याकु]लो[भूचि]रं(रम्) ॥ [३१॥*] [किं] तस्य क[र्ण]नृपत(ते)व्वं(व्वं)त व-
र्णयामो यस्य द्विजातिजनशासनताम्रपट्टैः² । उत्कीर्यमाणनिवि(वि)डाक्षरचक्रवालवाचालितैव्वं
(व्वं)धिरभावमियाय विश्वम्³ ॥ [३२॥*] यावद्भूचन्द्र चन्द्रो [रि]पुतिमिरभिदा [शू]र
शूरोस्ति याव[द्याव] --⁴ [रिचक्र⁵प्रदहन दह]नो या[व]-

19 -- ७ -- । -- -- यावदब्धि(ब्धि)[मं]रुदधिपसमस्कन्ध यावन्मह[त्वां]स्तावत्त्रायस्व धात्री-
मिति पदमजनि ब्र(ब्र)ह्मणामाशि[षां] यः⁶ ॥ [३३॥*] ॐ ॥ उत्साहशक्तिप्रभुशक्तिभा[जां]
प्रवद्धं नायाखिलमन्त्रश[क्तेः] । द्विजातिरे[षां] पृथि[वीपतीनाममात्यधर्मस्य] व(व)भूव
[हेतुः]⁷ ॥ [३४॥*] रा-

20 - ७ -- [विमलत्रिनेत्रात्पवित्र]जन्मा किल काचराक्ष्यः । योसौ त्रिलोकीतिलकायमा[नां] पु[रं]
कुलाञ्चामकरोन्मुनीन्द्रः ॥ [३५॥*] तमादरादात्मवि[दां] वरिष्ठमाराधयामास तुरीयजन्मा [१*]
स्व[ः] सिन्धुकूले किल विश्वव[न्द्ये] ७ - ७ -- ७ ७ - ७ -- ॥ [३६॥*] -- ७ - ७ ७

21 ७ - ७ ७ - [न्धयस्य कृत्वा] भविष्यति दिवस्पतिमन्त्रिकल्पः । यो भूमिदेवपदपान्शु⁸पवित्र[मौ]लि-
[स्तं] ख्यातपुण्यचरितं सुतमाप्नुहीति⁹ ॥ [३७॥*] संख्यामतीत्य काय[स्थ]स्तव यस्माद्गुणो-
[त्क]रः । अतः[ः] काय[स्थ इ]त्या[ख्यां] जाति[मात्माभि]- ७ ७¹⁰ ॥ [३८॥*] ७ - ७ -- ७ ७ -
७ -- कुले ७ -- प्रधि-

22 त ७ -- । [अ]जीजनत्पुत्रमनन्तकी[र्त्तिं] कायस्थवंशः प्रससार तस्मात्¹¹ ॥ [३९॥*] तस्यान्वये
नयविदः सुधियः कृतज्ञाः सत्यव्रताः सुकृतिनो गुणिनः क्रमेण । प्रादु[र्ब]वं(वं) भूवरसमाश्चर[भी]-
तसत्त्वदत्ताभयाः कमल ७ - २ - ७ -¹² ॥ [४०॥*] -- ७ - ७ ७ ७ - ७ ७ - कुलेस्मिन्नेक

23 ७ - [कर¹³ इति प्रथितो] व(व)भूव । [सर्व्वेषु] दुग्धजलरा[शि]समुद्भवे[षु] रत्नेषु कौस्तुभ
इवानुपमप्रभावः ॥ [४१॥*] पुरः पुरो विशदगुणान्विशेषतः सिद्धतः[ः] पुरुषवरा[निहान्व]ये ।
चकार यः [प्रथितगुणान्शु]¹⁴ - ७ - ७ - ७ - ७ ७ ७ ७ - ७ - ७ -¹⁵ ॥ [४२॥*]

24 - [त्रिभुवनस्य] । श्रीवत्स[भूष]ण इव श्रीलक्ष्मणराजदेवस्य¹⁶ ॥ [४३॥*] [नत्वा] सूतक-
दीन्द्रा[णां] वन्द्यमिन्द्रपति [सदा?] । समास्कन्दति यत्कीर्त्तिः कार्त्तिकी [चं]द्र[चं]द्रि
[कां(काम्)]¹⁷ ॥ [४४॥*] [कमल?] किसलय जनानुरा[गे] कृतमूल[ल?] --¹⁸ । मा - ७ --

¹ Read यशांसि.

² Read ताम्रपट्टैः.

³ Metre: *Vasantatilakā*.

⁴ The missing *aksaras* may have been दृप्ता-.

⁵ This *aksara* is superfluous.

⁶ Metre: *Sragdharā*.

⁷ Metre of verses 34-36: *Upajāti*.

⁸ Read पांशु.

⁹ Metre: *Vasantatilakā*.

¹⁰ The missing *aksaras* may have been -यास्यति. Metre: *Anushtupbb*.

¹¹ Metre: *Upajāti*.

¹² Metre of this and the following verse: *Vasantatilakā*.

¹³ The name lost here may have been प्रभाकर.

¹⁴ Restore पुरस्तरान्.

¹⁵ Metre: *Ruchirā*.

¹⁶ Metre: *Āryā*.

¹⁷ Metre: *Anushtupbb*.

¹⁸ Perhaps कृतमूलवन्धाः.

TRANSLATION

[Om! Adoration to Siva.]

(Verse 1) May the beauty of the digit of the moon, which, rising straight as it were on the orient mount, namely the high coil of the twisted hair of Siva, overspread with the dark colour of his throat, is reddened by the mass of the rays of jewels (*in the hoods*) of serpents which coil (*themselves*) like a turban (*round his head*). . . . remove your ignorance for long!

(V. 2) Glorious is the coil of Sambhu's matted hair, which,—being overspread with the flames of the wild fire (*issuing*) from his (*third*) eye (*fanned*) by that fierce wind, (*and*) surrounded by serpents. . . . hissing and moving inside the Mandara (*mountain*), (*namely*), the mass of hair. . . .—appears akin to (Mēru) the golden mountain!

(V. 3) [May] the body (*of Siva*), one half of which is covered over with serpents, (*while*) the other half has a gracefully shining eye!

(For a translation of v. 4, see that of v. 2, above, p. 259.)

(V. 5) May the sweet words of poets, full of the nectar of sentiments, which are the resort of virtues, roll in the throats of learned men and their far-spread fame in (*their*) cars!

(For a translation of vv. 6-18, see that of vv. 3-11, 15, 13, 16 and 17 on pp. 259-61.)

(V. 19) When the regions round the ocean became full of mud through the blood of the arrays of elephants of (*hostile*) kings killed by hosts of his soldiers, the lions, proud as they had become by the destruction of infuriated elephants, crouched, as if through shame, in the clefts of caves in the interior of the defiles of the snow-mountain.

(For a translation of vv. 20-22, see that of vv. 26, 19 and 27 on pp. 261-2.)

(V. 23) In the ocean of his forces there was submerged the ship, (*namely*) the king of the Eastern Country, being driven by the storm of unparalleled arrogance, its joints being rent by (*dashing against*) the promontories of the mountains which were his elephants.

(For a translation of v. 24, see that of v. 25 on p. 261.)

(V. 25) Over-running the district of Kāñchī, he thoroughly enjoyed the southern region, in which the fortune of the Kuntala was shaken by forcible seizure and the low Pallavas were destroyed (*as though covering the hips of a woman he was ravishing her, the beauty of whose hair was marred by forcible seizure, and whose tender lower lip was wounded in kissing*).¹

(For a translation of v. 26, see that of v. 14 on p. 260.)

(V. 27) When he approached, tears mixed with collyrium flowed on the cheeks of Gurjara women living in the neighbourhood, and colour-marks indicative of their non-widowhood slipped, as it were, from (*their*) foreheads.²

(V. 28) His unique valour consumed [the hostile army]³ which was inaccessible on account of horses with twisted manes, which contained an unlimited number of swords (*and*) appeared dreadful through elephants, even as wild fire consumes a forest which is impenetrable on account of lions with twisted manes, which contains an unlimited number of rhinoceroses and is dreadful through elephants.

¹ There is a play on the words *kāñchī*, *kuntala*, *adbara* and *pallava*, in consequence of which the verse conveys a double meaning.

² This foreboded the destruction of their husbands in the impending war with Karṇa.

³ The word denoting this is lost in the original, but there can be no doubt about the intended meaning.

The record consists of fourteen lines. The average size of the letters is .7". The characters are of the Nāgarī alphabet. They resemble, in a general way, those of the other inscriptions of the Kalachuri king Karṇa. As regards individual letters we may notice that *ṇ* is written without a dot see *-saṅgharya*, l. 7, *-gaṇ-ālanīkṛit-*, l. 11; *ṭh* has no vertical or even a horizontal line at the top, see *pāṭha-*, l. 12; the upper loop of *th* is closed in *-Manōratha-*, l. 8; the left limb of *dh* is seen fully developed in two cases, see *Dhamēśva[raḥ*]*, l. 9 and *vādhakam* l. 13, but in others the old form is met with; the letters *r* and *g* are not clearly distinguished, see *-pār-aika-gantāḥ*, l. 2; so also *m* and *a* or *ā*; see *-mahā-*, l. 7; and *Āsvina*, l. 6; finally, the medial diphthongs are indicated by fully drawn *prishthamātrās*.

The language is corrupt Sanskrit. Notice, for instance, the wrong forms *guṇa-rāsi* for *guṇa-rāśiḥ* and *pār-aika-gantāḥ* for *pār-aika-gantā*, both in l. 2, *Mahājānānujāina* for *Mahājā(yā)nānujā(yā)ṇiṇi*, l. 10 and the incorrect sandhi in *-bhūto pitṛibhiḥ*, l. 14. Except for the opening verse in praise of the Buddha and the usual imprecation at the end, the whole record is in prose. As regards orthography, attention may be drawn to the use of *ri* for *ṛi* in *Triga(ka)* [*lingā**], l. 4, the repetition of a consonant after *r* as in *-sarv-āndhakā-raḥ*, l. 1, the substitution of *j* for *y* in *Mahājānānujāina* and, *bhārjā*, both in l. 10 and the use of the sign for *v* to denote *b*, see *-Vuddha-*, l. 11, *-nivandhanā-*, l. 12 etc.

The inscription refers itself to the reign of Karṇa, of the Later Kalachuri Dynasty. He is mentioned here with the same titles as in the Goharwa plates, and is said to have meditated on the feet of the illustrious Vāmadēva who is also named with Imperial titles. The object of the inscription is to record that a female devout worshipper named Māmakā who was a follower of the Mahāyāna and the wife of Dhamēśvara¹ (Dharmēśvara) who also was a devout worshipper and follower of the Mahāyāna, caused a copy of the *Aṣṭasāhasrikāprajñā* to be written and made some donation to the Order of Venerable Monks dwelling in the monastery called *Srī-sad-dharma-chakra-pravartana-Mahābōdhi-Mahāvihāra*, for the recitation of the book. Two monks who were evidently heads of the institution are named in the present record. One of them was Manōrathagupta. The name of the other, which is partially lost, ended in *pāṭṛika*.

The inscription is dated on Sunday, the fifteenth tithi of the bright half of Āśvina in the year [8]10.² No era is specified, but there can be little doubt that the date is in the Kalachuri era. It is quite regular; for, the fifteenth tithi of the bright fortnight of Āśvina in the current³ Kalachuri year 810 ended 15 h. 50 m. after mean sunrise on Sunday, the corresponding Christian date being the 4th October, 1058 A.C. This is one of the few Kalachuri dates in current years.

As pointed out by Sir John Marshall and Dr. Konow, the Saddharmachakrapravartana-Mahābōdhi-Mahāvihāra was the Great Monastery at Sārnāth which was erected at the place where the Buddha preached his first sermon.

¹ See below, p. 278, n. 1.

² The first figure of the year is lost, but that it could not have been anything but 8 is shown by the known dates of Karṇa, which range from K. 793 to K. 812.

³ The date would be in the expired year according to Kielhorn's view that the Kalachuri year was *Āśvinādi*. The dates of Nos. 63 and 94 however clearly show that the year began in some month later than Āśvina. I have given elsewhere reasons which make it probable that it began on the first tithi of the bright fortnight of Kārttika.

TEXT¹

- 1 सिद्धिः² [1*] जयतु स(स्व)गतभा[सा] [ध्व*]³स्तसर्वान्धकारः[.] । ००० ००० --- ०
--- ०--- [1*]
2 निरुपमगुणरासी ज्ञे⁴[य*]पारैकगन्ताः भुवन[भ ?] ०० --- ०--- ०--- [॥१॥*]⁵
3 परमभट्टारकमहाराजा[धि]राजपरमेस्व(श्च)रस्त्री (श्री)वाम[देवपादानुध्यातपरमभट्टा*]—
4 रकमहारा[जा]धिराजप[र]मेस्व(श्च)रपरममाहेस्व(श्च)रतृ(त्रि)ग(क) [लिगाधिपतिनिजभुजो*] —
5 पार्जितास्व(श्च)पतिगजपति[न*]रपतिराजत्रयाधिपति⁶स्त्री (श्री)मत्क[र्ण]⁷[देवप्रवर्धमानकल्या*]—⁸
6 णविजयराज्ये सम्ब[त्सरे*]⁹ [८*]१०॥ [अ]स्विन [सु] दि¹⁰१५ रवौ ॥ अ[द्येह श्रीसद्धर्म*]—
7 चक्रप्रवर्तनमहावो(वो)[धि*]महाविहारे¹¹ [आ]र्य्यभिक्षुसङ्घस्य स्थ[विर. . . .]*—
8 पातृकमनोरथगु[प्त*]¹²:¹³ आसी(शी)वा(र्वा)[द*][प]द(दं) समादापितौ [1*] महाजा(या)—
[नानुजा(या)यी*]
9 परमोपासकः धमेस्व[र*]¹³ दमनेम(न) [संज(य)]मेन रागादिम[ल]प्रक्षया(क्षा)[लनपर*]
10 तस्य भार्जा(र्या) महाजा(या)ना[नु]जा(या)इन (यिनी) पर[मो][पा*]सिका मा[मका]
या अने[कगुण*]—
11 गणाल[ङ्क]त्सरीरा¹⁴ तथा लिखापिता¹⁵र्य्य[भिक्षुङ्घाय द*][त्ता ?] सर्व्ववु(वु)दज[न][पूजार्थ*]—
12 मष्टस(सा)हस्रिकाप्रज्ञा [1*] पाठनिव(व)न्वना[र्य्य]. . . [द*]त्तं(त्त) आचन्द्रार्क[मे][दि*]—
13 नी¹⁶ यावत् आर्य्यभिक्षुसङ्घस्य समर्पितः [1*] ००००० --- ०, ००० वा (वा)घकं ०¹⁷
14 ० [1*] स पि(वि)ष्टायां कृमिभू(भू)तो(तः) पि[तृ]भिः सह प[च्यते ॥२॥*]¹⁸

TRANSLATION

Success !

(Verse 1) May [the Buddha], who has dispelled all darkness by his splendour, . . . who has a multitude of matchless virtues, (and) who alone has thoroughly understood (all) knowable (things) . . . of the world, become victorious !

¹ From inked estampages kindly supplied by Rai Bahadur Prayag Dayal, Curator, Lucknow Museum.

² Expressed by a symbol.

³ The starred *akṣaras* in rectangular brackets are supplied conjecturally and in some cases with the help of other Kalachuri records.

⁴ Read —गुणराशिज्ञेयपारैकगन्ता.

⁵ Metre: *Mālinī*.

⁶ Read —त्रयाधिपत्यः.

⁷ Only the *rēpha* of this *akṣara* is lost.

⁸ Marshall and Konow supply देवकल्या—, but the spacing shows that eight or nine *akṣaras* have been lost.

⁹ Read —संवत्सरे.

¹⁰ Read आदिवन शु दि.

¹¹ Read महाविहार आर्य्य—. In some places below also, the rules of *sandhi* have not been observed.

¹² Read —गुप्तावाशीवाद—.

¹³ Marshall and Konow read घनेस्वरः, but the second letter is clearly मे.

¹⁴ Read —गणालङ्कृतशरीरा.

¹⁵ Read लेखिता—.

¹⁶ Read आचन्द्रार्कमेदिनि omitting यावत् or चन्द्रार्कमेदिनीयावत् omitting आ.

¹⁷ Marshall and Konow read करे after this, but I fail to see the *akṣaras* in the estampages supplied to me. The usual first half of this verse is स्वदत्ता परदत्ता वा यो हरेत वसुधराम् । It seems to be different here.

¹⁸ Metre: *Anuṣṭubh*.

(Line 3) During the [increasingly victorious and beneficent] reign of the [*Paramabhāṭṭāraka*], *Mahārājādhirāja*, *Paramēśvara*, the illustrious *Karṇadēva*, [the lord of *Trikaliṅga*, who by his own arm] has acquired sovereignty over the three kings, (*viṣ.*) the lord of horses, the lord of elephants, and the lord of men, [who meditates on the feet of] the *Paramabhāṭṭāraka*, *Mahārājādhirāja*, *Paramēśvara* the illustrious *Vāmadēva*, in the year [8]10, on Sunday, the fifteenth (lunar) day of the bright (fortnight) of *Āśvina*, today here in the Great Monastery (called) the famous *Saddharmachakrapravarttana-Mahābōdhi*, the monks ...*pāṭṛika* and *Manōrathagupta* of the Order of Venerable Monks were caused to give their blessings.

(L. 8) (*There is*) *Dhamēśvara*,¹ a devout worshipper and follower of the *Mahāyāna*, who is intent on washing off the stains of passions and so forth, by the control of sense-organs and self-restraint. His wife *Māmakā*, a devout worshipper and follower of the *Mahāyāna*, whose self is adorned with a multitude of several [virtues], has caused (*a copy of*) the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā-prajñā* to be written, (*and*) [has made it over] to the Order of Venerable Monks. She has donated.....(*and*) [has made it over] to the Order of Venerable Monks for the worship of all Buddhas (*and*) for the recitation (*of the aforementioned*) *Aṣṭasāhasrikā-prajñā* for as long a time as the moon, the sun and the earth will endure.

(L. 13) [He who will cause] obstruction [in the enjoyment of the gift] will become a worm in excrement (*and*) will rot (*there*) together with his ancestors.

NO. 53; PLATE XLIII A

REWA STONE INSCRIPTION OF KARNA : (KALACHURI) YEAR 812

THIS inscription was first brought to notice by Mr. R.D. Banerji, Superintendent, Archaeological Survey, Western Circle, who found it in the Secretary's office in Rewa town.² It is not known where it was first discovered. Mr. Banerji first gave an account of its contents in the *Progress Report of the Archaeological Survey, Western Circle*, for 1920-21, p. 53, and subsequently published its text with a translation, but without a facsimile, in his *Haihayas of Tripuri and their Monuments*,³ pp. 130 ff. The inscription is edited here from excellent estampages kindly supplied by the Government Epigraphist for India.

The record is incised on a smooth plain slab of sand-stone, the left half of which is missing.⁴ There are in all twenty-three lines. The lost portion must have contained twenty-three or twenty-four *aksharas* in each of the lines 1-21. Even in the extant portion, some letters here and there, especially on the left side, have been damaged by the peeling off of the surface of the stone.

The characters are of the Nāgarī alphabet. Some of the letters contain a wedge or an inverted triangle at the top as in the Makundpur stone inscription of Gāṅgēyadēva.⁵ The *mātrās* on the letters in the first line have ornamental additions. The letters are not well-formed, the record being, on the whole, carelessly written. As regards

¹ This is how the name is written in the text. It may correspond to Sanskrit *Dharmēśvara*. Marshall and Konow read *Dhanēśvara* evidently taking the *akshara* which clearly appears like *mē* to be a mistake for *nē*.

² *P. R. A. S. W. I.* for 1920-21, p. 53.

³ *M. A. S. I.*, No. 23.

⁴ *Loc. cit.*

⁵ Above, No. 47.

SARNATH STONE INSCRIPTION OF KARNA: (KALACHURI) YEAR 810



individual letters, attention may be drawn to the two forms of initial *i* used in *iti*, 1.16 and *isānī*, 1.14; *ñ* without dot in *līngam*, 1.13; the tailless left member of *kh* in *vikhyātā*, 1.19; and *n* without a loop which is met with in several places. The letters *n*, *bh* and *r* occur each in two forms; compare *n* in *-varāṇām-*, 1.4 and *karmmaṇi*, 1.17; *bh* in *bhavēt-*, 1.17 and *bhaktiā*, 1.18 and *r* in *Vapulēśvara*, 1.16 and *-vyavaharapayā*, 1.20.

The language is Sanskrit. The first nineteen lines are in verse and the remaining four in prose. The *praśasti*, as the composition is called in verse 18, has been carelessly composed. Notice, for instance, the curious mixture of *Indravajrā* and *Vasantatilakā* metres in verse 24. The name *Vappulla*, required by the metres of verses 5 and 8, is written as *Vapulla*. Verse 4 contains a clumsy metaphor describing Karṇa as a lion. The orthography shows the usual peculiarities of the reduplication of the consonant after *r*, the substitution of *v* for *b* and of *s* for *ś* as well as the use of *m* for an *anusvāra* before *v* (see *-samvatsara*, 1.20).

As nearly half the portion of the *praśasti* is lost, it is not possible to give a complete account of its contents. As usual, the record opens with a verse invoking the blessings of some deity, probably Śiva.¹ It then refers to a king whose name is lost, but who, we are told, was born from **Kōkalla**. From him was the illustrious **Karṇadēva** who is described as an impending universal destruction and as one who had planted his foot on the extremely haughty heads of eminent kings. This Karṇa is evidently the well-known Kalachuri Emperor of that name who was a terror to contemporary rulers. The first two princes mentioned in verse 2 were plainly his father **Gāṅgēyadēva** and grandfather **Kōkalla II**. Verse 3 introduces **Vappulla**² who is described as devoted to Karṇa's lotus-like feet. The following verses give his pedigree. From some distinguished person whose name is lost, was born **Vijjalarāṇaka**.³ His younger brother was **Vigraharāja** who, it seems, was the father of Vappulla (v. 8). The next two verses (9 and 10) are devoted to the description of the battles fought by Vappulla. Two of these are named in the extant portion *viṣṭ*, the *ghōṣaka-vigraha* or the **Battle of Horses** (v.9) and the **Battle of the Yellow Mountain** in which Vappulla, having defeated the forces of **Trilōchana**, equalled in glory Arjuna, who had overcome the prowess of the three-eyed god Śiva (v.10). We are next told that Vappulla erected a temple of Śiva in the village **Kādambarī** in which he caused a *līṅga* under the name of **Vapulēśvara** to be installed by sages. Another temple dedicated to **Śrīvatsa** (Vishṇu) was surrounded by four small shrines of other deities, the name of one of whom, **Lakshmī-Nārāyaṇa**, occurs in the preserved portion. The temple had in front of it a large orchard of mango and other trees. The *praśasti* was composed by **Vijhūka**⁴, the son of **Hṛishīkēśa** (v. 18).

The scribe seems to have discovered after writing v. 13 that he had omitted two verses. These he added below. The first of them is almost completely broken away; the

¹ No deity is named in the extant portion, but v. 11, which speaks of a temple of Śaṅkara erected by Vappulla, suggests that the inscription was originally put up at it. It, therefore, probably opened with a verse in praise of Śiva.

² Banerji read this name as *Vapullaka*, but in two places (vv. 5 and 8) where it occurs in the extant portion, the metre requires the readings *Vappulla* and *Vappullaka* respectively. The deity named after him was called Vapulēśvara. I have, therefore, taken the name to be *Vappulla*.

³ Banerji at first mentioned this person's name as *Lakshmana*, but that was plainly due to a mislection in 1.7 (*viṣṭ*, *Lakshmana* for *lakṣaṇa*). He has given the correct reading in *H. T. M.*, p. 130.

⁴ Banerji read the name as *Virūka*. For the form of *jḥ* used here, see *nirjḥara* in line 9 of the Kairā plates (K. 380) of Dadda II (above, No. 16). See also the form of the letter in the Chandēlla grants of the age, *I. P.*, Table V, 18, XIV.

second mentions that the wife of some person (perhaps of Vappulla himself) named Nayanāvali¹ caused an image of Umā-Mahēśvara to be made.

The inscription is dated on Thursday, the 10th tithi of the bright fortnight of Māgha in the year 812 which was the ninth year of administration rendered glorious by the illustrious Karṇa.² The tithi and the year of the date are expressed in numerical figures only. This date must evidently be referred to the Kalachuri era and regularly corresponds, for the expired year 812, to Thursday, the 4th January 1061 A.C. The tenth tithi of the bright fortnight of Māgha ended 3 h. 10 m. after mean sunrise on that day. As the expired year 812 is here said to be the ninth regnal year, Karṇa seems to have been crowned in the expired Kalachuri year 804 (1052-53 A.C.).

This was evidently his second coronation. For, we have already seen from the Banaras plates that his father Gāṅgēyadēva died in the month of Phālguna in the expired Kalachuri year 792. The month of Māgha in Karṇa's first regnal year, therefore, fell in the expired Kalachuri year 793.³ The same month in this ninth regnal year should fall in the expired Kalachuri year 801 and not in 812 as stated in the present record.⁴ Even supposing that the mistake lies in the numerical figures denoting the year, we find that the tithi in the expired Kalachuri year 801 fell on Friday, the 5th January 1050 A.C., and not on Thursday as required. The date would, therefore, appear to be irregular. On the other hand, if we suppose that Karṇa was crowned a second time in the expired Kalachuri year 804, the date would be quite regular as shown above. This second coronation in 1052-53 A.C. must have been celebrated when he was at the height of his power after annexing the Chandēlla and Pratihāra kingdoms.

The present inscription mentions two battles fought by Vappulla. The first of these, called the Battle of Horses, cannot be definitely located. The second was fought with a prince named Trilōchana at the foot of the Yellow Mountain. Mr. Banerji⁵ identified this prince with Trilōchanapāla, a descendant of Bārappa of the Chālukya dynasty who was ruling over Lāṭa (Central and Southern Gujarat) in 1051 A.C.⁶ I do not know, however, of any Yellow Mountain in Gujōerat. Two other references to this mountain are known to occur in inscriptions found at Ajayagadh. One of them which is incised on a rock near the Tīrhawan gate of the fort describes the Chandēlla Kīrtivarman as the crest-jewel of kings in the districts of the Yellow Mountain.⁷ The other inscription which is also engraved on a rock near a gate of the same fort mentions the Yellow Mountain as the place of residence of Kīrtivarman.⁸ As the mountain was thus situated in Bundelkhand, Trilōchana whose forces Vappulla is said to have defeated may be identified with the prince Trilōchanapāla who belonged to the Gurjara-Pratihāra dynasty.⁹ We know

¹ Banerji took *Pravarā* to be her proper name and *Nayanāvali* as her second name. But *pravarā* is only an adjective meaning, 'distinguished' or 'excellent'.

² A similar expression '*śrīmat-Karṇa-prakāśa-vyavaharē*' occurs in the Goharwa plates L41. In the present record in the introduction Karṇa appears to have been described as meditating on the feet of Vāmadēva.

³ Because, as shown also, the Kalachuri year was *Kārttikādi*.

⁴ D.R. Bhandarkar thinks that the ninth year is a mistake for the nineteenth year (see his *List of Inscriptions of Northern India*, p. 164, n. 7). But the regnal year is given in words (not figures) where such a mistake is unlikely.

⁵ *H.T.M.*, p. 24.

⁶ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XII, p. 201.

⁷ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, p. 353.

⁸ *A. R. A. S. I.* for 1935-36, p. 92.

⁹ Banerji makes the novel suggestion that Kīrtivarman may have gone to Sindh in the train of Karṇa! See *H.T.M.*, p. 24, n. 1.

that the Kalachuris wrested the Doab from the Pratihāras, but we do not know how long Trilōchanapāla continued to rule after 1027 A.C., the date of his Jhūsī plates.¹ If the *Mahārājādhirāja* Yaśahpāla who made the grant of a village in the Kauśāmba-maṇḍala in 1037, A.C.² belonged to the Gurjara-Pratihāra dynasty, Trilōchanapāla could not have been a contemporary of Karṇa. It is not, however, unlikely that Yaśahpāla was a prince of the Pāla dynasty who, taking advantage of the chaotic conditions in the Pratihāra kingdom due to Muhammadan invasions, established himself for a short while in the country round Allahabad. In that case Trilōchanapāla may have continued to rule at Bāri for a few years after 1027, and may have therefore suffered a defeat at the hands of Karṇa's general Vappulla.

The village Kādambārī, where the temple of Śiva was erected, I am unable to identify.³

TEXT⁴

- 1⁵ [1*] ———— ० ———— ० ० ० ० ० ० ० ———— ० ———— [सदाना]द्यद्दृष्ट्वापि स्ववेद्यं
सु[म]तिषु मुनयोपीक्षते⁶ नोपदेष्टुं (ष्टुम्) । त्रैक्षा(का)ल्यज्ञा
- 2 ० ———— ० ० ० ० ० ० ० ———— ० ———— ० ———— ० ———— तः [स]क[ल]सुकृतिनां स्वस्तये वस्तदस्तु⁷
॥[१॥*] प्रालेयाचलसागरान्तरधरान्कुत्वा व(ब)लाद्योव(ब)लान् ॥⁸ कारागार—
- 3 ० ———— ० ० ० ———— ० ———— ० ———— [1] ———— ० ० — प्रमेय⁹चरितात्कोकलदेवादभूत्तस्माद्वा—
रिधिवास्तावनिपतिः श्रीकर्णदेवोभवत् ॥¹⁰[२॥*] यो मित्र[सं]—
- 4 ० ० ० ———— ० ० ————, ———— ० ० ० ० ———— ० ० — [सु?]: ॥(1) आसन्नसर्व्व[वि]ल[य]:
क्षितिभृद्वराणामत्युच्चमस्तककृतात्मपदप्रतिष्ठः ॥¹¹[३॥*] धम्म(म्म)जेण¹²नखः पुराणचरणः
- 5 ———— ० ————, ———— ० ० ———— ० ० ० ० ———— [स*]टाभासुरः ॥ (1) वेदव्यात्तमुखः
सुनीतिनयनो होमस्फुरत्केसरो जीया[द्व]: कलिकुंजरज्वरकरः स्त्री(श्री)कर्ण—
- 6 ———— ० ————¹³[॥४॥*]¹⁴ ———— ० ० ———— ० ० ० ० ———— ० ———— ० ———— सता प्रसा(शा)—
सति महीं चेदीन्द्र)चूडामणौ [1*] तत्पादांबु(बु)जपूजने स्थिरमतिर्वपु(पु)ल्लनामा कृती
तपू(त्पू)र्व्वान्प्रथितानपि त्रिभुवने जित्वा
- 7 ० ———— ० ————[॥५॥*] ———— ० ० ———— ० ० ० ० ———— ० ———— ० वल्लक्ष्म्या लक्षितलक्षणः क्षिति[त]—
ले लक्षे(क्ष्य)कनामाभवत् ॥(1) तस्माद्विज्जलराणकोरिगहनप्रोदामदावान—

¹ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 34 f.

² *J. R. A. S.* (1927), pp. 693 ff.

³ Banerji's statements (*P. R. A. S. W. C.* 1920-21, p. 53) that line 12 mentions a village named *Tarmma* which is said to be well-known in the *Kādambārī* and that the scribe was an inhabitant of the village of *Tarmma* (l. 18) are clearly due to mislections of *nirmma*[*lō**] in l. 12 and *tammim* (for *tasmin*) in l. 18.

⁴ From inked estampages kindly supplied by the Government Epigraphist.

⁵ As the temple where the inscription was put up was dedicated to Śiva, the present record may have opened with ओं नमः शिवाय.

⁶ Read —पीक्षते.

⁷ Metre: *Sragdharā*.

⁸ These *dayāḥ* are superfluous.

⁹ The sense requires a reading like अप्रमेय—.

¹⁰ Metre: *Sārdūlavikrīḍita*.

¹¹ Metre: *Vasantatilakā*.

¹² Read —ज्ञान—.

¹³ These four *akṣaras* may be conjecturally restored as —सिंहो नृपः.

¹⁴ Metre of this and the two following verses: *Sārdūlavikrīḍita*.

- 8 [लः*] ---००-०-०००---०---०- [॥६॥*] [तः*]स्यानुजो निजगुणार्जित-
साधुस(श)ब्दो(ब्दो) वीरो व(व)भूव भुवि विग्रहराजनामा [॥*] येनाहवे निहतवैरिविला-
सिनीभिः [स्मृ]-
- 9 -०-०००-००-०---¹[॥७॥*] ---०-०००-००-०- [जौ] विश्रामपात्रमभव-
[च्च] स वीरलक्ष्म्याः । वपु(पु)ल्लकेति च कृतं निजनाम पित्रा यः पूर्ववीरसमतामनय-
१० ०--- [॥८॥*] ---०००-०-०००---०---०---द्वयं² आरुह्योः ततः सुरे³-
समुचितान्सन्दर्शयन्वेष्टितान⁴ । लोके घोटकविग्रहेति वि-
११ ०---०---०---,---०००-०-०००--- [सु?]चन्द्रे ततः ॥⁵[१॥*] यः पीत-
पर्वततला(ले) समरे घृतासिज्जित्वा त्रिलोचनव(व)लं तुलि[ता]र्जु[न]श्रीः⁶[॥*] आवस्तको-
१२ ०००-०००-०---,---०-०००-००-०--- ⁷[॥१०॥*] स क्षितिमलंकरिष्णुः
ससीव⁸ गुणकिरणनिर्मल[लो*] ग्रामे । कादंव(व)र्या(यं)भिधाने⁹ अकारयच्छंकरायतनं(नम्)॥
[११॥*]¹⁰
- १३ ---०००-०-०००---०---०---,---स्तं मुनिभिर्यथोक्तविधिना लिङ्गं प्रतिष्ठा-
पितं(तम्) । यत्प्रारंभदिनादनु प्रतिदिनं श्रीः पुत्रपौत्रानुगा जाता चं-
१४ ००-०-०००---०---०- [॥१२॥*]¹¹ ---००- [क्ष]णः सि(शि)वकृते
श्रीवत्सनामा कृतः ।¹² पार्श्वे(स्व) देवकुलीचतुष्ट[य*]युतस्तासु क्रमाद्देवताः । ईसाने¹³
१५ ०००-०-०००---०---०---,---०००-०-०००- लक्ष्मीस्सनारायणा ॥ [१३*]॥
तस्यानेकस(श)ताम्रां व(व)द्विधविटपां च वाटिकां पुरतः । सज-
१६ [ल*]¹⁴ [॥१४॥*] ---०---०००-०---,
सांतः(सान्तः)पुरे ससुतभृत्ययुते प्रसन्नः । भूयाच्च कल्पान्तमनल्पपूज[ः*] श्रीवपु(पु)ल्लेश्वर
इति प्रथित[ः*] सि(शि)वो-
१७ [व*]¹⁵ [॥१५॥*] [॥*] [स]-
हिता¹⁶ [॥१६॥*] यद्यत्र कर्मणि सि(शि) वाय निवेद्यमाने लग्नं भवेत्त्वचन किंचन कांचनं
मे [॥*] पुण्येन तेन ज-
१८ ०-००-०---,---०-०००-००-०--- [॥१७॥*]¹⁷ ०-०---०००-०---, ०

¹ Metre: of this and the following verse: *Vasantatilakā*.

² The *sandhi* is avoided here due to the exigency of the metre.

³ The word सुर does not suit the metre here. Read स्वयं.

⁴ Read -समुचितान्सन्दर्शयन्वेष्टितान्. चेष्टित, however, is neuter in gender.

⁵ Metre: *Sārdūlavikrīḍita*.

⁶ Banerji read मुनिविज्जलश्री, but the first two *akṣaras* are clearly तुलि, the third though somewhat indistinct can be read as ता; the following *akṣara* is evidently र्जु which leaves little doubt about the rest. Besides, the reading given above makes the double *entendre* on त्रिलोचन possible. See below, p. 284, n. 1.

⁷ Metre: *Vasantatilakā*.

⁸ Read शसीव.

⁹ The hiatus here is due to the exigency of the metre.

¹⁰ Metre: *Āryā*.

¹¹ Metre of this and the following verse: *Sārdūlavikrīḍita*.

¹² This *danḍa* is superfluous.

¹³ Read ऐशान्या.

¹⁴ Metre: *Āryā* or *Gīti*.

¹⁵ The metre seems here to be a combination of *Indravajrā* and *Vasantatilakā*.

¹⁶ One verse is almost completely lost here; the cadence of the last three *akṣaras* which are preserved suggests that the metre was *Āryā* or *Gīti*.

¹⁷ Metre: *Vasantatilakā*.

A.—REWA STONE INSCRIPTION OF KARNA: (KALACHURI) YEAR 812



२
 ४
 ६
 ८
 १०
 १२
 १४
 १६
 १८
 २०

—स्य पंचायतनं सि(शि)वस्य । तस्मिन्ह¹षीकेशसुतेन भक्त्या विज्ञूकनाम्ना रचिता प्रस(श)—
स्तिः ॥² [१८॥*]

19 विप्राणां(णाम्)
[॥१९॥*]³ तस्य च पत्नी प्रवरा नाम्ना नयनावलीति विख्याता [१*] साकारयन्मनोज्ञा(ज्ञां)
सोमां माहेश्वरीं प्रतिमां(माम्) ॥⁴[२०॥*]

20 [वाम ?]⁵[दे]वपादा[नु]द्यात⁶—
संवत्सत(र) ८१२ श्रीमत्कर्णप्रकास(श)व्यवहरणया नवमसम्बत्सरे⁷ माघसुदि १० गु[री]

21⁸ लिखापिता⁹ प्रस(श)—
स्तिः ॥ कल्पस्थायिनी भवत(तु) [१*] मंगल¹⁰ महाश्रीः ॥०॥

22 ओं नमो भगवते वासु—
देवाय । ओ(ओं) नमो गणपतये ॥¹¹

23 ओं नमः[१*]

TRANSLATION

[Om! Adoration to Siva.]

(Verse 1) May that [form of Siva], which, an object of their knowledge, even the sages who know what happens in the three times (*i.e.*, in the past, present and future) are unable to describe, though they have seen it, to (*persons of*) good minds of all virtuous persons, lead to your well-being.

(V. 2) There was (*born*) from Kōkalladēva (II) of incomprehensible actions, [Gāṅgēyadēva] who, having with his might rendered powerless the lords of the earth extending from the snow-mountain to the ocean, [threw them] into prison. From him was (*born*) the illustrious Karṇadēva, the lord of the earth surrounded by the ocean.

(V. 3) Who [made over] to his friends. . . . ; (*who was*) the impending universal destruction; (*and*) who planted his foot on the extremely haughty heads of the foremost among kings.¹²

(V. 4) May the king, [a lion in the form of] the illustrious Karṇa, be triumphant!—(*he*) whose nails are the knowledge of the sacred law; whose legs are the Purāṇas; who appears dreadful with his mane of. . . . ; whose open mouth is the Vēdas; whose eyes are good policy; whose shining hair is the sacrifice; (*and*) who causes fever to the elephant that is the Kali age.

(V. 5) While (Karṇa), the foremost (*lit.*, crest-jewel) of the kings of Chēdi, is ruling the earth, the wise (*man*) named Vappulla, who is firmly attached to the worship of his lotus-like feet, having subdued those who had previously attained fame in three worlds,

¹ Read तस्मिन्हृषीकेश—.

² Metre: Upajāti.

³ One verse in *Āryā* or *Gīti* is almost completely lost here.

⁴ Metre: *Āryā*.

⁵ The words in the beginning of l. 20 may be conjecturally supplied as श्रीपरममट्टारकमहारजधिराज-परमेश्वरश्री—.

⁶ This expression should precede श्रीमत्कर्ण—.

⁷ Read —संवत्सरे.

⁸ I am unable to suggest any restoration of the *akṣaras* lost in the beginning of this line.

⁹ Read लेखिता.

¹⁰ Read मंगलं.

¹¹ This and the following line are incised in the right-hand corner.

¹² There may be a play on the word *kṣitibhrīt*. The description in that case would equally apply to the sun at the time of world-destruction.

(V. 6) was born—(*he*) whose good qualities were marked by the goddess of fortune, (*and*) whose name alone was noteworthy on the surface of the earth. From him (*was born*) **Vijjalarāṇaka**, the raging wild fire to the forests which were his enemies.

(V. 7) His younger brother **Vigraharāja**, a warrior, who earned praise by his excellences, was (*born*) on the earth; the wives of the enemies killed by whom, having remembered.

(V. 8) In battle he became the resting place of the goddess of heroism,—(*he*) who made his name **Vappullaka**, given to him by his father equal (*in fame*) to (*those of*) the heroes of old.

(V. 9) Having mounted the two mighty. . . and exhibiting deeds worthy of a god. [fought the battle known] as the **Battle of Horses**.

(V. 10) He, sword in hand, having defeated at the foot of the **Yellow Mountain**, the army of **Trilōchana** equalled the glory of Arjuna¹ (*who overpowered the might of the three-eyed god Śiva*).

(V. 11) Gracing the earth like the moon, he, being stainless with his excellences, as the moon is with her rays, caused a temple of Śaṅkara to be constructed in the village called **Kādambarī**.

(V. 12) [Where] (*this*) *linga* was installed by sages according to the rite laid down (*in the sacred texts*); since the day of whose installation the goddess of fortune has day after day attended the sons and grandsons.

(V. 13) [In the temple]. was installed (*the image?*) named **Śrīvatsa**, being surrounded by four small shrines; in them (*were installed*) the (*following*) deities in order—on the north-eastern (*side*). (*and*) **Lakṣmī** together with **Nārāyaṇa**.

(V. 14) In front of it (*i. e.*, the temple) [*he* planted] a garden containing hundreds of mango trees and various (*other*) kinds of trees. [with a well full of] water.

(V. 15) May Śiva who is known as the holy **Vappulēśvara** receive (*here*) abundant worship to the end of the world and be gracious to [**Vappulla**] together with (*the inmates of*) his inner apartment, his sons and servants.

(V. 16) together with

(V. 17) By the religious merit [*which I may have acquired*] by what gold of mine has been spent on this work which is dedicated to Śiva.

(V. 18) [*He* built] a five-shrined temple of Śiva. In it the son of **Hṛṣhikēśa** named **Vijhūka** has, with devotion, composed this *prastāvi*.

(V. 19) of the **Brāhmaṇas**

(V. 20) His distinguished wife is known by the name of **Nayanāvalī**. She caused a beautiful image of **Mahēśvara** together with **Umā** to be made.

(Line 20) (*This*) *Prastāvi* [was caused to be written] on **Thursday**, the 10th (lunar day) of the bright (fortnight) of **Māgha** in the year 812 in the ninth year of administration rendered glorious by the illustrations **Karṇa** who meditates on the feet of [*the Paramabhaṭṭāraka, Mahārājādhirāja, Paramēśvara*, the illustrious] **Vāmadēva**. May it last to the end of the world! May there be bliss and great prosperity! **Om!** Obeisance to the divine **Vāsudēva**! **Om!** Obeisance to **Gaṇapati**. **Om!** Obeisance!

¹ There is a play on the word *Trilōchana* meaning (1) a king of that name and (2) the god Śiva. For Arjuna's fight with Śiva see the *Mahābhārata*, Vanaparvan, adhyāya 167, vv. 9 ff.

No. 54; PLATE XLIII B

BRITISH MUSEUM PLATE OF KARNA

THIS is a single copper-plate which, together with its ring and seal, was presented by Sir A. W. Franks to the British Museum, London, and is now preserved in that Museum. It seems to have been discovered somewhere in the Uttar Pradesh, but its exact find-spot is not known. It is edited here for the first time from excellent photostat copies kindly supplied by the Director of the Museum.

This is the first of the two copper-plates forming a set, which recorded the grant of some Kalachuri king of Tripurī, probably Karṇa, the son of Gāṅgēyadēva. It measures 1' 5½" broad and 12¼" high. It has a ring and a large seal 3¼" in diameter. The weight of the plate is 10 lbs. and that of the ring and seal 6 lbs. and 1 oz. The writing on it is in a state of excellent preservation.

The plate is inscribed on one side only. It has a hole 1" in diameter at the bottom of the inscribed side for the ring which must have originally held together the two plates of the set. The plate contains twenty-one lines of writing. The average size of the letters is .4". The seal, though it resembles that of the Goharwa plates in the disposition of the figures, symbols and legend on it, was evidently cast from a different mould. The figures of Lakshmi and the elephants are much better executed here than on the seal of the Goharwa plates.¹

The characters are of the Nāgarī alphabet, and generally resemble those of the Goharwa plates. Some of the individual letters like *ś* and *bh* are, however, shaped as in the Banaras plates; the upper loop of *th* is slightly open in *-pathagān-*, l.12 and the sign of *avagraha* occurs once only in l.13. The record is very carelessly written. The writer has confused *y*, *ś* and *bh*, as well as *t* and *bh*. In one case he has not even incised an *akshara* completely. See *tū* in *-tūrya-*, l.14. In a few places the record is so corrupt, that it would have been well-nigh impossible to restore the correct text without the help of the Goharwa plates. But strange as it might appear, the present record has helped in the restoration of verse 9 which though it occurs in both the Goharwa plates and the Rewa stone inscription² is incorrectly written in the former and is partly mutilated in the latter.

The language is Sanskrit and except for the word *siddhiḥ* in the beginning, the extant portion is wholly in verse. There are, in all, twenty-one verses, of which the first twenty are completely written. The record breaks off after the first two *aksharas* of the second half of the twenty-first verse. The orthography shows the usual peculiarities of the substitution of *v* for *b* and *ś* for *ś*, the reduplication of a consonant after *r* and so forth.

The record, so far as it goes, is identical with the Goharwa plates. The genealogy of the donor is traced from the moon down to Karṇa, the son of Gāṅgēyadēva. On the present plate the inscription ends abruptly in the middle of the description of Karṇa and before the commencement of the formal part of the grant. It is not, therefore, possible to say definitely who actually made the grant. But, as the draft of the eulogistic portion of the Goharwa plates, which is used here, is not known to have been adopted by any successors of Karṇa, the present grant was probably made by Karṇa himself. As the second plate is not forthcoming, all details such as the object, occasion and date of the grant are lost.

¹ Above, No. 50.

² Above, No. 51.

TEXT¹

- 1 सिद्धिः।। निर्गुणं व्यापकं निः[त्यं] सि(शि)वं परमकारणं(णम्) । ता(भा)वन्न(ग्रा)-
[ह्यं] परं ज्योतिस्तस्मै सद्गुणस्वणे² नसः(मः) ॥³[१॥*] सु(शु)द्धे हृदयक्षेत्रे वल्लीमिव -
रोव(प)यन्ति यां मुनयः । सो(मो)-
- 2 क्षस(म)हाफलजननी त्रा(त्रा)ह्नी सूक्ष्मापि सा ज[य]ति ॥⁴[२॥*] क्षीरोदधेरपरिमेस(य)स-
(सु)धानिधानसा(मा)विर्व्व(व्वं)भूव भवभ(भू)षणमिन्दुरेपः । अस्मा[द]जाव⁵ दु(वु)धः स
- 3 किल क्षी(क्षि)तीस(श)या(मा)द्यं पुरुषवसमाप तनूजरत्नस(म्) ॥⁶[३॥*] इति [महति] सुधामयू-
खवन्से⁷ नृपतिरजायत मो(मौ)क्तिकायमानः । अल[भ]त [भ]द(र)तः स व(च)क-
- 4 वत्ती(र्त्ती) त्रिभुवत(न)भूषणभूषमेक एव ॥⁸[४॥*] तत्रोदितोदितकू(कु)ले जगतीपतीनासी-
(मी)सः(शः) क्रमादजनि हैहयचक्रवत्ता(र्त्ती) । यस(स्य) प्रचण्डभुजप[ञ्ज]रस(म)-
- 5 ध्यवत्ती(र्त्ती) कारागृहे वृ(धृ)त इव व्र(प्र)सभं दसा(शा)स्यः ॥⁹[५॥*] [वै]¹⁰रे(रि)घा-
(ध्वा)[न्तभिदः] सहस्रकरतो सू(भू)पालचूडाग(म)णि(णे)र्यस्मादद्भुत¹¹वा(वा)हुव(व)न्ध-
विधुरो नक्त(क्तं)र(च)रग्रामी(म)णीः [१*]
- 6 हेलोल्लासितवा(वा)हुदण्डविहितश्रीक(कं)ठसे(शै)लोष्ट(ट्ट)ति[*] प्राग्वि(ग्वि)क्रान्तस(म)-
मता(न्य)त स्वयमपि स्वप्नेन्द्रजाला(लो)प[म*]म् ॥¹²[६॥*] स(य)ज्ञान(नि)धूमः
परितोषिवेद्रा¹³-
- 7 [त्त]स्मादभूवन्ध(न्ध)[ह]वो नरे(रें)द्राः । राष्ट्रे न येषां चि(चि)रराम यू(वृ)ष्टिर्व्विपक्षनारा(री)-
नयनास्तु(म्बु)वाहैः ॥¹⁴[७॥*] पं(वं)गाल[भङ्ग]नि[पु]पः(णः) परिभू[त]पाण्ड्यो
लाटेस(श)लुष्टनपटु-
- 8 जिजतगूज्ज(ज्जं)रेन्द्रः । कस्मीरवीरमुकुटचिन्त¹⁵पाव(द)पीठस्तेषु क्रमादजनि लक्ष्मणराजदे-
[व]ः ॥¹⁶[८॥*] आस(सी)द्यन्ध(द्धि)जयप्रयाणजनितव्यायामखे¹⁷दो-
- 9 दयाल्यूज्जत्सैनिकगन्धसिन्धुरसि(शि)रःसिद्धरपूरारुणः । त्वंगतुंगतरंगताडे(डि)तमहाक्षोणीभू-
दंभोनिधिः पूर्णो वैरिक्ठोरकण्ठदलनासू-
- 10 विसन्धुपुरे(रै)रिव¹⁸॥[९॥*] साहित्यविद्याललनाभुजङ्गा(ङ्गो) निःसे(शे)षघात्रीघरणाय से(शे)-

¹ From photostats kindly supplied by the Keeper, Department of Oriental Printed Books and Manuscripts, British Museum, London.

² Read -द्गुणस्वणे.

³ Metre: *Anushṭubh*.

⁴ Metre: *Āryā*.

⁵ Read -जायत.

⁶ Metre: *Vasantatilakā*.

⁷ Read -वन्से.

⁸ Metre: *Pushpitāgrā*.

⁹ Metre: *Vasantatilakā*.

¹⁰ The engraver first incised वै and afterwards changed it to वै.

¹¹ त, which was at first omitted, is written below the line.

¹² Metre: *Sārdūlavikrīḍita*.

¹³ Read परितोषितेन्द्रा-

¹⁴ Metre: *Upajāti*.

¹⁵ Read काश्मीरवीरमुकुटचिन्त-

¹⁶ Metre: *Vasantatilakā*.

¹⁷ सि, which was first incised, is altered to से.

¹⁸ Metre: *Sārdūlavikrīḍita*.

- यः । ततः स जज्ञे जगदेकं [द्य] ग्वे (श्चे) दां (दीं) द्रचंद्रो सु (यु) वराजदेवः ॥¹ [१०॥*] यौव-
 11 वे (ने) न तनौ यस्य प्रता [पे] नाविमूढं (ढं) सु । कुलाद्रिकु (कुं) जेप्व (ज्व) रिति (भि) स्त्रिति-
 (भि) स्तु [त्यं] पदं दरे (धे) ॥² [११॥*] भूभारक्षमदृक्स्तु (क्थु) तिप्रणयिनीमालम्ब (म्ब) मा-
 नस्तनुं कुब्वा (व्वा) णः समरे-
 12 पि नाकपथगानाग [च्छ] तो वे (वि) द्विषः । वरूयावा³ भ (भु) वि भूरिमागंगमनामुच्चैर्दधद्वाहि-
 ना (नीं) यः साक्षात्परम (मे) स्व (श्व) रः समत (भ) वत्सम्यक्सि (क्षि) चा (वा) राधसा (ना)-
 त (त्) ॥⁴ [१२॥*] दि-
 13 व्यद्वन्त⁵ निखातयूपनिचयः क्षमापालरू (चू) ढामणि यस्मा⁶ दद्दु (द्भु) तद्विक्रमः [*] क्रमवसा (शा) त्को-
 कल्लनामाऽभवता (त्) । चक्र (क्रे) यद्विजयप्रयाणपणवः स्वर्गागना-
 14 संगना (भा) रंभे नं (मं) गल [तू] र्यकार्यमहित [क्षो] णीपतीनां रसन्⁷ ॥ [१३॥*] आसा (शा)-
 जये समर⁸ सिधुरगंधरोषाद्यस्योद्यदाय [त] कराः ककु [क] (भां) क-
 15 रा (रीं) द्राः । तू (फू) त्कारमत्रमिव⁹ खेचरनायकस्य चक्रुः कपे (पो) लमधुपध्वनिभिर्निरासाः (शाः)
 ॥¹¹ [१४॥*] यस्म (स्मि) न्सुखैकप्रसवे प्रजाना (नां) चेतोसिके¹²
 16 वसत¹³ भ (?) वर्त्तमाने । तत्वे (त्वे) परस्म (स्मि) सि (क्षि) व योगसा (भा) जा (जां) नि¹⁴ तन्तम-
 स्तप्तससा मूलीच [म्] ॥¹⁵ [१५॥*] आ [क्राम] द्दुदं (द्व्वं) वा (त्र) हा (ह्या) ण्ड [सं] सट्टसातेतं
 यगः¹⁶
 17 या (म) न्ये यस्य (स्ये) दुनक्षत्रताराद्याकरिता गतम¹⁷ ॥¹⁸ [१६॥*] हा (का) रापंजररुद्धकीरनूप-
 सेदीराङ्गलक्ष्मीवारे¹⁹ स्तस्मात्कुम्भ (न्त) लभ (भं) गभंगिर [सि] का (को) मा (गां)-
 18 गेयदेवोभव [त] ॥ (।) येनाकारि करोद्रकु (कुं) भदलनव्यापारं (र) सारात्मना निज्जं (जिज्ज)-
 त्योः कलमब्धि (ब्धि) सीमिनि विजयस्तम्भः स्वकीयो भुजः ॥²⁰ [१७॥*] अगुण-
 19 ज्ञेति लोलेति ह्यातं यदिह दुज्जं (व्यं) सः (शः) । लक्ष्मा (क्ष्म्या) स्तधुना धो (धो) तं द (दि) [व्य] मादाय
 तद्वपुः ॥²¹ [१८॥*] अति [म] नोर [ध] (ध) मर्थिजने धनं दिस (श) ति यत्र स कल्पत-
 20 [ह] स्तरुः । रिमु (पु) यसः (शः) कुसु (मु) दाकरता (भा) स्करः सुतमसूत स क [र्ण] [न] रा-
 धिप [म्] ॥²² [१९॥*] आक्र (क्रा) न्तदृप्तसात (म) न्तप्रतापप्रसरद (दि) व । [चर*]-

¹ Metre: *Upajāti*.

² Metre: *Anuṣṭubh*.

³ Read विरूयातां.

⁴ Metre of this and the following verse: *Sārdūlavikrīḍita*.

⁵ Read दिक्पयन्त-.

⁶ Read चूडामणेर्यस्मा-

⁷ The curve on the left of the vertical of this *akṣhara* has not been incised.

⁸ The Goharwa plates read भूसं (सम्) here. The Rewa stone inscription has the same reading as here.

⁹ The Goharwa plates read समद-.

¹⁰ Read -मार्त-.

¹¹ Metre: *Vasantatilakā*.

¹² Read तेजोनिधौ.

¹³ Read चेतसि.

¹⁴ Read नितान्तमन्तस्तमसा प्रलीनम्.

¹⁵ Metre: *Upajāti*.

¹⁶ Read -संघट्टस्फुटितं यशः.

¹⁷ Read -ताराद्याकारतां गतम्.

¹⁸ Metre: *Anuṣṭubh*.

¹⁹ Read -कीरनूपतिर्दीप्तोङ्गलक्ष्मीचयै- as in the Goharwa plates.

²⁰ Metre: *Sārdūlavikrīḍita*.

²¹ Metre: *Anuṣṭubh*.

²² Metre: *Drutavilambita*.

21 णे(णौ) रणसे(शौ)ण्डस(स्य) सोष्माणा(णौ) यस्य रेजतुः ॥¹ [२०॥*] [स्फु]र[द्धचां]
[वज्रचक्राभ्यां]² सङ्ग³ध्याजेन हस्तयोः । व(व)सा(भा)[र] यः ।⁴ सय⁵

(The second plate is not forthcoming.)

Seal

श्रीमत्कर्णदेवः ॥

TRANSLATION

(For a translation of vv. 1-21, see above, pp. 259-61.)

Seal

The illustrious Kārṇadēva.

No. 55; PLATE XLIV

SIMRA STONE INSCRIPTION OF KARNA

THE stone bearing this inscription is fixed upside down into the plinth of a pavilion at *Simrā*, a village about 10 miles north-west of Murwārā, the chief town of the Murwārā *tahsil* of the Jabalpur District, Madhya Pradesh. It was first referred to by Rai Bahadur Hiralal in the *Jubbulpore District Gazetteer*, p. 185, and subsequently in his *Inscriptions in the Central Provinces and Berar*.⁶ It is edited here for the first time from inked estampages kindly supplied by the Superintendent of Archaeological Survey, Central Circle, Patna.

The inscription which is in a state of good preservation, contains four lines. The writing covers a space measuring 3' 5" broad by 11" high. The average size of the letters is 1.8". The characters belong to the Nāgarī alphabet of about the 11th century A.C. The language is Sanskrit. The inscription is very carelessly written. As regards orthography the vowel *i* is used for *yī* in *vijai*, l. 1, *naya* is written several times for the conjunct *nya*, *rī* for the vowel *ri* in *krītam*, l. 4, and *l* for *r* in *Lāntī* in l. 3.

The inscription refers itself to the victorious reign⁷ of the *Bhaṭṭārakaprabha*, the illustrious Kārṇa, who, judging by the characters and provenance of the present inscription, seems to be identical with the well-known Kalachuri king of that name. The object of the inscription appears to be to record the death of some persons who are said to have gone to the holy world. It is not stated on what occasion they lost their lives.⁸ The record ends with the statement that the commemorative stone was put up by Janāda (Janārdana?).

As stated above, the stone is built upside down into the plinth of a pavilion, which shows that it is not in its original position.

¹ Metre of this and the following verse: *Anuṣṭubh*.

² The letters in the brackets are not clear.

³ Perhaps —लिङ्गध्याजेन is intended. The Goharwa plates have एकाध्याजेन which is not quite satisfactory.

⁴ This *daṇḍa* is superfluous.

⁵ Read यः द्वयः. The Goharwa plates complete the verse as—साक्षादिन्द्रोपेन्द्रविजं (जं) भिनीं (नीम्) ॥

⁶ First ed., p. 40; second ed. p., 43. Cunningham, who visited Simrā in 1883-84, does not appear to have noticed this inscription.

⁷ Instead of the usual expression *pravardhamāna-vijaya-rājyā*, we have here *vijai(yī)bhava[ti*]*.

⁸ Since the name of Kārṇa is mentioned in the beginning, it may be conjectured that they met with death in some battle of that king.

SIMRA STONE INSCRIPTION OF KARNA

Left Half



Right Half



TEXT¹

- 1 स्वस्त(स्ति) [1*] श्रीभटा(ट्टा) रक्प(प्र) भस्त्रि²श्रि(श्री) मत्[क] ण्णदेव वीजइ भव³
- 2 हेमदोपली गोपी पुनयलोके⁴ । मलोरा[ग्रा]जा[जः?] पुनयलोके⁴ ।
- 3 तडपलाउती⁵ शु(?) विष्टला(लः) [पु]नयलोके⁴ । [क]देही पुनयलो-
- 4 की⁶ [1*][की]तं⁷ जनादेन⁷ ।

TRANSLATION

Hail! During the victorious reign of the *Bhottāarakaprabha*, the illustrious Karṇa, Hēmadōpalī Gōpī (*has gone*) to the holy world, Malōrāgrāja (*has gone*) to the holy world, the Rānt Taipa Suvashṭhala (*has gone*) to the holy world, (and) Kaidēhī (*has gone*) to the holy world. (*This record*) was put up by Janāda (Janārdana?).

No. 56; PLATE XLV

KHAIRHA PLATES OF YASAHKARNA: (KALACHURI) YEAR 823

THESE plates were found enclosed in a large stone chest at Khairhā,⁸ a village in Vindhya Pradesh, about eight miles south-west of the Burhar railway station on the Katni-Bilaspur Branch of the Bengal Nagpur Railway. They were published, with a lithograph and a translation, by Rai Bahadur Hiralal in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XII, pp. 205 ff. They are edited here from excellent ink-impressions kindly supplied by the Government Epigraphist for India.

They are two copper-plates, each measuring 1' 6.8" in breadth and 1' 1.5" in height. They were held together by a stout ring, passing through a hole about .8" in diameter at the top of each plate. Its ends were not originally soldered. To the ring is attached a bell-shaped seal, on the counter-sunk circular surface of which appears in relief a rudely executed figure of Lakshmi attended by an elephant on either side, pouring water on her head. Below this is the legend *Srīmad-Yasahkarṇadēvaḥ* in a single line across the diameter. At the bottom of all is the figure of the couchant Nandī facing proper right, with an incense-pot on either side. The total weight of the plates and the seal is 14 seers and 25 tolas.

The inscription is in a state of excellent preservation. There are forty-four lines in all, of which twenty-one are written on the inner side of the first plate, and the remaining twenty-three on that of the second. The average size of the letters is .5". The characters are of the Nāgarī alphabet. Attention may be drawn to the two forms of the initial *i*—the older one in *Chhītapāṭ*, l. 30 and the later one in *iva*, l. 6, the sign of the rare *ṣi* which appears as a subscript letter in *-kṣīpta*, l. 16, and the medial *n* which is added to the left limb of *j* in *jugupsatē*, l. 8 and to the right side of the vertical of *y* in *-nāmany=udgamān*, l. 16. The sign of *avagraha* occurs in ll. 11, 15 and 39, and a vertical dash at the end of l. 27. In other respects the characters resemble those of the Goharwa plates of Karṇa.

¹ From inked estampages.

² This *akshara* is superfluous.

³ Read कर्णदेवे विजयीभवति.

⁴ Read पुण्यलोके.

⁵ Perhaps तडप राउतः was intended.

⁶ Read कुत.

⁷ Perhaps जनार्दनेन was intended.

⁸ The place is named Khairā in the Degree Map 64 E.

The language is Sanskrit. The first twenty-two lines contain twenty-four verses composed in the *kāvya* style, eulogising the donor and his ancestors. They are followed by a prose portion (ll. 22-31), containing the formal part of the grant and the usual benedictive and imprecatory verses (ll. 31-44). The record ends with the mention of the writer's name and the customary blessing, *maṅgalaṁ mahā-śrīḥ*. The following orthographical peculiarities may also be noticed:—the palatal *ś* is generally written as the dental *s* (see, e.g., *-rāśi-* and *-sat-ōpabhōgyā-*, both in l. 3), while the reverse also occurs in two places, *-bhāśi*, l. 19 and *śalila-*, l. 38; the sign for *v* is everywhere employed to denote *b*, see *Vrahmaṇē*, l. 1 and *-avdhi-*, l. 2; the consonant following *r* is often reduplicated, see *chanidr-ārka-*, l. 14, *svarggē*, l. 36; finally, the *anusvāra* before the dental *s* is wrongly changed to *n* in *-vansa-*, l. 6.

The plates were issued by Yaśaḥkarṇa of the Later Kalachuri Dynasty. His pedigree is traced to Viṣṇu. After the mythological and legendary ancestors Brahmā, Atri, the moon, Purūravas, Bharata and Kārtavīrya, the first historical personage mentioned here is Yuvarājadēva, who is identical with the second prince of that name mentioned in the Bilhāri stone inscription and the Banaras plates of Karṇa. His son Kōkalla (II) is said to have been placed on the throne by the chief ministers of the realm. Kōkalla's son was Gāṅgēyadēva who became famous as Vikramāditya. In the course of his description we are told that wishing to run away from him the king of Kuntala ceased to wield his spear.¹ Gāṅgēya died with his hundred wives at the foot of the banyan tree at Prayāga. His son and successor was Karṇadēva who constructed at Banaras a high temple which he named *Karṇamēru*² after himself. He also established a settlement of the Brāhmaṇas called *Karṇāvatī*. He married a Hūṇa princess named Āvalladēvī. From her he had a son named Yaśaḥkarṇa whom he himself crowned king. Yaśaḥkarṇa routed the Andhra king and worshipped the god Bhīmēśvara near the Gōdāvarī.

The present plates were granted at Banaras³ by Yaśaḥkarṇa who is described in the formal portion exactly like his father Karṇa in the Goharwa plates. They record the royal donation of the village Deulā-Pañchēla situated in the *pattalā* of Dēvagrāma in the *uddēśa* (district?) of Vāsudēva. The donee was a Brāhmaṇa named Gāṅgādhara, the son of Chhitapaī and grandson of Sīā, who belonged to the Kāṇva *gōtra* with three *pravaras*,⁴ and was a student of the Rīgvēda. The grant was made on the occasion of a *saṅkrānti* on Sunday, the fourteenth tithi of the bright fortnight of Phālguna in the year 823 (expressed in numerical figures only) of an unspecified era. The record was written by Vāchchhūka, the writer of religious documents.

The date of the present grant must evidently be referred to the Kalachuri era, but the details do not work out correctly. The fourteenth tithi of the bright fortnight of Phālguna in the Kalachuri year 823, if we take it to be expired as usual, fell on the 6th March 1072 A.C., when the week-day was Tuesday, not Sunday as required. Besides, the Mīna-saṅkrānti did not fall on that day but had taken place on the 22nd of February of that year, which was a Wednesday. Taking the year as current, we find that the aforementioned tithi fell on Wednesday (the 16th February 1071 A.C.), and not on Sunday,

¹ Hiralal took the sentence *yasmād va(ba)bhāra* to mean that Gāṅgēyadēva restored Kuntala to its king (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XII, p. 207). But this interpretation is wrong, see below p. 297, n. 4. The king of Kuntala defeated by Gāṅgēyadēva was probably Jayasīma-Jagadēkamalla, who ruled from about 1015 to 1042 A. C. and was thus a contemporary of Gāṅgēyadēva.

² See below, p. 297, n. 5.

³ See the words 'here in Kāśī' in verse 13 of the text.

⁴ Only two of these are named in ll. 29-30, *vīz*, Āpla(na)va(vā)na and Jāmadagnī(gnya). The third was probably Aurva. See below, p. 295, n. 6.

while the Mīna-saṅkrānti took place five days later on Monday, the 21st February. In 1073 A.C., though it would not suit the epoch of the era (*viç.*, 247-48 A.C.) as finally determined by Dr. Kielhorn, the *tithi* according to Mr. Sewell's calculations¹ fell on Sunday (the 24th February 1073 A.C.), but the Mīna-saṅkrānti had taken place three days earlier, on the 21st February. None of these dates would, therefore, suit; but Rai Bahadur Hiralal, who first edited the present plates, preferred the last of them on the ground that in that case, the *tithi* at least is found to agree with the week-day. As for the discrepancy of the saṅkrānti he conjectured that 'the record was possibly dated on the day on which it was actually handed over to the donee, though the grant was made on the auspicious saṅkrānti day².' The statement in the original plates is, however, quite clear. It couples the saṅkrānti with the *tithi* and the week-day. Besides, the date in 1073 A.C. would not, as already remarked, suit Kielhorn's epoch of the Kalachuri era, the reliability of which in regard to the later dates of the era is now beyond question. The mistake, therefore, must lie somewhere else.

The only year in the period from 1060 A.C. to 1100 A.C., in which the Mīna-saṅkrānti, the *tithi* and the week-day came close together is 1076 A.C. In that year the fourteenth *tithi* of the bright half of Phālguna ended 17 h. 20 m. after mean sunrise on Sunday, the 21st February and, therefore, gave its number to that day. The Mīna-saṅkrānti also took place 1 h. 15 m. after sunrise on the following day³. The year 1076 A.C. would not, however, correspond to the Kalachuri year 823. There appears to be some mistake in the last numeral of the date. The Kalachuri year, if expired, must have been 827. The date of the Christian era, corresponding to the saṅkrānti, is, therefore, Monday, the 22nd February 1076 A.C.

The present grant refers to Yaśaḥkaraṇa's victory over an Andhra king. The latter was probably Vijayāditya VII who ruled from *circa* 1061 to 1076 A.C.⁴ After vanquishing him, Yaśaḥkaraṇa is said to have worshipped Bhīmēśvara with jewellery. From the description given here, this temple of Bhīmēśvara seems to have been situated near the Gōḍāvarī. There are several temples of Bhīmēśvara in the Gōḍāvarī District, but from the description given here, the temple at Drākshārām in the Rāmchandrapuram *tālukā* seems to be intended. 'The real centre of religious interest at Drākshārām is the temple of Bhīmēśvarasvāmī. It contains a particularly big *lingam*, some fourteen or fifteen feet high. This is supposed to be a part of a *lingam*, which broke into five pieces and fell at five holy places, namely at Bhīmavaram or Bhīmarāma in Cocanada, Pālakollu or Kshīrarāma in Krishna, Amaratavi or Amaratāma in the Guntur District, and Kumārārāma which is not identified. It is supposed to have been erected by the sun and worshipped by the seven sages who made the seven mouths of the Gōḍāvarī. The seven sages are supposed to have each brought water from their respective rivers under-ground to the tank at Drākshārāmam which is called the *Sapta-Gōḍāvarī*, seven Gōḍāvaris. There is a sacred bathing ghat, which confers in a condensed form all the sanctity which is to be obtained by separate baths in each of the seven rivers.... The temple is a rather handsome two-storeyed building. Its erection is ascribed by popular tradition to an unknown Chōla

¹ According to S.K. Pillai's *Indian Ephemeris*, the *tithi* current at sunrise on Sunday was the *pañṇimā*.

² *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XII, p. 206.

³ There is thus a discrepancy of one day. For a somewhat analogous case, see the date of the Basāhi plates of Gōvīndachandradēva, *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIX, p. 363. The saṅkrānti, the *tithi* and the week-day occurred together on the 22nd February 1103 A.C., but it is very doubtful if Yaśaḥkaraṇa had retained his hold over Banaras at that time, as implied in verse 13 of the present inscription.

⁴ Several inscriptions of the reign of this prince are found at Drākshārāma. See *Inscriptions of the Madras Presidency*, Vol. II, p. 724.

king.¹ The earliest inscription at Drākshārām is that of the time of Rājarāja, dated 1055 A.C. The foregoing account will show that the temple is not on the bank of the Gōdāvarī as intimated in the present inscription; for the river flows about fourteen miles away from it, but the description given here can be understood, as has already been suggested by Rai Bahadur Hiralal, to refer to the tank at Drākshārām, which is popularly believed to contain the seven streams of the Gōdāvarī.

As for the localities mentioned in the present inscription, Tripurī has already been shown to be Tewar, a village about 6 miles from Jabalpur. Karṇāvati has been identified by Rai Bahadur Hiralal with the deserted village Karaṇbēl which lies about a mile from Tripurī². The name has 'a double signification, retaining the memory of the founder in the first half and giving the distinguishing mark of the site in the second, there being a jungle of *bēl* trees to supply leaves to the numerous Śiva *lingas* once enshrined there'³. Kuntala has been already shown to be the country under the rule of the Later Chālukyas of Kalyāṇi. As regards Deulā-Pañchēla it appears to be a joint place-name. The first part of it is probably represented by Deori, now a deserted village 10 miles north by west of Khairhā, and the second by Pāchri which lies only two miles to the north of Deori. Dēvagrāma, the headquarters of the sub-division (*pattalā*) in which the donated village was situated, was identified by R.B. Hiralal with Deogavān close to Khairhā 'where there are a number of very old wells and water-reservoirs together with the remains of old buildings'⁴. The word *Vāsudēv-ōddēśē*, which precedes *Dēvagrāma-pattalāyām* in lines 27-28 of the present grant was taken by R.B. Hiralal to mean 'in honour of Vāsudēva'. From the context, however, it seems to denote a territorial division. Besides Yaśaḥkarṇa was a devotee of Mahēśvara (Śiva), not of Vāsudēva. If the grant was made in honour of any deity it must have been Śiva. I am, therefore, inclined to take *Vāsudēv-ōddēśē* of the text to mean 'in the district of Vāsudēva'. An analogous expression *Vāsudēva-khaṇḍa-vishayē*, which undoubtedly denotes a territorial division, occurs in the Ganjām plates of Raṇabhaṇjadēva,⁵ edited by R.B. Hiralal himself. There are several places⁶ named after Viṣṇu in the surrounding territory of Vindhya Pradesh.

TEXT 7

- 1 ओं नमो व्र(व)ह्मणेः⁸ ॥ जयति जलजभा(ना)भस्तस्य नाभीसरोजं जयति जयति तस्माज्जा-
तवानब्ज(ब्ज)सूतिः । अथ जयति स तस्यापत्यमत्रिस्तदक्षपत्(स्त)दनु जयति जन्म प्रा-
- 2 प्तवानब्धि(ब्धि)व(व)न्धुः ॥⁹[१॥*] अथ वो(वो)धनमादिराजपुत्रं गृहजामातरमब्ज(ब्ज)-
वा(वा)[न्ध]वस्य । तनय(यं) जनयावभूव¹⁰ राजा गगनाभोगतडागराजहंसः ॥¹¹[१२॥*] पुत्रं
पुत्र(रु)रवस-

¹ The *Godavari District Gazetteer*, pp. 250 ff.

² It may be noted in this connection that *Karṇapura* is also the name of a ridge near Kāritālāi.

³ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XII, p. 209. The expression 'the crown of the heavenly river' used in describing the settlement in v. 14 seems, however, to suggest that the settlement was on the bank of the Gaṅgā. Hall supposed that the epithet, though usually appropriated to the Gaṅgā was here applied to the Narmadā, *J. A. S. B.*, Vol. XXXI, p. 115, n. 4.

⁴ *Loc. cit.*

⁵ *Ibid.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 293.

⁶ One place named *Rāmpur*, for instance, lies only about 16 miles north by east of Khairhā.

⁷ From ink impressions kindly supplied by the Government Epigraphist.

⁸ This *vinarga* is superfluous.

⁹ Metre: *Mālinī*.

¹⁰ Read जनयाम्बभूव.

¹¹ Metre: *Aupachebbhandarika*.

- 3 मौरसमाप सूनु[दे]वस्य सप्तजलरासि(शि)रसायनस्य । आसीदनन्यसमभागा(ग्य)स(श)तोप-
भोग्या यस्योर्व्वसी(शी) च सुकलत्रमिहोर्व्व(वं)रा च ॥¹[३॥*] अत्र(त्रा)न्वये
- 4 किल स(श)ताधिकसप्तने(मे)घयूपोप[रु]द्वयमुनोक्तविविक्तकीर्तिः । सप्ताब्धि(ब्धि)रत्नर-
स(श)नाभरण(णा)भिरामविस्व(स्व)भरासु(शु)भरतो भरतो व(व)भूव ॥²[४॥*] हेलागृही-
5 [त]³पुनरुक्तसमस्तसत्रो⁴ गोत्रे जयत्वधिकमस्य स कालं(त्तं)वीर्यः । अत्रैव हेहयनृपान्वयपूर्व्व-
पुंसि राजेति नाम [श]शलक्ष्मणि चक्षमे यः ॥⁵[५॥*] स हिमाच-
- 6 ल इव रु(क)लचू(चु)रिवन्स⁶मसूत क्षमान्द(भृ)तां भर्ता । भुक्तामणिभिरिवामलवृत्तः पूतं
महोपतिभिः ॥⁷[६॥*] तत्रान्वये नयवता(तां) प्रवरो न(नृ)पेन्द्र[ः] [पौ]रंदरीगि(मि)व
पुरीं
- 7 त्रिपुरां(रीं)पुनानः ॥ (१) आसीन्नातन्व⁸नृपगन्धगज(जा)धिराजनिमा(र्मा)व(यि)केसरियुवा युव-
राजदेवः ॥⁹[७॥*] सिंहासने नृपतिसिंहममुष्य सूनुमारूपन्नवनिभर्तुर[मा]त्यमुख्याः ॥ (१)
- 8 कोकल्लमणवचनु(तु)ष्टयवीचिरां(सं)घस(सं)घट्टरुद्धचतुरंगचमूप्रचारम् ॥¹⁰[८॥*] इंदुप्रभां नि-
दति हारगुच्छं जुगुप्सते चंदनमाक्षिपन्ती । र(य)त्र प्रभो दूरतरं प्रयाते वियोगिनीव प्रति-
- 9 भाति कीर्तिः ॥¹¹[९॥*] मरकतमणिपट्टप्रोढवक्षाः स्मिताक्षो नगरपरिधदंर्घीं(ध्यं) लंघयन्दोढं-
येन ॥ (१) शिरसि कुलि[स](श)पातो वैरिणां वीरलक्ष्मीपतिरभवदपत्यं यस्य गाङ्गे-
- 10 यदेवः ॥¹²[१०॥*] स वीरसिंहासनमोलिरत्नं स विक्रमादित्य इति प्रसिद्धः । यस्मादकस्माद-
पयानमिच्च(च्छ)न्न कुन्तलः¹³ कुन्तलतां व(व)भार ॥¹⁴[११॥*] प्राप्ते प्रयागवट्ट(ट)मूलनि-
वेस(श)बन्धो¹⁵
- 11 सार्द्धं शतेन गृहिणीभिरमुत्र भुक्ति(वित्तम्) ॥ (१) पुत्रे(त्रो)ऽस्य खड्गदलितारिकरीन्द(न्द्र)-
कुम्भमुक्ताफलेः(लैः) स्म ककुभोर्च्चति [क]र्णदेवः ॥¹⁶[१२॥*] कनकसि(शि)खरवेल्लद्वैजय-
न्तीसमीर-
- 12 ग्लपितगगनखेलन्खे(त्वे)चरीचक्रखेदः ॥ (१) किमपरमिह कास्यां(स्यां) यस्य दुग्धाब्धि(ब्धि)-
वीचीवलयव(व)हलकीर्त्तः कीर्त्तनं क[र्ण]¹⁷मेरु[*] ॥¹⁸[१३॥*] अयं घाम श्रेयसो वेद-
विद्याव-
- 13 ल्लीकन्दः स्वःस्रवन्त्याः किरीटं(टम्) [१*] व(व)हस्तंभो¹⁹ येन कर्णावितीति प्रत्यष्टापि क्षमा-
तलव्र(व)ह्ला(लो)कः ॥²⁰[१४॥*] चा(अ)जनि कलचुरीणां स्वामिना तेन हूणान्वयजल-
निधि[ल]क्ष्मा(क्ष्म्यां) श्रीमदा-

¹ Metre of this and the following two verses: *Vasantatilakā*.

² The engraver first incised ता, but later on cancelled the second vertical stroke.

³ Read -शस्त्रो.

⁴ Read -वंश-

⁵ Metre: *Āryā*.

⁶ Read वासीन्मदान्ध-

⁷ Metre of this and the following verse: *Vasantatilakā*.

⁸ Metre: *Upajāti*.

⁹ Metre: *Mālinī*.

¹⁰ Hiralal read -न्नकुन्तलः.

¹¹ Metre: *Upajāti*.

¹² Read -बन्धो.

¹³ Metre: *Vasantatilakā*.

¹⁴ The superscript ः is not completely incised.

¹⁵ Metre: *Mālinī*.

¹⁶ Read -स्तंभो. Compare व(व)हस्तं(व)स्वान in L. 2. of the Bargaon temple inscription of Śābara (No. 43, above).

¹⁷ Metre: *Śālinī*.

- 14 वण्ण(ल्ल)देव्यां(व्याम्) । शशभृदुदयस(श)ङ्काक्कु(क्षु)ब्ध(ब्ध)दुग्धाब्धि(ब्धि)वेलासहचरित-
यशःश्रीः श्रीयद्यः(शः)कर्णदेवः ।¹[11511*] चंद्राकर्कदीपवति पर्वतराजपूर्णकुंभावभासिनि
महाब्धि(ब्धि)चतुष्कमध्ये [1*]
- 15 चके(के) पुरोहितपुरस्कृतिप्ल(पू)तकम्मा धर्मान्म(त्तम)नोऽस्य हि पितैव महाभिषेकं(कम्) ।²
[11611*] न खलशलभगो[ष्टी]पक्षपातस्य पात्रं न खलु कलुषचर्याकज्जलाद्गारकारः ।³
- 16 कलयनि(ति) कलिनामन्युद्गमं यस्त्रियामातमसि जयति जस्वू(म्बू)दी(द्वी)परत्र(त्तन)प्रदीपः ।⁴
[11711*] चिन्तामणिकल्पितशुक्तियुग्मक्रोडे स्याद्यदि कामधेनुदुग्धं(ग्धम्) । दृश्ये दृशोस्तस्य⁵ दा-
नुः(तुः) मो(सा)दृश्यं(श्यं) धवलारुणेक्षणस्य ।⁶ [11811*] यः ककुप्कुञ्जरो(रा)लानस्तमु-
(म्भ)सत्र(त्र)ह्यचारिणः । धमोपान्तेषु जयस्तं[भा]नुदस्तंभयदुच्चकैः ।⁷[11911*] [यो] व(व्र)-
ह्यणां पाणिपु(पु) पंचपाणि दा-
- 18 ता निघत्ते पयसां पृषन्ति [1*] तैरेव तृप्ता(ष्णा)मवधूय ते च रत्नाकरेपि प्रव(ध)यन्त्यव-
जा(ज्ञाम्) ।⁸[12011*] महीभर्ता महादानैस्तैस्तुलापुरुषादिभिः । गरिम्णा मे⁹रत्यर्थं कु-
- 19 तार्थयति योधिनिः ।¹⁰[12111*] स्वर्गंराजगजदन्तरुचीनि क्षीरनीरनिधिसं(शं)खसु(शु)-
चीनि ॥ (1) सा(शा)ङ्गितल्पफणिकंचुकभाशि¹¹ स्फीततां दधति यस्य य-
- 20 सां(शां)सि ॥¹²[12211*] अन्धाधीशमरुद्भदोर्विलसितं स्वच्छन्¹³मु[च्छि]न्दता येनाभ्यर्च्यत
भूरिभिः स भग[वा*]न्भीमेस(श्व)रो भूप(प)णेः(णैः) । यस्याभ्यर्णंगता प्र-
- 21 नृत्य¹⁴लहरीभ्रूवल्लिगोदावरी ।¹⁵ गायत्युन्मदहंसनादमधुरैः सो(स्रो)तः[ः]स्वरैः सप्तभिः ।¹⁶
[12311*] कुर्वन्महीं त्रा(त्रा)ह्यणसादरिक्षत्रनिव(व)-

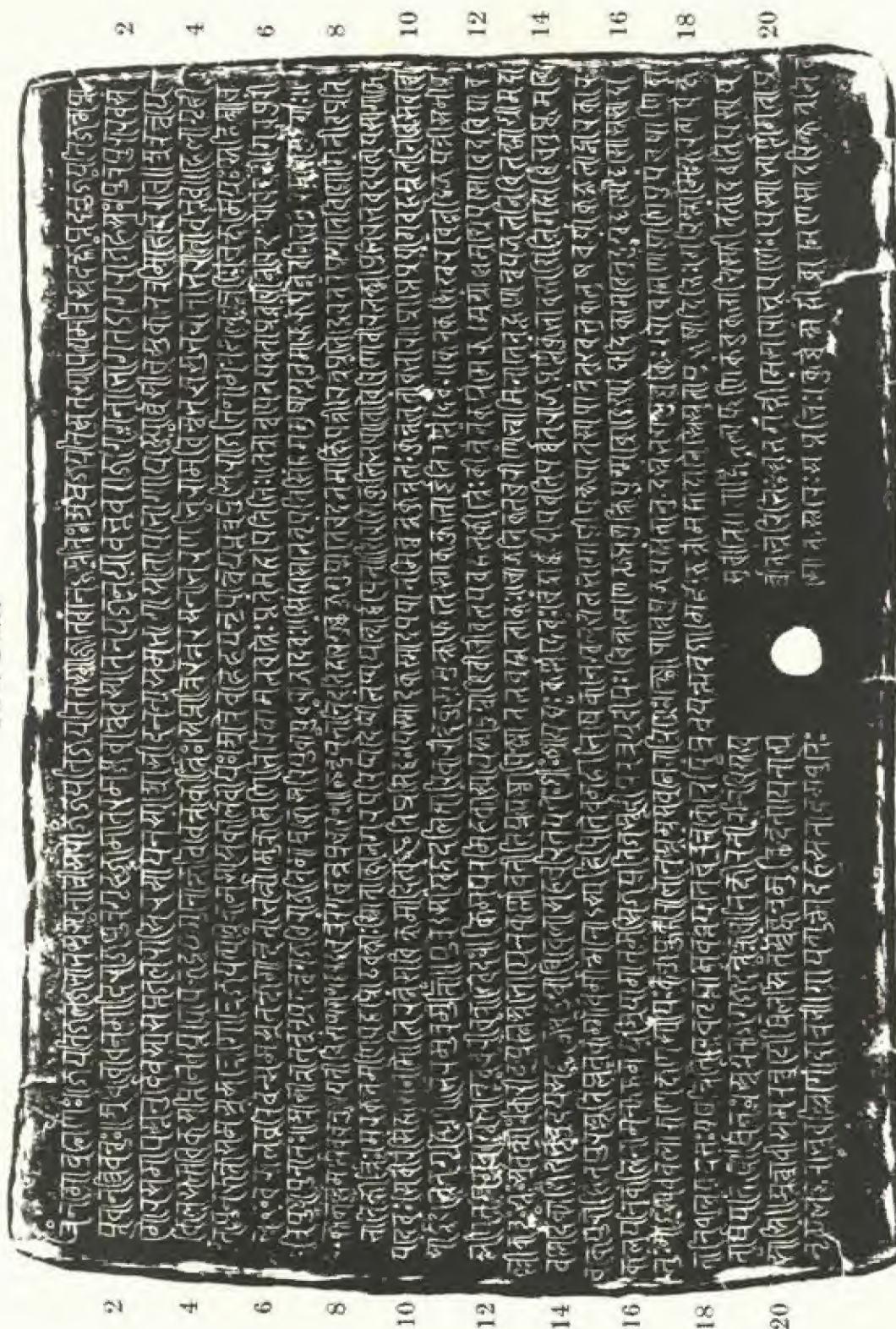
Second Plate

- 22 हंणः । सार्द्धं परसु(शु)भा(रा)मेण यः स्पर्धामधिरोहति ।¹⁷ [12411*] स च परमभट्टारकमहा-
राजाधिराजपरमेस्व(श्व)रपरममाहेस्व(श्व)रश्रीवा-
- 23 मदेवपादानुध्यातपरमक(भ)ट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेस्व(श्व)रपरममाहेस्व(श्व)रत्रिकालिगा-
धिपतिनिजभु-
- 24 जोषार्ज्जितास्व(श्व)पतिगजपतिनरपतिराजत्रयाधिपति(त्यः) श्रीमद्यसः(शः)कर्णदेवः ॥¹⁸
श्रीग(म)हादेवी । महाराजपुत्रः

¹ Metre: *Mālinī*.² Metre: *Vasantatilakā*.³ Read -कज्जलोद्गारकारः.⁴ Metre: *Mālinī*.⁵ Read दृश्येत दृशोस्तदास्य.⁶ Metre: *Bhadravirāj*.⁷ Metre: *Anuṣṭubh*.⁸ Metre: *Indravajrā*.⁹ The engraver first incised मेः, but afterwards altered it to मे.¹⁰ Metre: *Anuṣṭubh*.¹¹ Read -भांसि.¹² Metre: *Svāgatā*.¹³ Read अन्धाधीशमरुद्भदोर्विलसितं स्वच्छन्द-.¹⁴ This *akṣara* is quite clear in the impressions.¹⁵ This *daṇḍa* is superfluous.¹⁶ Metre: *Śārdūlavikrīṭita*.¹⁷ Metre: *Anuṣṭubh*.¹⁸ These and the following *daṇḍas* in ll. 24-26 are superfluous.

KHAIRHA PLATES OF YASAHKARNA: (KALACHURI) YEAR 823

First Plate



A circular, dark, textured object, possibly a coin or medallion, showing intricate, raised patterns and figures, likely a historical artifact. The surface is highly detailed with what appears to be a central figure or emblem surrounded by concentric bands of decoration. The object has a slightly irregular, aged appearance.

OF THE BRITISH MUSEUM PLATE OF KARNA



(From photographs).

[illegible]

SCALE: ONE-THIRD.

- 25 महाम(मं)त्री । महामात्य[*] । महासाव(म)न्त[*] । महापुरोहितः । महाप्रतीहारः । म-
हाक्षपटलिकः । महाप्रमात्रः¹ म-
- 26 हास्व(श्च)साधनिकः । महाभाङ्गारिकः² । महाध्यक्षः । एतानन्यांश्च प्रदास्यमानग्रामनिवा-
सिजनपदांश्चाहूय यथार्हं सस्मा(म्मा)नयति वो(बो)-
- 27 धयति समाज्ञापा(प)यति [1*] विदितं(त)मेतदस्तु भवतां यथा संवत् ८२३ फाल्गुनमासि सु(शु)-
क्लपक्षे चतुर्द(द्)स्यां(स्यां) रवौ संक्रांतौ(तौ) वासुदेवो-
- 28 दे(द्)से(शे) देवग्रामपत्तलायां देउलापंचेलग्रामाः(मः) स(स्व)सीमापर्यन्तः चतुराषाटविमु(शु)
द्धः ।³ सजलस्थलः साम(ग्र)मधूकः । सगर्तोषरः । स-
- 29 निर्गमप्रवेसः(शः) । सलवणाकरः । सगोप्रचारः । सजाङ्गलानूपः । वृक्षारा[मो*]द्धे⁴दोद्यान-
तृणादिसहितः । कान्वस्यगोत्राय⁵ आप्लवन-
- 30 जामदग्नित्रीप्रवराय⁶ व(ब)ह्वृ[च*]सा(शा)खिने सीमापौत्राय च्छीतपद्मपुत्राय गंगाधरस(श)-
र्मणे ब्रा(ब्रा)ह्मणाय मातापित्रोरात्म[न*]श्च पुण्य-
- 31 यशोभिवृद्धये ग्रामोयमस्माभिः सा(शा)सनत्वेन संप्रदत्तः । अत्र चाभ्यर्थना दातुर्भवति [1*]
सर्वान्येन्माविनः⁷ । पार्थिवेन्द्रान्भूयो
- 32 भूयो याचते रामभद्रः । सामान्योयं वर्मसेतुर्नृपाणां काले काले पालनीयो भव[द्भिः] ।⁸
[1२५*] व(ब)हुभिर्वसुधा भुक्ता राजभिः सग-
- 33 रादिभिः । यस्य यस्य य[दा] भूमिस्तस्य तस्य त[दा] फलं(लम्) ।⁹ [1२६॥*] सुवर्णमेकं
गामेकां भूमेरप्येकमंगुलं(लम्) [1*] हरत्तरकमान्नो[ति*] यावदाहू(भू)तसं-
- 34 प्लवं(वम्) । [1२७॥*] तडागानां सहस्रेण अस्व(श्च)मेघस(श)तेन च । गवां कोटिप्रदानेन
भूमिहर्ता न सु(शु)ध्यति । [1२८॥*] स्वदत्ता(त्तां) परदत्ता(त्तां) [वा] यो हरेत वसुध-
- 35 रां(राम्) । स विष्ठायां कृमिभूत्वा पितृभिः सह मज्जति । [1२९॥*] फालकृष्टां महीं
दद्यात्सवी(वी)जां सस्यसा(शा)लिनीं(नीम्) । यावत्सूर्यकृतांलोकान्ताव-¹⁰
- 36 त्स्वर्गो महीयते । [1३०॥*] पण्डितं वर्षसहस्राणि(णि) स्वर्गं वसति भूमिदः । आच्छेत्ता चानुमन्ता
च तान्येव नरके वसेतु(त्) । [1३१॥*] वारिहीने[ष्व]रत्ये(प्ये)षु सु(शु)[ष्क]कोटर-
- 37 वासिनः [1] कृष्णसर्पास्तु जायन्ते ब्र(ब्र)ह्मदेवस्वहारिणः । [1३२॥*] अन्यायेन हृता भूमिरन्या-
येन तु हारिता । हरतो हारयन्त(त)श्च दहत्यासप्तमं कुलं(लम्) । [1३३॥*] अ-
- 38 स्मत्कुलक्रमगताः समुदाहरन्ति अन्यैश्च दानमिदमभ्युपमोदनीयं(यम्) । लक्ष्मि(क्ष्मी)श्चला
श(स)लिलवु(वु)द्बु(द्बु) [द*]वद्वरायां दानं फलं परमतः प्रतिपा-

¹ Read महाप्रमाता.

² Read महाभाङ्गारिकः.

³ This and the following *danḍas* in ll. 28 and 29 are superfluous.

⁴ The *visarga* which was at first incised after *द्धे* has been struck out.

⁵ Read कान्वस्यगोत्राय.

⁶ Though the text refers to three *pravaras*, only two are actually mentioned here. Generally the *pravaras* which include the names of आप्नवान् and जामदग्न्य are five and are given in the following order:—भार्गव, च्यवन, आप्नवान्, और्वं and जामदग्न्य. When only three *pravaras* are mentioned, they are generally भार्गव, और्वं and जामदग्न्य or भार्गव, च्यवन and आप्नवान्. The donee of the present grant had perhaps the *pravaras*, आप्नवान्, और्वं and जामदग्न्य. Read therefore आप्नवानौर्वंजामदग्न्यत्रिप्ररायः. *Kāṇva* is not, however, mentioned in the list of *gōtras* under *Jāmadagnya*.

⁷ Read सर्वानितान्माविनः. The following *danḍa* is superfluous.

⁸ Metre: *Śālīnī*.

⁹ Metre of this and the following seven verses: *Anuṣṭubh*.

¹⁰ Read यावत्सूर्यकृता लोकान्ताव-

- 39 लनीयं(यम्) ¹[13811*] प्रजाहितात्वं स्थितवः प्रणीता धर्मेषु विद्वानु(न्) प्रतिपालयेतु(त्) ।
यो लोभमोहाद्वरते दुरात्मा सोऽन्धो ब्रजेदु(द्)मंतिमासु(सु) कष्टां(ष्टाम्) [13911*]²
- 40 यानीह दत्तानि पुरा नरेन्द्रैर्दानानि धर्मार्थयशस्कराणि [1*] निम्माल्यव(वा)न्तिप्रमितानि तानि
को नाम साधुः पुनराददीत ³[13611*] भूमि यः प्रति—
- 41 गृह्णा(ह्ना)ति यश्च भूमिं प्रयच्छति [1*] उभौ तौ पुण्यकर्म्मणौ नियतं स्वर्गगामिनौ ⁴
[13711*] सं(शं)खो भद्र(द्रा)सनं च्छत्रं⁵ वरास्वा(श्वा) वरवारणाः । भूमिदानस्य चि—
- 42 ह्नानि फलमेतत्पुनरंदर ⁶[13811*] अस्मिन्वंसे(क्षे) परिक्षीणे यः कश्चिन्(न्नृ)पतिर्भवेत्(त्) ॥
(1) तस्याहं हस्तलम्बोस्मि सा(शा)सनं न व्यतिक्रमेत् ॥[13911*] वाताभ्र—
- 43 विभ्रममिदं वसुधाधिपत्यमापातमात्रमधुरो विषयोपभोगः । प्राणास्तृणाग्रसमवि(वि)न्दुसमा
नराणां धर्मः सखा परमहो
- 44 परलोकयाने ⁷[14011*] धर्मलेखित्रीवाच्छूकेन लिखितमिति⁸ ॥ मंगलं महाश्री[ः*] ॥⁹

TRANSLATION

Om! Adoration to Brahman!

(Verse 1) Glorious is the lotus-navelled (*god*), glorious is the lotus which sprang from his navel and glorious is the (*god*) *Brahmā* born from (*that*) lotus! Glorious again is his offspring *Atri*, and glorious is the friend of the ocean¹⁰ who had his birth from his (*i.e.*, *Atri's*) eye.

(V. 2) Now the king,¹¹ who is the swan in the expanse of heaven, begat *Bōdhana* (*i.e.*, *Budha*), the son of (*that*) primeval king, (*who became*) a son-in-law in the house of the friend of lotuses.¹²

(V. 3) The son of the god (moon), who is the elixir of the seven oceans, obtained as a legitimate son *Purūravas*, who had here as his faithful wife *Urvaśī* to be enjoyed (*only*) by hundreds of matchless blessings, and also the earth.

(V. 4) In this family verily was born *Bharata*, whose pure fame is proclaimed by the *Yamunā*, hemmed in by the posts of more than a hundred horse-sacrifices (*performed by him*); who was devoted to securing the well-being of the earth made beautiful by the jewelled girdle by the seven oceans.

(V. 5) Exceedingly glorious in his family is that *Kārtavīrya* who wielded with ease all weapons, superfluous (*though they were in his case*), and who allowed the title of king only to the Moon,¹³ the progenitor of the family of these *Haihaya* princes.

(V. 6) As the *Himālaya*, the lord of mountains, produces a bamboo, which is

¹ Metre: *Vasantatilakā*.

² Metre: *Upajāti*.

³ Metre: *Indravajrā*.

⁴ Metre of this and of the following two verses: *Anuṣṭubh*.

⁵ Read छत्रं.

⁶ The *Sarkhō* plates (No. 85, below) read फलं स्वर्गः पुनरंदर.

⁷ Metre: *Vasantatilakā*.

⁸ Read लिखितमिति.

⁹ There is a sign here, indicating the completion of the record.

¹⁰ *I. e.*, the moon.

¹¹ *I. e.*, the moon, the lord of stars.

¹² *I. e.*, the sun.

¹³ For the idea, compare verse 16 of the *Deopara* inscription of *Vijayasēna*, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, p. 309.

rendered bright by stainless and round pearls,¹ so did that lord of princes beget the Kalachuri family, which is purified by kings of spotless conduct.

(V. 7) In that family was a king, the foremost among those (*who are*) eminent for political wisdom, who purified Tripurī as Indra does his city,—Yuvarājadēva (II), who destroyed the lords of princes blinded by arrogance as a young lion kills the leading scent-elephants infuriated by rut.

(V. 8) The chief ministers of the lord of the earth placed on the throne his son Kōkalla (II), a lion-like prince, the advance of whose four-membered army was checked (*only*) by (*its*) encountering the multitude of waves of the four oceans.

(V. 9) That lord having gone far away,² his fame appears like a woman separated from her husband; (*for*) throwing away the white sandal paste, she derides moon-light and detests pearl necklaces.³

(V. 10) His offspring was Gāṅgēyadēva, a thunderbolt falling on the heads of (*his*) enemies, the lord of the fortune of heroes, whose chest was broad like an emerald tablet, and who, having smiling eyes, surpassed with both his arms the length of a city-bolt.

(V. 11) He (*was*) the crest-jewel of heroic princes; he (*became*) famous by the title of Vikramāditya; wishing suddenly to run away from whom (*the lord of*) Kuntala ceased to wield his spear.⁴

(V. 12) When, fond of residing at the foot of the (*holy*) banyan tree at Prayāga, he attained salvation there together with his hundred wives, his son Karṇadēva worshipped the quarters with (*the offerings of*) the pearls from the frontal globes of the best of enemies' elephants cleft by his sword.

(V. 13) What more (*need we say about him*) than that here at Kāśī the (*temple*) Karṇamēru⁵ proclaims his great fame, which is like the circle of waves of the milk-ocean—

¹There is a play on the word *ṛitta* meaning (1) round and (2) conduct.

²*I.e.*, having gone to the other world.

³The intended sense is that the fame of the king was brighter than all these. A woman separated from her husband abstains from all decoration and suffers pangs of love in moon-light.

⁴Hiralal translated the second half of this verse as follows: 'Wishing to run away from whom with dishevelled hair (the king of Kuntala) who was deprived of his country came to possess it again.' In a note added to this, he remarked, 'The meaning of the second line of the verse is very obscure. The writer evidently plays on the word *kuntala* and has brought about what is called *virōdbābhāsa* when he says *akuntalāḥ kuntalatām babhāra*, *i.e.*, a hairless person bore hairiness (an apparent contradiction). The eulogist evidently seems to convey that Gāṅgēyadēva was so noble that he restored the Kuntala country to the king who was defeated and was running away with dishevelled hair (a second pun on the word *akuntala*)', *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XII, p. 213, n. 2. This interpretation was followed by R. D. Banerji in his *Haibayas of Tripurī etc.*, p. 16, but it is incorrect. The mistake lies in the *pada-cchēdā* of the last quarter of the verse. We have to take the words as *na Kuntalāḥ* (not *a-kuntalāḥ*) *kuntalatām va(bā)bhāra*. There is evidently a pun on the word *kuntala* here. The first word *kuntalāḥ* means the king of the Kuntala country. *Kuntalatā* has to be explained in two ways (1) *Kuntalasya bhāvāḥ kuntalatā* 'the position of the king of the Kuntala country' and (2) *kuntam lāti iti kuntalāḥ; tasya bhāvāḥ kuntalatā*, 'the state of one who wields a spear'. As regards the second explanation, see the derivation of *kuntala* given by Mammata in his *Kāvya-prakāśa* (ed. by Zalkikar, 1921), p. 42.

The second half of the verse apparently means 'Wishing to run away suddenly from whom, Kuntala ceased to be Kuntala. This involves contradiction, but it is only apparent, the figure being *Virōdbābhāsa*; for the words really mean 'Wishing to run away suddenly from whom, the king of Kuntala ceased to wield his spear', *i.e.*, he gave up fighting with Gāṅgēyadēva and fled away. The verse is, therefore, intended to record a defeat of the king of Kuntala by Gāṅgēyadēva.

⁵*Mēru* denotes a particular kind of temple, *viz.*, hexagonal, with twelve stories, variegated windows and four entrances; *Bṛhat-saṁhitā*, Ivi, 20. According to the *Samarāṅgaṇasūtradhāra*, it has sixteen stories and four spires. For other details, see *Samarāṅgaṇasūtradhāra*, ch. 33, vv. 5-13 and ch. 63, vv. 4 and 5.

(the temple which is so high that) it lessens the fatigue of multitudes of celestial damsels playing in the sky, with the breezes of the flags waving from its golden spires.

(V. 14) He established a settlement of Brāhmaṇas¹ called **Karṇāvatī**, the foremost abode of bliss, the root of the creeper of Vedic scholarship, the crown of the heavenly river² (and) the world of Brahmā on the surface of the earth.

(V. 15) That lord of Kalachuris begot on the illustrious **Āvalladēvī**, the goddess of fortune produced from the ocean of the **Hūṇa** family, the illustrious **Yaśaḥkarṇadēva**, the splendour of whose fame is the companion of the waves of the milk-ocean, that surge up mistaking it for the rise of the moon.³

(V. 16) Of this pious prince the father, whose actions were pure, being guided by his family priest, performed himself the great coronation ceremony in the quadrangle (surrounded) by the great oceans, which had the sun and the moon as lamps and which was rendered resplendent by the lord of mountains⁴ as by a full jar.

(V. 17) Glorious is he, who, like a jewel-lamp of the Jambūdvīpa⁵ shines in the Kali age, as (the jewel-lamp shines) in the darkness of the night; who is not influenced by partiality for the assemblies of wicked men, as a jewel-lamp is not filled by the wings of night-moths,⁶ and who does not display evil conduct as a jewel-lamp does not give out lamp-black.

(V. 18) If the milk of the cow of plenty were put in two shells made of the wish-fulfilling gem, then there would be seen a likeness with the white and red eyes of this liberal king.

(V. 19) He set up high pillars of victory near the confines of the earth, as companions of the posts to which the elephants of the quarters are tied.

(V. 20) (This) liberal (king) pours five or six drops of water on the hands of Brāhmaṇas. Even with these, they satisfy their desire for wealth, and afterwards show their contempt for (the ocean which is) the mine of jewels.⁷

(V. 21) Occupying a high position like Mēru, (this) ruler of the earth exceedingly gratifies the suppliants by his great gifts such as the *tulā-puruṣa*.⁸

(V. 22) Bright as the tusks of the elephants of the lord of heaven, white like the conches of the milky ocean, and (resplendent) like the slough of the serpent which forms the couch of Viṣṇu, his fame has attained abundance.

(V. 23) Extirpating with ease the lord of **Andhra**, the graceful movements of whose arms were flawless, he worshipped with (the offerings of) many ornaments the holy **Bhīmēśvara**, near whom the **Gōdāvarī**, with her dancing eye-brows of waves, sings his glory with the seven notes of her streams⁹ sweet with the cries of the intoxicated swans.

¹ Kielhorn and following him, Hiralal translate *Vra(Bra)hma-stambhā* by 'the pillar of piety'. But the correct expression is *Brāhma-stambhā* which means 'a settlement of Brāhmaṇas', see above, No. 43, line 2.

² This seems to suggest that the settlement was situated on the bank of the Gaṅgā.

³ For fame is white like moon-beams.

⁴ I.e., Himālaya. What the poet intends to convey is that Yaśaḥkarṇa was crowned Emperor of the whole earth surrounded by the four oceans.

⁵ *Jambūdvīpa* is the central division of the world, including India, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. II, p. 6, n. 44.

⁶ There is a play on the word *pakṣa-pāta* meaning (1) partiality and (2) the fall of wings.

⁷ The intended sense is that the king's gifts are more precious than the treasure inside the ocean.

⁸ *Tulā-puruṣa* means the gift of some precious metal like gold equal to a man's weight. For this and other *mahādānas* see Hēmadri's *Chaturvargachintāmaṇi*, *Dānakhaṇḍa* (Banaras ed.) Vol. I, pp. 175 ff.

⁹ The seven mouths of the Gōdāvarī, by which it is traditionally supposed to have reached the sea, are sacred to the seven sages. They are the Kāśyapa or the Tulyā, the Atri or the Coringā, the Gautamī,

(V. 24) Extirpating the hostile Kshatriyas and bestowing the earth on Brāhmaṇas, he is (*as it were*) vying with Paraśurāma.

(Line 22) And he, the *Paramabhaṭṭāraka*, *Mahārājādhirāja* and *Paramēśvara*, the illustrious *Yaśaḥkarnadēva*,—the devout worshipper of Mahēśvara, the lord of *Trika-liṅga*, who has attained by his arm sovereignty over three kings, (*viz.*), the lord of horses, the lord of elephants and the lord of men, who meditates on the feet of the *Paramabhaṭṭāraka*, *Mahārājādhirāja*, and *Paramēśvara*, the illustrious *Vāmadēva*,—having called together the illustrious *Mahādēvi*, the *Mahārājaputra*, the *Mahāmantrin*, the *Mahāmātya*, the *Mahāsāmanta*, the *Mahāpurōhita*, the *Mahāpratihāra*, the *Mahākshapaṭalika*, the *Mahāpramātri*, the *Mahāśva-sādhnika*, the *Mahābhāṇḍāgārika*, (*and*) the *Mahādhyaksha*—these and other (*officials*) and (*also*) the inhabitants of the village which is to be granted, duly honours, informs and commands them (*as follows*):—

‘Be it known to you that on (*the occasion of*) the *saṅkrānti*, on Sunday, the fourteenth (*tithi*) of the bright fortnight of *Phālguna* in the year 823, we have given as a grant for the increase of the religious merit and fame of (*Our*) mother and father and of Ourselves, this village, *Deulā-Pañchēla*, situated in the *pattalā* of *Dēvagrāma* in the *uddēśa* (district?) of *Vāsudēva*, to the extent of its limits, with its four boundaries well-determined,—together with land and water, together with mango and *madhūka* trees, together with its pits and barren land, together with (*the right of*) egress and ingress, together with mines of salt, together with pasture-lands, together with arid and marshy lands, together with the groves of trees, the gardens of plants, grass and so forth,—to the Brāhmaṇa *Gaṅgā-dharaśarmaṇ*, the son of *Chhitapāi* and grandson of *Siā*, who belongs to the *Kāṇva gōtra* and the *Baḥvricha* (*Rigvēda*) *sākhā* and has the three *pravaras* *Āpnavāna*, (*Aurva*) and *Jāmadgnya*’.

In this matter (*this*) is the prayer of the donor—

(*Here follow sixteen benedictive and imprecatory verses.*)

(*This charter*) has been written by the illustrious *Vāchchhūka*, the writer of religious documents.

May there be bliss and great prosperity!

No. 57; PLATE XLVI

JABALPUR PLATE OF YASAHKARNA

THIS copper-plate belongs to a set of two plates, the exact provenance of which is not known.¹ Both the plates were, after discovery, deposited in the Central Museum, Nagpur, together with an incorrect transcript made by a Pandit of *Sihōrā*² in the Jabalpur District of Madhya Pradesh. The second plate of the set was subsequently lost. The first plate and the old transcript of the second are still preserved in the Museum. The

the *Bhāradvāja*, the *Viśvāmitrā* or *Kauśikā*, the *Jamadagni* and the *Vasishṭhā*. The *Bhāradvāja*, *Viśvāmitrā* and *Jamadagni* no longer exist, but pilgrims bathe in the sea at the spots where they are supposed to have been. See the *Godavari District Gazetteer*, p. 6.

¹ Like Kielhorn I have called it the Jabalpur plate, following Sir A. Cunningham (*A. S. I. R.*, Vol. IX, p. 87). As it records the grant of a village in the *Jāuli pattalā* it must have been found somewhere in the Jabalpur District. Hiralal states that it was originally discovered by a Tahsildar of *Sihōrā*, the headquarters of the *Sihōrā tahsil* of the Jabalpur District. See his *Inscriptions in C. P. and Berar*, second ed., p. 25.

² *Loc. cit.*

contents of the plates were first noticed by Sir A. Cunningham in his *Archaeological Survey of India Reports*, Vol. IX, pp. 87 ff., but his account, based as it was on the aforementioned transcript, was very incorrect.¹ The first plate was then edited, with a translation but without a lithograph, by Dr. Kielhorn from rubbings and impressions supplied to him. It seems that the plate was not properly cleaned before its impressions and rubbings were taken for Dr. Kielhorn, who could not, in consequence, read with certainty several *aksharas* of it. At my request Mr. M.A. Suboor of the Nagpur Museum has kindly cleaned the plate which now yields fairly good impressions. The inscription is edited here from the original plate and its ink impressions kindly taken for me by Mr. Natarajan, Superintendent of the Government Press, Nagpur.

The plate is substantial, weighing 4 seers and $3\frac{1}{2}$ tolas. It is the first plate of its set and is inscribed on one side only. It measures 1' 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ " in breadth and 1' $\frac{1}{2}$ " in height and is about .2" in thickness. Its rims are raised for the protection of the writing. At the bottom of the inscribed side, there is a hole, .7" in diameter; for the ring which must have held the plates together, but both the ring and the seal which must have been soldered to it are lost. The plate is in a state of good preservation, only two or three letters being slightly damaged by rust.

The characters are Nāgarī and closely resemble those of the Khairhā plates, the writer being probably the same as shown below. The only peculiarities that call for notice are that the initial *i* is represented by the later sign throughout, see e.g., *iva*, l. 5, *Indu*, l. 7 etc.; the left limb of *kh* is devoid of a tail in some plates see e.g., *-khēlat-*, l. 11 and *khulu*, l. 15, but contrast that in *khadga*, l. 10; *gh* also appears in two forms, see *-saṅgha-saṅghaṭṭa* in l. 7 and *-parigha-* in l. 8. The sign of *avagraha* is used in ll. 10 and 14.

The language is Sanskrit and with the exception of *ōṃ namō Vrahmaṇē* in the beginning and a few initial words of the formal part at the end, the whole of the extant portion is metrically composed. All the verses, which number twenty-four, occur in the Khairhā plates. The orthography shows the same peculiarities as in those plates. Besides, *j* is used for *y* once only in *-trijāmā-*, l. 15.

As stated before, the inscription is fragmentary. It contains the entire eulogistic portion which is identical with that of the Khairhā grant, but it breaks off just after the formal portion begins. As the genealogy in the eulogistic portion stops with Yaśaḥkarṇa, it is plain that the grant was made by him. From the Nagpur Museum transcript of the second plate, which, though inaccurate in some places, may be used with caution in the absence of the original plate, it seems that the object of the inscription was to record the grant, by Yaśaḥkarṇa, of the village Karañjā situated on the bank of the Narmadā in the Jāulī pattalā² on the occasion of the Uttarāyana-saṅkrānti on Monday, the tenth tithi of the dark fortnight of Māgha in the year 529. The donee was the Brāhmaṇa Hariśarman, the son of Bhaṭṭa Śrī-Nāgō and grandson of Bhaṭṭa Śrī-Bhavanāma(ga?) of the Vājasaneyā śākhā with the three pravaraś Kāśyapa, Avatsāra and Naidhruva. The scribe was probably the illustrious Vāchchhūka, who wrote³ the Khairhā plates.

¹ See the mistakes pointed out by Kielhorn, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. II, p. 1, n. 2.

² The transcript reads *Jāulī-pattana-pāṭim-Karañjā-grāmaḥ* and so Hiralal has stated that the plates record a grant of a village named Pāṭinḥkar in the Jāulipattan; (see his *Inscriptions etc.*, p. 25), but the correct reading is probably *Jāulī-pattal-āntahpāṭi-Karañjāgrāmaḥ*. For *pattalā* meaning a territorial sub-division, see l. 28 of the Khairhā plates.

³ The transcript has *Dbarmalīkhi-śrī-Vākyakala-likhitam=iti* which is obviously a mistake for *Dbarmalīkhi-śrī-Vāchchhūka-likhitam=iti*. See line 44 of the Khairhā plates (above, No. 56).

The numerals of the year, which must be referred to the Kalachuri era, are quite **unreliable**; because Yaśaḥkarṇa for whom we have the date 823¹ (or rather 827 as shown before), could not have flourished in the year 529 of the same era. But the specification of the saṅkrānti, month, fortnight and week-day may be correct. Taking it to be so, Dr. Kielhorn found by calculation that during the sixty years preceding 1151 A.C.,² the only year in which the Makara-saṅkrānti fell on Monday, the 10th of the dark fortnight of Māgha was 1122 A.C. For, in that year, the 10th of the dark half of Māgha fell by the *pūrṇimānta* scheme on Monday, the 25th December, when the 10th *tithi* of the dark half of Māgha ended 8 h. 39 m. after mean sunrise; and in the same year, the Makara-saṅkrānti took place 15 m. before mean sunrise of, or for religious purposes on, the same Monday.³ Dr. Kielhorn, therefore, took Monday, the 25th December 1122 A.C., corresponding, with his epoch of the Kalachuri era, to Māgha *va. di.* 10 of the Kalachuri year 874 as the true date of the grant.

In his article on the Khairhā plates, R. B. Hiralal objected to the aforementioned date on the ground that it gives an unusually long reign to Yaśaḥkarṇa; for, the Khairhā plates show that 'Yaśaḥkarṇa had defeated the king of Andhra, and crushed the power of several of his enemies before it was written. It is, therefore, likely that he had been in occupation of the throne for at least 4 or 5 years prior to this, and if we suppose that he lived for about the same period after he made the Jabalpur grant his reign would extend to about 60 years and his age to about 80 years, supposing his installation to have taken place at the age of 20.'⁴ Rai Bahadur Hiralal, therefore, relied on the numerical date of the Nagpur Museum transcript which he read as 829 and remarked that the details worked out for Monday, the 31st December 1078 A.C., for the expired Kalachuri year 829. The Makara-saṅkrānti had, however, taken place a week earlier. R.B. Hiralal seems to have supposed that as in the case of the Khairhā grant, the saṅkrānti, on which the grant was made, is wrongly coupled with the day on which the record was actually handed over to the donee.

My personal examination of the Nagpur Museum transcript of the lost plate shows that the numerals of the year as written there are 529 and not 829 as stated by R.B. Hiralal. Even if we suppose that 529 is a mistake for 829, the expired year would be expected to correspond, according to the epoch of 247-48 A.C., to 1077-78 A.C. and not 1078-1079 A.C. Now, in 1077-78 A.C., Māgha *va. di.* 10 fell on Thursday (the 10th January 1078 A.C.) and not on Monday as required. The Makara-saṅkrānti had taken place 17 days earlier. So the date would not be regular even if we read the numerals as 829. As for R.B. Hiralal's argument that if Dr. Kielhorn's date is accepted, it would give an unusually long reign to Yaśaḥkarṇa, it may be noted, as has already been pointed out by Mr. R.D. Banerji⁵, that Yaśaḥkarṇa must have reigned for a long time; because, even if we accept the date of the Nagpur Museum transcript of the Jabalpur plates of this prince as read by R.B. Hiralal as correct, there is a gap of 73 years between this date 829 and the only known date of his son and successor Gayākarṇa, K. 902. It comes to 75 years if we calculate from the date of the Khairhā plates (*viz.*, 827 as determined before). As conjectured by R.B. Hiralal, Yaśaḥkarṇa may have come to the throne about 5 years earlier, *i.e.*, about 822,

¹ Above, No. 56, l.27.

² This is the date of the Tewar inscription of Yaśaḥkarṇa's son and successor Gayākarṇadēva (No. 58, below) which, as Dr. Kielhorn has remarked, must have been put up towards the end of his reign.

³ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. II, p. 2.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Vol. XII, p. 207.

⁵ *H. T. M.*, p. 25.

and Gayākarna may have continued to rule till K. 905.¹ So the reigns of the two cover a long period of 83 years. It is not unlikely that Yaśaḥkarna had a longer reign than his son, say, of 50 or 55 years. In that case, the date of the Jabalpur plates as fixed by Dr. Kielhorn would not appear altogether impossible.

But Dr. Kielhorn's date (1122 A.C.) appears to be doubtful on other grounds. From verse 13 of the Jabalpur plate the inscription seems to have been drafted at Banaras. We find that only five months before, the Gāhaḍavāla king Gōvindachandradēva issued his Kamauli plate² from Banaras on the 21st July 1122 A.C. Two years later we find him again at Banaras, issuing his Banaras plates³ on the 14th August 1124 A.C. Is it likely that Yaśaḥkarna ousted Gōvindachandradēva from Banaras some time after July 1122 A.C. and still refrained from mentioning the glorious achievement in the plates issued only a few days after, as he has mentioned his defeat of the Andhra king? The eulogistic portion of the Jabalpur plate is almost an exact copy of that of the Khairhā plates. It would be strange, indeed, if Yaśaḥkarna had nothing to record to his credit during the interval of nearly 50 years,—not even his successful invasion of Banaras!

In the absence of a thoroughly reliable transcript of the second plate, it is not, of course, possible to date the Jabalpur inscription definitely. As in the case of numerals, there may be a mistake, due to mislection, in the specification of the month, day or fortnight in the Nagpur Museum transcript. Of these, a mistake in the specification of the week-day is more possible than any other. Owing to the close resemblance between the letters *s* and *bh* of that period it is not unlikely that the writer of the transcript, who was none too accurate in his decipherment, read *Sōmē* (on Monday) for *Bhaumē* (on Tuesday).⁴ Now, we find that in 1084 A.C., Māgha *va. di.* 10 commenced 10 h. 30 m. after mean sunrise on Tuesday (the 24th December). The Makara-saṅkrānti had taken place earlier on the same day, 2 h. 40 m. after mean sunrise. But as the auspicious time (*parva-kāla*) of the Makara-saṅkrānti extends to as many as 40 *ghaṭikās*⁵ it is not unlikely that Yaśaḥkarna made the grant on account of the saṅkrānti in the evening of that day, when the 10th *tithi* was current. Tuesday, the 24th December 1084 A. C., corresponding to the expired Kalachuri year 836, may, therefore, be the date of the Jabalpur inscription. It may be noted, in this connection, that the eulogistic part of the present grant closely agrees with that of the Khairhā plates and the writer of both was probably the same.⁶ This shows that the Jabalpur plates must have been issued within a few years of the Khairhā plates and before Yaśaḥkarna had lost Banaras to the Gāhaḍavālas some time before A.C. 1090.⁶

¹ The Bhērī-Ghāt inscription of his widow Alhaṇadēvī (No. 60) is dated in the year 907 of the Kalachuri era.

² *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IV, p. 110.

³ *J. A. S. B.*, Vol. LVI, Part I, pp. 114 ff.

⁴ He has confused *s* and *bh* in another place also. See *Atra vāsārth-ārthanā* in the transcript given below for *atr=āiv=abhyarthanā*.

⁵ Cf. मकरसङ्क्रान्तौ हेमाद्रिमते परतश्चत्वारिंशद् घटिकाः पुण्यकालः । 'त्रिंशत्कण्टके नाद्यो मकरे तु दशाधिकाः ।' इति बह्मवैवर्तम् । *Nirṇayasāgara* (Nirṇayasāgara Press), p. 160.

⁶ The Chandravatī (Banaras District, U.P.) plates of Chandradēva, which record the earliest grant of the Gāhaḍavālas found in the Banaras District 'are dated in V. 1148 (*i. e.*, 1090 A. C.).

TEXT¹

- 1 सिद्धिः² [१*] ओं नमो ब्र(ब्र)ह्मणे ॥ जयति जलजनाभस्तस्य नाभीसरोजं जयति जयति तस्मा-
ज्जातवानब्ज(ब्ज)सूतिः ॥ (१) अथ जयति स तस्यापत्यमत्रिस्तदक्षस्तदनु जयति जन्म प्राप्तवा-
- 2 नन्विबन्धुः³ ॥⁴ [१॥*] अथ वो(वो)धनमादिराजपुत्रं गृहजामातरमब्ज(ब्ज)वा(वा)न्धवस्य ।
तनयं जनयां(व)भूव राजा गगनाभोगतडागराजहंसः ॥⁵ [२॥*] पुत्रं पुरुरवसमौरसमाप सु-
- 3 नुर्देवस्य सप्तजलरासि(शि)रसायनस्य । आसीदनन्यसमभाग्यशतोपभोग्या यस्योर्व्वसी(शी) च
सुकलत्रमिहोर्व्वरा च ॥⁶ [३॥*] अत्रान्वये किल शताधिकसप्तमेघयूपोपरुद्धयमुनो-
- 4 क्तविविक्तकीर्तिः ॥ (१) सप्ताब्धि(ब्धि)रत्नरस(श)नाभर[णा]भिरामविस्वं(स्वं)भर(रा)-
सु(शु)भरतो भरतो व(व)भूव ॥⁷ [४॥*] हेलागृहीतपुनरुक्तसमस्तस(श)स्त्रो गोत्रे जयत्यधिक-
मस्य स कात्तवीर्यः ॥ (१) अ-
- 5 त्रैव हेहयनृपान्वयपूर्व्वपुंसि राजेति नाम [श]शलक्ष्मणि चक्षमे यः ॥⁸ [५॥*] स हिमाचल इव
कलचुरिवंस(श)भसूत क्षमाभूतां भर्ता [१*] मुक्तामणिभिरिवामलवृत्तः पूतं महीप-
- 6 तिभिः ॥⁹ [६॥*] तत्रान्वये नयवतां प्रवरो नरेन्द्रः पौरन्दरीमिव पुरीं त्रिपुरीं पुनानः ॥ (१)
आसीन्मदान्धनृपगन्धगजाधिराज¹⁰निर्माथ¹¹केसरियुवा युवराजदेवः ॥¹² [७॥*] सिंहासने नृप-
- 7 तिसिंहममुष्य सूनमारूपन्नवनिर्भर्तुर्मात्यमुख्याः ॥ (१) कोकल्लमर्णवचतुष्टयवीचिसंघसंघट्टरुद्धच-
तुरङ्गचमूप्रचारं(रम्) ॥¹³ [८॥*] इन्दुप्रभां निदति हारगुच्छं जुगुप्सते
- 8 चंदनमाक्षिपन्ती [१*] यत्र प्रभौ दूरतरं प्रयाते वियोगिनीव प्रतिभाति कीर्तिः ॥¹⁴ [९॥*] मरकत-
मणिपट्टप्रौढवक्षाः स्मिताक्षो नगरपरिघदैर्घी(र्घ्यं) ल¹⁵ (लं)घयन्दोर्द्वयेन [१*] [शि]रसि
- 9 कुलिस(श)पातो वैरिणां वीरलक्ष्मीपतिरभवदपत्यं यस्य गाङ्गेयदेवः ॥¹⁶ [१०॥*] स वीरसिंहा-
सनमौलिरत्नं स विक्रमादित्य इति प्रसिद्धः ॥ (१) यस्मादकस्मादपयान-¹⁷
- 10 मिच्छन्न कुन्तलः कुस्त(न्त)लतां व(व)भार¹⁸ ॥¹⁹ [११॥*] प्राप्ते प्रयागवटमूलनिवेश(श)-
व(व)न्धौ सादृं शतेन गृहिणीभिरमुत्र मुक्ति(क्तिम्) । पुत्रोऽस्य सङ्गदलितारि²⁰ करीन्द्रकुम्भ-
मुक्ताफलः
- 11 स्म ककुभोर्च्वन्ति कर्णदेवः ॥²¹ [१२॥*] कनकसि(शि)खरवेल्लद्वैजयन्तीसमीरग्लपितगगनखेल-
त्खेचरीचक्रखेदः ॥ (१) किमपरमिह कास्यां(स्यां) यस्य दुग्धाब्धि(ब्धि)वीचीवलयव(व)-

¹ From the original plate and its ink impressions.

² Expressed by a symbol.

³ Read -नन्विबन्धुः.

⁴ Metre: *Mālinī*.

⁵ Metre: *Auspachchbandasika*.

⁶ Metre of this and the following two verses: *Vasantatilakā*.

⁷ Metre: *Āryā*.

⁸ These *aksharas* are quite clear on the plate.

⁹ It would be better to read निर्माथि-, as suggested by Kielhorn.

¹⁰ Metre of this and the following verse: *Vasantatilakā*.

¹¹ Metre: *Upajāti*.

¹² I fail to see any *anuvāra* on ल.

¹³ Metre: *Mālinī*.

¹⁴ Kielhorn doubtfully read -दपवर्गं, but the *aksharas* are quite clear here.

¹⁵ Kielhorn read -मिच्छन्न[कुच्छ]ल[ः] [कु स्वजि?] तां व(व)भार, but the *aksharas* are equally clear in this case.

¹⁶ Metre: *Upajāti*.

¹⁷ There is no doubt about the reading here.

¹⁸ Metre: *Vasantatilakā*.

- 12 हलकीर्त्तः कीर्त्तनं कर्णमेरुः ॥¹[१३॥*] अग्रघं धाम स्ने(स्ने)यसो वेदविद्यावल्लीकंदः स्वःस्रवत्याः
किरीटं(टम्) । व(व)ह्यस्तंभो(वो) येन कर्णवितीति प्रत्यक्षा(ष्ठा)पि क्षमातलव्र(व)ह्यलोकः
13 ॥²[१४॥*] अजनि कलचुरीणां स्वामिना तेन दूणान्वयजलनिधिल[क्ष्म्यां] श्रीमदावल्लदेव्यां-
(व्याम्) । शशमुदुदयस(श) द्वाधुब्ध(व्य)दुग्धाब्धि(ब्धि)वेलासहचरितयसः(क्षः)श्रीः श्री-
यसः(शः)कर्ण-
14 देवः ॥³[१५॥*] चन्द्रावर्कदीपवति⁴ पर्वतराजपूर्णकुम्भावभासिति(नि) महाब्धि(ब्धि)च-
तुष्कमध्ये [१*] चक्रे पुरोहितपुरस्कृतिपूतकर्म्म धर्म्मात्मनोऽस्य हि पितैव महाभिवेकं(कम्) ॥⁵
[१६॥*] न
15 खलस(श)लभगोष्ठीपक्षपातस्य पात्रं ॥⁶ न खलु कलुषचर्याकज्जलोद्गारकार[ः*]⁷ ॥(१)
कलयति कलिनामन्दुद्गमं यस्त्रिजा(या)मातमसि जयति जम्बू(म्बू)द्वीपरत्नप्रदीपः ॥⁸[१७॥*]
चिन्ता-
16 मणिकलुप्तशुक्तियुग्मकोडे स्याद्धदि कामधेनुदुग्धं(ग्वम्) । दृस्ये(श्ये)त दृशोस्त[दा*] स्य दातुः
सादृश्यं(श्यं) च(घ)वलारुणेक्षणस्य ॥⁹[१८॥*] यः ककुप्कुञ्जरालानस्तंभसत्र(त्र)ह्यचारिणः ।
17 [क्ष्मोपा]¹¹न्तेषु [ज]यस्तम्भानुदस्तंभयदुच्चकैः ॥¹²[१९॥*] यो व्र(व)ह्मणां पाणिषु पंचपाणि
दाता निधत्ते पयसः पृषन्ति [१*] तैरेव तृष्णामवधूय ते च रत्नाकरेपि प्रथयत्यवज्ञां(ज्ञाम्)
॥[१२०॥*]¹³
18 महीभर्त्ता महादानैस्तैस्तुलापुरुषादिभिः [१] गरिम्णा मेरुत्ययं कृतार्थयति योधिनिः ॥¹⁴[१२१॥*]
स्वर्गंराजगजदन्तरुचीनि क्षीरनीरनिधिसं(शं)खसु(शु)चीनि । सा(शा)ङ्गि-
19 त[ल्प]¹⁵फणिकंचुकर्मासि स्फीततां दधति यस्य यसां(शां)सि ॥¹⁶[२२॥*] अन्धाधीस¹⁷मरन्ध-
दोव्विलसितं स्वच्छन्दमुच्छिन्दता येनाभ्यर्च्यंत भूरिभिः स भगवान्भीमेस्व(स्व)रो
20 भू[ष]णैः ॥(१) यस्याभ्यर्णगता¹⁸[प्र]नृत्पलहरीभ्रूवल्लिगोदावरी गायत्युन्मदहंसनादमधुरैः स्तो-
तःस्वरैः सप्तभिः ॥¹⁹[२३॥*] कुर्वन्महो ब्रा(वा)ह्मणसा-

¹ Metre: *Mālinī*. There is no uncertainty in the reading of this verse.

² Metre: *Sālinī*.

³ Metre: *Mālinī*.

⁴ The *aksharas* are quite clear here.

⁵ Metre: *Vasantatilakā*.

⁶ This *danḍa* is superfluous.

⁷ Kielhorn doubtfully read कज्जलोद्गारकश्च, but there is no uncertainty about the reading given above.

⁸ Metre: *Mālinī*.

⁹ Kielhorn read with diffidence कृष्ण-, but his reading is not warranted by the original.

¹⁰ Metre: *Bhadravirāj*.

¹¹ The *aksharas* are somewhat indistinct here, but there is no uncertainty about the reading given above. Kielhorn read [असा(शा)न्ते]षु.

¹² Metre: *Anushṭubh*.

¹³ Metre: *Indravajrā*.

¹⁴ Metre: *Anushṭubh*.

¹⁵ Kielhorn was not certain about his reading *लेप*. The second *akshara* appears like *ल्प*, but the intended reading is obviously as given above. See also the Khairhā plates (above, No. 56), p. 19.

¹⁶ Metre: *Svāgatā*.

¹⁷ Read ब्रन्धाधीश-.

¹⁸ These six *aksharas* are quite clear on the plate.

¹⁹ Metre: *Sārdūlavikrīṭā*.

JABALPUR PLATE OF YASAHKARNA

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- 21 [द]रिक्खन्ननिव(व)हंणः [1*] शा(सा)द्वं परसु(सु)रामेण यः स्पर्द्धामधिरोहति ॥¹[२४॥*]
स च परमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेस्व(स्व)रन्ध्रीवामदेवपा—²

(For a transcript of the second plate which has been lost, see Appendix, No. 2, below.)

TRANSLATION

Om! Adoration to Brahman!

(For a translation of verses 1—24, see above, pp. 296-99.)

(Line 21) And he [meditating on] the feet of the *Paramabhaddhāraka*, *Mahārājādhirāja* and *Paramēśvara*, the illustrious *Vāmadēva*

(For the subsequent portion of the grant, see Appendix, No. 2, below.)

No. 58; PLATE XLVII

TEWAR STONE INSCRIPTION OF GAYAKARNA ; CHEDI YEAR 902

THE slab of black stone which bears the subjoined inscription, was found at Tewar, a village about 6 miles to the west of Jabalpur, the headquarters of the Jabalpur District of Madhya Pradesh. The inscription was edited, without any translation or lithograph, by Dr. Kielhorn in the *Indian Antiquary*, Volume XVIII, pp. 209 ff. It is edited here from the original stone which is deposited in the Central Museum, Nagpur.

The record, consisting of twenty-two lines, is inscribed on the countersunk surface of the stone surrounded by a plain border. The writing covers a space measuring 12.7" in breadth and 14.7" in height, and is in a state of good preservation except in the middle of lines 9-13 where a few *aksharas* have become somewhat indistinct owing to the wearing away of the inscribed surface.³ The size of the letters varies between .4" and .5". The characters are Nāgarī. *T* and *bh* are, in some places, not clearly distinguishable from *n*, see, e.g., *sūnūnā* l. 5 and *Bhāvabrahma*-, l. 8; *ś* has three different forms see, e.g., *śrīyē*-, l. 1, = *sañyamināś=cha*, l. 16 and *śrī-Dharaṇīdharō*-, l. 18; the left limb of *dh* is seen fully developed in some cases, see, e.g., *bhikshā-dhanēna*, l. 17, *Mahādharaḥ*, l. 20 etc. The language is Sanskrit. With the exception of the opening *om namah Śivāya*, the record is metrically composed throughout. There are eighteen verses in all, none of which is numbered. As regards orthography, we may notice the doubling of the consonant following *r* and preceding *v*, see *Karṇa*-, l. 3, and *Pṛithvīdharas*-, l. 18; the use of the sign for *v* to denote *b* except in three cases, viz. -*muktir=bbhavēt*, l. 16, = *abdhīḥ*, l. 19 and -*yugal-ābda*-, ll. 20-1; and the substitution of the dental *s* for the palatal *ś* in -*narēśvarō*-, ll. 3-4, *navasata*-, l. 20.

After two customary verses in praise of Śiva and the moon, the mythical ancestor of the Kalachuris, the inscription mentions the king *Karṇa*, his son *Yaśaḥkarṇa* and grandson *Gayākarṇa*⁴, and expresses the wish that *Gayākarṇa*, together with his son, the crown-prince *Narasimha*, would rule the earth to the end of the world. The name of *Gayākarṇa* as the reigning king occurs again in connection with the date in l. 21. The object of the inscription is to record that *Bhāvabrahman*, who was a disciple of

¹ Metre: *Anuṣṭubh*.

² For the following words, see ll. 23-24 of the Khairhā plates, above, No. 56.

³ The inscription was apparently in a state of better preservation when its estampages were taken for Kielhorn; for, in his transcript he does not show these letters as indistinct or doubtful.

⁴ In v. 3 his name appears as *Gayakarṇa* owing to the exigencies of the metre.

the Pāśupata ascetic Bhāvatējas of the Ananta *gōtra*, constructed a temple of Siva near which the inscribed stone was originally put up. The *prafasti*, as the inscription is called in v. 15, was composed by Pṛithvīdhara, the son of the Brāhmaṇa Dharaṇīdhara. It was incised by the architect Mahīdhara.

The date of the record is rather clumsily expressed in words as Sunday, the first tithi of the bright fortnight of the month Śuchi (or Āshāḍha) while the Chēdi era was increasing to nine hundred and a couple of years during the reign of the illustrious Gayākarna. This is one of the few dates in which the era is specifically named. The date is quite regular; for the first tithi of the bright fortnight of Āshāḍha in the expired Chēdi or Kalachuri year 902 ended 2 h. after mean sunrise on the 17th June 1151 A.C. which was a Sunday as stated in the present inscription.

TEXT¹

- 1 ओं² नमः शिवाय ॥ त्रैलोक्यसौधशिल्पी यस्त्रिवेदीवाक्यसत्कविः । नित्यप्रयत्नवो(वो)धेच्छः
सोष्टमूर्तिः श्रियेस्तु वः ॥³[१॥*]
- 2 कलघोतशुवितरिव चंद्रकला जयति स्मरान्तकशिरोविधृता । अलिकाक्षिवह्निजनितोद्यतुषा सुतया
गि—
- 3 रेः सुरसरित्पयसे ॥⁴[२॥*] आत्रेयगोत्रेऽखिलराजचक्रजिगीपुराजोजनि कर्णदेवः । तस्माद्यशः—
कर्णनरेस्व(स्व)—
- 4 रोभूतस्यात्मजोयं गयकर्णदेवः ॥⁵[३॥*] आकलयं पृथिवीं शास्तु श्रीगयाकर्णपार्थिवः । संगतो—
नरसिंहेन यु—
- 5 वराजेन सूनूना ॥⁶[४॥*] गोत्रेऽनन्तसमाह्वयेभवदिनप्रहस्यस्तपस्तेजसा दृष्टादृष्टविशुद्धकर्म—
निरतः श्रीभाव—
- 6 तेजा गुरुः ॥(१) आचार्योद्भुतकेवलार्थवचसां पाञ्चाधिको यः सुधीः कामत्रोधजवर्गदुर्गविपिन—
प्लोष—
- 7 स्य दावानलः ॥⁷[५॥*] श्रुत्वा समस्तागमयोगशास्त्रं व्याख्याय च न्यायकणादशास्त्रं(स्त्रम्) ।
अभ्यस्य यः पाशुपतं च योगं
- 8 शिवस्य सायोज्यमवाप वो(वो)धात् ॥⁸[६॥*] प्रथमस्तस्य शिष्योयं भावन्न(न्न)ह्यतपोधनः ।
तपःकर्मरतो नित्यं कर्मसा(सां)—
- 9 न्यासिकोपि यः ॥⁹[७॥*] कौपीनमात्रवसनः शुचिभस्म[शायी पंचार्थ]वो(वो)धसुकृती
मितभक्षभोजी । यो व(व)ह्यचर्य—
- 10 विधिनान्यसनत्कुमारः पातञ्जलागमनिरूपित[योगसंगः] ॥¹⁰[८॥*] भिक्षोपाज्जितकाञ्चनाम्न—
वसनैः संप्रीणयत्य—
- 11 स्थिनः स्नेहेन प्रगुणीकरोति सुधियः संतपितान्सूनृतैः । क्लेशो[न्मूलन]धर्म्यकर्मनिरतः साक्षात्कृत—

¹ From the original stone and inked estampages.

² Expressed by a symbol.

³ Metre: *Anuṣṭubh*.

⁴ Metre: *Pramitākṣharā*.

⁵ Metre: *Upajāti*.

⁶ Metre: *Anuṣṭubh*.

⁷ Metre: *Sārdūlavikrīḍita*.

⁸ Metre: *Upajāti*.

⁹ Metre: *Anuṣṭubh*.

¹⁰ Metre: *Vasantatilakā*.

TEWAR STONE INSCRIPTION OF GAYAKARNA: CHEDI YEAR 902

[illegible]

- 12 अयं(व)को भावव(व)ह्यसमस्तपस्विषु कलौ दृष्टो न [पाञ्चात्यकः]¹ ॥[१॥*] परिग्रह-
विमुक्तोपि गृह्णा (ह्णा)ति² हृदि यः[*] शिवं(वम्)
- 13 कामक्रोधौ निगृह्णा(ह्णा)ति क्षमावानपि सद्रतैः ॥³ [१०॥*] [प्राणायाम]समाधिसिद्ध-
नियमध्यानासनैरन्वहं यः कृत्वा
- 14 हृदयां(वु)जे स्मररिपुं(वु)द्वया समभ्यस्यति । [मैत्री तस्य सुधी]भिरात्ममुदिता शास्त्रागमे
योगिनः शिष्याणां करुणा
- 15 भवेच्च विषयोपेक्षा शिवज्ञानतः ॥⁴ [११॥*] रथयात्रो[त्सवाञ्चर्चा]भिर्गाढुंजगतीमिमां(माम्) ।
सोलंचकार प्राकारदेवागारमठैर-
- 16 पि ॥⁵ [१२॥*] पुर्तनं धर्मेण निवर्तकेन मुक्तिर्भवेत्संयमिनश्च वो(वो)धात् । एतद्व(द्व)यं
प्राप्तुमयं मुमुक्षुर्व्यधापयद्देवमिमं शिवस्य ॥⁶ [१३॥*]
- 17 भिक्षाघनेन तेनेदं मंदिरं कामविद्विषः । कारितं मुक्तये भक्त्या कीर्तये च कृतात्मनां(नाम्) ॥⁷
[१४॥*] श्रुतिस्मृतीहासपुराणवेत्ता
- 18 विप्रः सुधीः श्रीधरणीधरोभूत् । व्यधादिमां तत्तनयः प्रशस्तिं पृथ्वीधरस्तवर्कविशुद्धवु(वु)द्धिः ॥⁸
[१५॥*] यावन्मेरुः स्व-
- 19 णंकुंभः मृधिव्यां यावद्गंगा वर्तते यावदब्धिः । यावल्लोके चंद्रसूर्यौ चकास्तः शंभोरेतत्कीर्तनं
तावदास्तां(स्ताम्) ॥⁹ [१६॥*]
- 20 विश्वकर्मकृतं शास्त्रं वेत्ति योर्येन कर्मणा । उत्कीर्णवानिमां शस्तां प्रशस्तिं स महीधरः ॥¹⁰
[१७॥*] नवस(श)तयुगला-
- 21 द्वाधिक्यगे चेदिदिष्ट(ष्टे) ज[न*]पदमवतीमं श्रीगयाकर्णदेवे । प्रतिपदि शुचिमासश्चेतपक्षेर्कवा-
- 22 रे शिवशरणसमीपे स्थापितेयं प्रशस्तिः ॥¹¹ [१८॥*]

TRANSLATION

Om! Adoration to Siva!

(Verse 1) May that eight-formed (Siva) grant you fortune!—(he) who is the architect of the mansion of the three worlds (and) the noble poet of the composition of the three Vēdas, and whose effort, knowledge and will are eternal.

(V. 2) Glorious is the digit of the moon which is, as it were, the silver-shell held on the head of (Siva), the destroyer of Smara, by (Pārvatī), the daughter of the mountain, who felt very thirsty on account of the fire of the (third) eye on (his) forehead.¹²

(V. 3) In the race of Atri's son (i.e., the moon) was born **Karṇa**, the king who strove to subdue the whole multitude of princes. From him was (born) the king **Yaśaḥ-karṇa**. His son is this king **Gayākarna**.

¹ Metre: *Sārdūlavikrīḍita*.

² These *akṣharas* are quite distinct on the original stone and in the inked estampages.

³ Metre: *Anuṣṭubh*.

⁴ Metre: *Sārdūlavikrīḍita*.

⁵ Metre: *Anuṣṭubh*.

⁶ Metre: *Upajāti*.

⁷ Metre: *Anuṣṭubh*.

⁸ The writer intended to say *श्रुतिस्मृतीतिहास-*, but has dropped the *akṣara ti* for the sake of the metre.

⁹ Metre: *Upajāti*.

¹⁰ Metre: *Sālini*.

¹¹ Metre: *Anuṣṭubh*.

¹² Metre: *Mālini*.

¹³ According to Kielhorn the second half of this verse does not admit of a proper construction (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 210, n.7). I fail to notice any such difficulty.

(V. 4) May the illustrious king **Gayākarna** together with his son, the crown-prince **Narasiṃha**, rule the earth as long as the world will endure!

✓(V. 5) In the *gōtra* called Ananta was born the religious preceptor, the illustrious **Bhāvatējas**, resembling the sun by the lustre of his penance, and devoutly performing extremely pure actions whether noticed or not (*by others*)—who, a wise man and a follower of the Pañchārtha,¹ expounded the marvellous teaching about the absolute and was a wild fire in burning the impenetrable forest of the multitude of evils arising from lust and anger.

(V. 6) Having listened to the entire systems of the Āgama and the Yōga, having expounded the systems of Nyāya and Kaṇāda² and having practised the Yōga system of Paśupati, he attained union with Śiva by his knowledge.

(V. 7) This ascetic **Bhāvabrahmaṇ** is his foremost disciple, who, though he has given up all actions, is ever engaged in the performance of penance.³

(V. 8) He is clad only in a loin-cloth, lies on pure ashes, is proficient in the knowledge of the Pañchārtha (*system*), lives on a limited quantity of food, is another Sanat-kumāra⁴ on account of his celibacy, and is devoted to (*the practice of*) Yōga as taught in the system of Patañjali.

(V. 9) (*He*) pleases supplicants with (*gifts of*) gold, food and raiment, makes intelligent men meritorious by his love, delighting them with pleasant speech, performs devoutly religious actions for the eradication of trouble, and has realized the three-eyed (god Śiva). In (*this*) Kali age there is seen no follower of the Pañchārtha system like Bhāvabrahmaṇ.

(V. 10) Though devoid of all possessions he harbours Śiva in his heart; though forgiving, he curbs lust and rage through good vows.

(V. 11) By means of control of breath, observances essential for meditation, contemplation and postures, he day by day practises intellectually (*meditation on*) Śiva whom he places in the lotus of his heart; (*being*) a yōgin he would cultivate benevolence towards the wise, the joy of self-realization by the study of the śāstras, compassion towards his disciples and indifference to worldly objects by (*his*) knowledge of Śiva.⁵

(V. 12) He adorned this world of Gāhuṇḍa⁶ with processions of the chariot (of Śiva), festivity and the worship (of Śiva) and also with encircling walls, temples and monasteries.

(V. 13) A self-controlled person secures final emancipation by a work of pious liberality which makes one desist (*from worldly affairs*) and by knowledge. To secure both these⁷ he installed this image of Śiva.

(V. 14) By means of wealth obtained by begging he caused this temple of (Śiva), the enemy of the god of love, to be constructed with devotion for the liberation and glory of the self-controlled. ✓

¹ See above, page 232, n. 1.

² I.e. the Vaiśeṣika system.

³ There is apparent contradiction in this verse, the figure being *Virōdhābhāsa*.

⁴ Sanatkumāra figures in the Upanishads and the Purāṇas as a great teacher (see, e.g., *Chhāndōg ya Up.* VII, 1, 1; 26; *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* III, 8, 7; *Mahābhārata*, Śāntiparvan, 227). According to the *Līṅgapurāṇa* he himself received the Śaiva doctrine from Nandin.

⁵ This verse describes the cultivation of the four sentiments (*bhāvanās*) of *matrī* (benevolence), *karuṇā* (compassion), *muditā* (cheerfulness) and *upēkṣā* (indifference) mentioned in the *Yōgasūtra* of Patañjali I, 33. They are also recognized in Buddhist philosophy. See Kern's *Manual of Indian Buddhism*, p. 54.

⁶ Kielhorn has suggested that *Gāhuṇḍa* is probably a local designation of Śiva. It may be noted in this connection that Monier-Williams gives, on the authority of the *Kāṭikhaṇḍa*, *huṇḍana* in the sense of an attendant of Śiva.

⁷ I.e., pious work and knowledge.

(V. 15) There was the illustrious Dharaṇīdhara, a wise Brāhmaṇa, who had studied the Vēdas, Smṛitis, Itihāsas and Purāṇas. His son Prithvīdhara, whose intellect has become keen by (*the study of*) dialectics, has composed this eulogy.

(V. 16) As long as Mēru (*which is*) the jar of gold, the Gaṅgā and the ocean endure on the earth, so long may this temple of Śiva last!

(V. 17) That Mahīdhara, who understands the teaching and the practical work of the science invented by Viśvakarman¹, has incised this commendable *prafasti*.

(V. 18) While the Chēdi era was increasing to nine hundred and a couple of years and the illustrious Gayākarna was ruling this country, this eulogy was put up near the temple of Śiva on Sunday, the first (lunar day) in the bright fortnight of the month Āshāḍha.

No. 59; PLATE XLVIII

BAHURIBAND STATUE INSCRIPTION OF GAYAKARNA

BAHURIBAND is now a small village situated on a plateau at a distance of about 20 miles from Sihōrā, the headquarters of the Sihōrā *tahsil* in the Jabalpur District of Madhya Pradesh. Not far from Bahuriband lie the villages of Tigōwā and Rūpnāth, the former of which is known for its Gupta temple, still in a state of perfect preservation, and the latter, for its Aśokan rock-edict. Bahuriband contains some old ruins, the most conspicuous of which is a colossal standing nude statue of the Jain Tirthaṅkara Śāntinātha. 'It is near the village and stands upon its original site, portions of the foundations of the walls of the shrine, in which it stood, being still around it. It stands 12 feet and 2½ inches high from the soles of the feet to the crown of the head.'² There is an attendant holding a *chavri* on either side of it. The *chhatra* over it is now broken away and lies behind the image. It measures 4' 4" in height and has the figure of an elephant on either side of it.

The present inscription is incised on the pedestal of the statue of Śāntinātha. It falls into three parts. Parts A and B, each consisting of three lines, are engraved on the top of the pedestal to the left and right respectively of the feet of the image³. Part C, which has seven lines, is incised on the front face of the pedestal. Before it is a small *kunḍa* intended to receive the water of the Tirthaṅkara's bath. The inscription was first brought to notice by General Cunningham, who gave his reading of the first two lines and a portion of the third of part C⁴. It was next noticed by Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar who published a short abstract of its contents⁵. It is being edited here for the first time from the original stone as well as its inked estampages which were kindly supplied by the Superintendent of Archaeological Survey, Central Circle, Patna.

The inscription is very much weather-worn, especially in parts A and B. Besides, a few *aksharas* in the first line of part C have been broken away. The characters belong to the Nāgarī alphabet. It may be noted that *dh* appears here to be fully developed as in the modern Nāgarī; see, e.g., *dharmma*-, l. 4 and *Sūtradhāra*, l. 5; *th*, on the other hand, has not yet opened its upper loop, see *Sāntināthasya*, l. 5. The language is Sanskrit. The orthography does not call for any special notice.

¹ *I.e.*, the science of architecture. Viśvakarman is the architect of gods.

² P. R. A. S., W. I. for 1903-4, p. 35. For a photograph of the image see H. T. M., Plate LII.

³ These were not noticed by previous writers.

⁴ C. A. S. I. R., Vol. IX, p. 40.

⁵ P. R. A. S., W. I. for 1903-04, pp. 54-55.

The object of the inscription is to record that during the victorious reign of the illustrious Gayākarnādēva, while the *Mahāsāmantādhipati* Gōlhanādēva of the Rāshtrakūṭa family was flourishing, one Mahābhōja (?), the son of Sādhu Sarvadhara, who had been favoured by the illustrious Māghavanandi, the foremost of logicians, erected the temple of Sāntinātha. We are further told that the white canopy over it was built by a *Sātradhāra*.¹ The image of Sāntinātha was consecrated by the *Āchārya* Subhadra, who belonged to the line of the Dēśi *gapa*² in the *Amnāya* of the Chandrakara *Āchārya*.³

Cunningham read the date in the first line, as *samvat* 10.. *Phālguna* *badi* 9 *sōmē*. Dr. Bhandarkar has, on the other hand, remarked that 'the date of the inscription is too indistinct to be read.' Many of the signs in the first line, where Cunningham read the date are now broken away. It is not, therefore, possible to verify his reading completely. But the extant *aksharas* seem to read [va] di 9 *Bhaumē* (not *Sōmē*). Even in Cunningham's time all the figures of the year were not preserved. What he took to be the figure 1 appears to be the remnant of some *akshara* like *pa* or *sa*. Again, Cunningham's reading of the first two figures, if correct, would relegate the present record to the end of the tenth or the first half of the eleventh century A.C.; for *samvat* 10.. would have to be referred to the Vikrama era. But from the Tewar inscription⁴ dated K. 902 we know that Gayākarna flourished in the first half of the twelfth century A.C. The first two figures of the date, if it was recorded in the Vikrama era, must, therefore, have been either 11 or 12.

TEXT⁵

A

On the top of the pedestal, to the left of the feet of Sāntinātha.

1 साधुश्रीसर्वधर[व?]

2 . . . [महा] . . .

3

B

On the top of the pedestal, to the right of the feet of Sāntinātha.

1 साधु श्री स[स्वला]

2

3

C

On the front face of the pedestal of the image of Sāntinātha.

1 [स्वस्ति ⁶[व]दि ९ [भौ]मे . . . ⁷श्रीमदगयाकर्णदेवविजयरा-

2 ज्ये राष्ट्रकूटकुलोद्भवमहासामंताधिपतिश्रीमद्गोल्हणदेवस्य प्रवर्द्धमानस्य ॥⁸

¹ His name appears to be *Śreṣṭhi*.

² The Dēśi *gapa* is a branch of the Nandi *gapa* and Mūla *saṅgha* of the Digambara sect.

³ This may be identical with the Chandrakapāṭa-*gachchha* of the Digambara sect, *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXI, p. 73.

⁴ Above, No. 58.

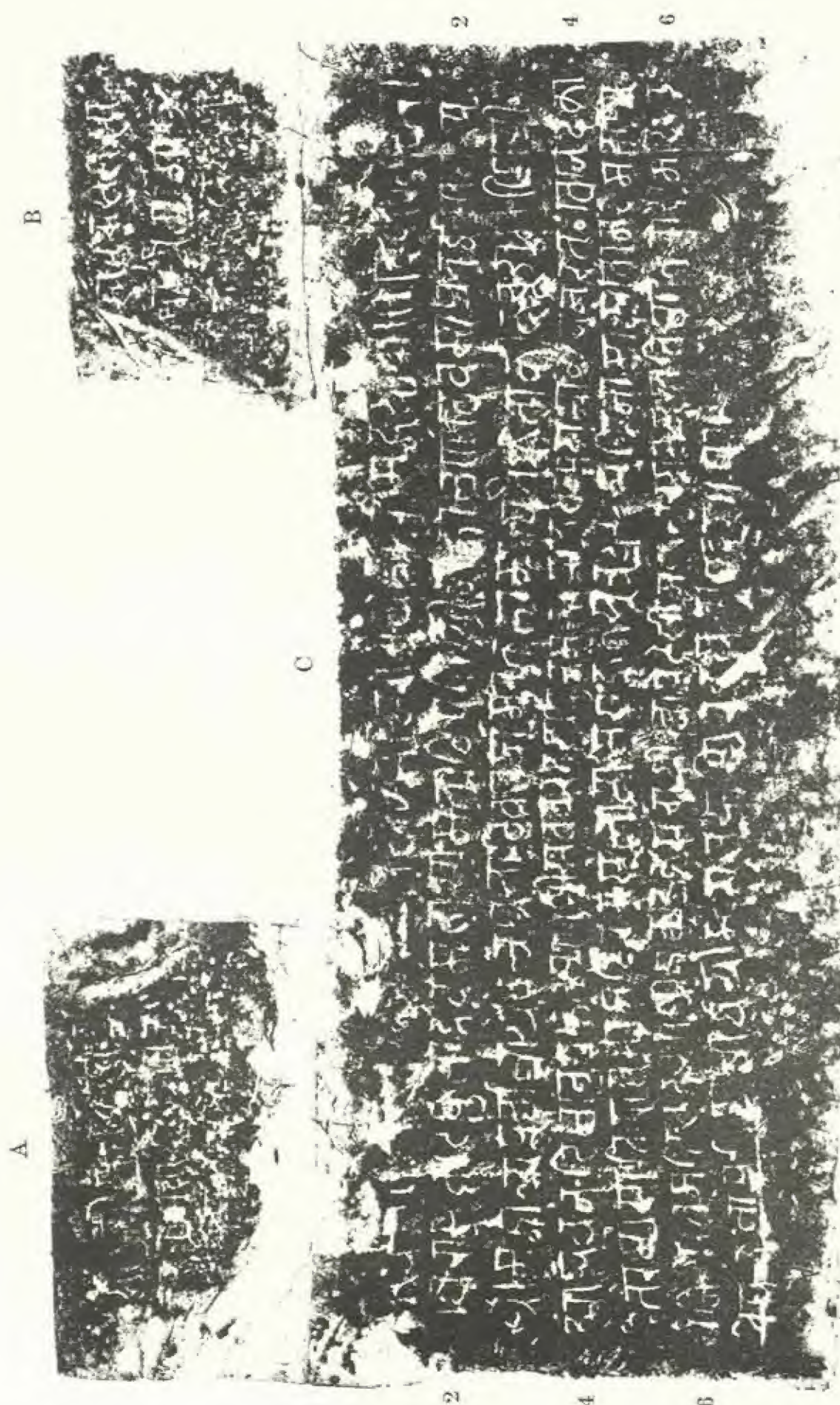
⁵ From the original stone and inked estampages.

⁶ About nine *aksharas* are lost here.

⁷ There are indistinct traces of four *aksharas* here.

⁸ This sign of punctuation is superfluous.

BAHURIBAND STATUE INSCRIPTION OF GAYAKARNA



- 3 श्रीमद्गोल्लापूर्वाम्नाये वेल्लप्रभाटिकायामुत्कृताम्नाये तवर्कतार्की (कि) कचूडामणिश्रीम—
 4 आधवनंदिनानुगृहि (ही) तस्साधुश्रीस [वं] धर [ः*] तस्य पुत्र [ः*] महा [भो] ज [ः*] धम्म—
 दानाध्ययनरतः [1*] तेनेदं का—
 5 रितं रम्यं सां (शां) तिनाथस्य मंदिरं (रम्) ॥¹ स्वलात्यमसंज्जक² सूत्रधार [ः*] स्वे (श्वे) स्ति (ष्ठि)
 नामा [1*] वितो (ता) नं च महास्वे—
 6 तं निर्मितमतिसुंदरं (रम्)³ ॥ [१॥*] श्रीमच्चंद्रकराचार्याम्नायदेसी (शी) ग [णा] न्वये समस्त—
 विद्याविनये (या) नंदित—
 7 विद्व [ज्ज] ना [ः*] प्रतिष्ठाचार्यश्रीमत्सुभद्राश्चिरं जयंतु ॥ ॐ ॥०॥

TRANSLATION

C⁴

Hail! On Tuesday the 9th tithi of the dark fortnight⁵ during the victorious reign of the illustrious Gayākarnadēva, while the Mahāsāmantādhipati, the illustrious Gōlhaṇadēva, born in the Rāshṭrakūṭa family, is flourishing—

(There was) the pious layman, the illustrious Sarvadhara, (born) in the Gōllāpūrva⁶ Āmnāya, the sacred traditions (Āmnāya) of which were amplified at Vēllaprabhāṭikā, who was blessed by the illustrious Māghavanandi, the crest-jewel of logicians. His son is Mahā[bhō]ja (who is) devoted to (the performance of) religious duty, charity and study (of the sacred texts). By him has been caused to be erected this beautiful temple of Sāntinātha.

The Sajjaka Sūtradhāra is named Srēshṭhi.⁷ By him has been constructed (here) a very white and extremely beautiful canopy.

(Line 6) May the holy Achārya Subhadra, who has consecrated (this image of Sāntinātha), be long glorious!—(he) who belongs to the line (amāya) of the Dēśī gaṇa⁸ in the Āmnāya of the holy Chandrakara⁹ Achārya, and who has delighted learned men by his perfect learning and humility!

¹ The verse is completed below.

² Bhandarkar read the last three akṣaras as sajjana which he took to be the name of the Sūtradhāra (P. R. A. S. W. I. for 1903-04, p. 35); but the last akṣara is certainly not na. It is more like ka than any other akṣara. I therefore read the word as सज्जक. Cf. सज्जक prefixed to सूत्रधार in No. 105, l. 20.

³ Metre: Anuṣṭubh.

⁴ Parts A and B, which contain only a few akṣaras have not been translated. Part A contains the name Sarvadhara.

⁵ The name of the month and the figures of the year have been broken away.

⁶ There are still several Jain families belonging to the Gōllāpūrva Āmnāya in Madhya Pradesh. Vēllaprabhāṭikā may be a place-name.

⁷ I am unable to explain स्वलात्यम prefixed to सज्जक.

⁸ See above, p. 310, n. 3.

⁹ Loc. cit.

No. 60; PLATE XLIX

BHĒRA-GHAT STONE INSCRIPTION OF NARASIMHA: (KALACHURI) YEAR 907

THE stone which bears this inscription was procured by Dr. F. E. Hall in 1857 at Bhērā-Ghāt on the Narmadā in the Jabalpur District of Madhya Pradesh, and subsequently presented by him to the American Oriental Society, in whose Cabinet at New Haven, it is now deposited. It is a plain block of green stone, of a soft texture and easily cut, 2' 9½" broad by 1' 10½" high. The inscription was first edited, with an English translation and notes, by Dr. Hall in the *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, Vol. VI, pp. 499 f.¹; and Dr. Hall's text was afterwards reprinted in Roman characters, with a photozincograph of the inscription in Dr. Burgess' *Memoranda, Archaeological Survey of Western India*, No. 10, pp. 107-9; and his translation in Sir A. Cunningham's *Archaeological Survey of India Reports*, Vol. IX, pp. 91-94.² The inscription was finally edited by Dr. Kielhorn, with an English translation but without a lithograph, in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. II, pp. 7 f. It is edited here from excellent large-size photographs which were, at the Government Epigraphist's request, kindly supplied by the authorities of the American Oriental Society.

The inscription, consisting of 29 lines of writing, covers a space of about 2' 7½" broad by 1' 9" high. The letters are beautifully and carefully cut, the *anusvāras*, curves and *mātrās* in the first line being ornamentally treated. Except for two *aksharas* each at the end of lines 11 and 12, which are almost completely broken away, and one or two others here and there which are partially damaged, the inscription is in a state of good preservation. The size of the letters varies from .4" to .7". The characters are Nāgarī and resemble those of the Tewar inscription of Bhāvabrahman. The sign of the initial *i* in ll. 7, 17 etc. has its two dots at the top joined by a curve, instead of a straight line;³ *th* and *dh* exhibit transitional forms, the former having its upper loop open in some cases (see, e.g., *tathā*, l. 25 and *-Prithu-*, l. 29) and the latter appearing with a fully developed left member in *dhar-āśraya-*, l. 3 = *vyadhātām*, l. 25, etc.; in other cases, these letters retain their earlier forms; *ṇ* is still without its dot, see, e.g., *-dīnmaṇḍali*, ll. 27-28; the sign of the *jihvāmūlya* occurs in l. 9 and that of the *upadhīmānya* in l. 10. The language is Sanskrit and except for *ōṃ namah Śivāya* in the beginning and the date at the end, the inscription is metrically composed throughout. There are thirty-seven verses in all. Though written in a good style, the inscription is not altogether free from mistakes. Thus *chakapē* in l. 10 is used for the correct form *chakampē* to suit the metre; *vyadhātām*, which is intended as a form of the Imperative, is incorrect for *vidhātām*, and in *chandīmatām* l. 9, there is a superfluous addition of a second *taddhita* affix to form an abstract noun. Finally, rules of *sandhi* have been violated in *kim=vā* l. 2, *yushmān=sarīraiḥ*, l. 3, and *sarve-ādāyaiḥ=ssārdham*, ll. 24-25. As regards orthography, *b* is in some cases denoted by its proper sign, see, e.g., *babhūva* and *vibudhā-*, both in l. 8, *bibhraty-*, l. 10, and in others by that of *v*, see *vuddhim* = l. 1, *vibhrat*, l. 6 etc.; the palatal *ś* is used for the dental *s* in *saśāla*, l. 14, and the dental nasal for *anusvāra* in the component *sinha* of the proper names *Vairisinha*, l. 16, *Vijayasinha*, l. 17, *Narasinha*, l. 21, *Jayasinha*, l. 22 and *Vālasinha*, l. 29, and also in *-suhānsuh*, l. 18, = *sansatsu*,

¹ The committee of publications corrected some of the mistakes in Hall's transcript while the paper was going through the press. It is noteworthy that the mention of the Paramāra king Udayāditya in the present inscription enabled Hall to conjecture for the first time that the dates of the present and other inscriptions of the Kalachuris refer to an era which commenced about 250 A. C.

² *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. II, p. 7.

³ In line 3 of the Goharwa plates of Kaiṇa (above, No. 50) and line 8 of the Khaīrhā plates of Yaśaḥ-karṇa (above, No. 56), the top of the initial *i* is formed by a straight line.

1.5 etc.; finally, the consonant following *r* is occasionally doubled, see e.g., *nirjjity-*, 1.7, = *irddhva-*, 1.8 etc.

The inscription refers itself to the reign of the king **Narasimha** of the **Later Kalachuri Dynasty**. The object of it is to record that his mother **Alhaṇadēvī**, the widow of **Gayakaṛṇa**¹ constructed a temple of Siva under the name of **Vaidyanātha** together with a *maṭha* or monastery and a hall of study which she endowed with the income from two villages, viz., **Nāmaūṇḍī** in the **Jāuli pattalā** and **Makarapātaka** on the right bank of the **Narmadā** in the land near the foot of the hills, for the worship of the deity. The management of the whole establishment was entrusted to the Pāśupata ascetic **Rudrarāśi** of the **Lāṭa** lineage. The inscription, which is called *prastāvi* in l. 28, was composed by **Śaśidhara**, the son of **Dharaṇidhara** who was himself the son of **Mahēśvara** of the **Maunya** family (*gōtra*), with the *pravaras* **Bhārgava**, **Vaitahavya** and **Sāvētaśa**. It was written on the stone by **Śaśidhara**'s elder brother **Prithvīdhara**, and engraved by **Mahīdhara**, a son of the artisan **Bālasimha**.² Finally, we are told that the buildings were designed by the architect **Pīthē**.

After the introductory verses invoking the blessings of the moon, the **Gaṅgā**, **Siva**, **Gaṇēśa** and **Sarasvatī**, the inscription mentions **Arjuna** (*i.e.*, **Sahasrārjuna**), from whom was descended **Kōkalla** (II). From him was born **Gāṅgēyadēva** whose son was **Karṇa**. The latter held in check the **Pāṇḍya**, **Murala**, **Kuṅga**, **Vaṅga**, **Kaliṅga**, **Kīra** and **Hūṇa** princes. **Karṇa**'s son was **Yaśaḥkarṇa** who made himself famous by devastating **Champāraṇya**. His son was **Gayakaṛṇa** who married **Alhaṇadēvī**. The queen's pedigree is given in verses 17-22. In the family descended from **Gōbhilaputra** was born the prince **Harṇsapāla**. His son was **Vairisimha** who, again, had a son named **Vijayasimha**. The latter prince married **Śyāmaladēvī**, the beautiful daughter of **Udayāditya**, the ruler of the **Mālava-maṇḍala**. Their daughter was **Alhaṇadēvī** who was married to **Gayakaṛṇa**. By him **Alhaṇadēvī** had two sons **Narasimhadēva**, who succeeded **Gayakaṛṇa**, and his younger brother **Jayasimha**.

The names of **Alhaṇadēvī**'s ancestors are known from some other inscriptions also³. Thus the Mount Abu inscription of **Samarasimha**⁴ mentions **Vairisimha** and his successor **Vijayasimha** in the list of **Guhila** princes of **Mēdapāṭa**. The record does not, however, name any prince of the name **Harṇsapāla**, but makes **Vairisimha** the successor of the king **Vairāṭa**. Dr. Hall⁵ and following him, Dr. Kielhorn⁶ supposed that **Harṇsapāla** was another name of **Vairāṭa** 'unless **Vairāṭa** was his brother or some other near relative.' **Harṇsapāla** is, however, mentioned separately from **Vairāṭa** whom he is said to have succeeded in the **Sādaḍi**⁷ and **Kumbhalgaḍ**⁸ inscriptions.

The present inscription is dated at the end in the year 907 (expressed in numerical

¹ This is the form of the name used throughout in this inscription owing evidently to the exigencies of the metre.

² **Prithvīdhara** the son of **Mahīdhara** was the author of the **Tewar** inscription of **Gayakaṛṇa** (No. 58, above). The engraver **Mahīdhara** also is mentioned in the same capacity in that inscription.

³ The same pedigree is given in ll. 15-16 of the **Karabēl** stone inscription of **Jayasimhadēva**, Appendix, No. 3.

⁴ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVI, pp. 345 ff.

⁵ *J. A. O. S.*, Vol. VI, p. 519.

⁶ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVI, p. 347.

⁷ *A. R. A. S. I.* (1907-08), pp. 214 ff. This inscription mentions **Vairṇsapāla** as a successor of **Vairāṭa** and predecessor of **Vairisimha**. **Vairṇsapāla** is probably a mistake for **Harṇsapāla**. The successor of **Vairisimha** is, however, named **Virasimha**, not **Vijayasimha**, in that inscription.

⁸ *P. R. A. S. W. I.* (1905-6), p. 61; *G. H. Ojha's History of Udaipur* (Hindi), Vol. I. p. 140, n. 2.

figures only), on Sunday, the 11th tithi of the bright fortnight of Mārgaśīrsha. This date must of course be referred to the Kalachuri era. According to the epoch of 247-248 A. C., it would correspond, for the *expired* year 907, to Sunday, the 6th November 1155 A. C., when the aforementioned tithi commenced 2 h. 10 m. after mean sunrise. Though not current at sunrise, the tithi must have been joined with that week-day 'on which it commenced and which was almost entirely filled by it.'¹

As for the geographical names occurring in the present inscription Murala is generally identified with Kērala.² It is, however, doubtful if Kaṭṭa led any expedition so far to the south-west. In the *Uttararāmacharita* (Act III) the river Muralā figures as a tributary of the Godavari. The country of Murala is also mentioned in the *Viddhaśālabhaṅjikā*³ of Rājaśekhara and seems to correspond to the northern part of the Hyderabad State. Dr. Kielhorn identified Kuṅga with the districts of Salem and Coimbatore,⁴ but it is more likely to be identical with Kōṅgōḍa, (Kong-yu-to of Yuan Chwang), corresponding to the Rāmagiri Agency of the Godavari District. Kaliṅga comprised the modern districts of Ganjām and Vizagapatam and some portion of the Godavari District. Vaṅga is Eastern Bengal. Kīra has already been shown to be the name of the territory round Baijnāth in the Kāngrā District. The country under the Hūṇas was probably situated to the north of Malwa.⁵ Mālava-maṇḍala is, of course, the country of Malwa. Of the villages granted by Alhaṇadēvi, Nāmaūṇḍī is now untraceable, but the Jāulī-pattalā in which it was situated and which is also mentioned in the Jabalpur plates of Yaśaḥkarna, must have comprised the country round Jabalpur. Makara-pāṭaka may be Magarmuha, about 4 m. to the west of Bhērā-Ghāt. It is at the foot of a hill and almost near the right bank of the Narmadā. Its situation, therefore, answers to the description of it given in the present inscription.

TEXT⁶

- 1 सिद्धिः⁷ [१*] ओ नमः शिवाय ॥ कन्याणितामविकलां भवतां तनोतु भाले कलानिधिकला शशिशेखरस्य ॥ (१) एकैव या प्रमथसार्धगतां द्वितीयावु(वु)द्विप्रदोषविरहेषि करोति नित्यम् ॥⁸ [१॥*]
- 2 कि मालाः कुमुदस्य कि शशिकलाः किन्दम्यैकमूर्त्तकुराः किम्वा⁹ कञ्चुकिकञ्चुकाः किमयवा भूत्युद्गमा भान्त्यमी । इत्यन्नाकिवित्तिकिताः शिवशिरःसञ्चारिनाकापगारिङ्गद्वलुतरङ्गभङ्गित-तयः पुण्यप्र-
- 3 पाः पान्तु वः ॥¹⁰ [२॥*] भूतं सद्भिभु यद्विभाति भुवनं यद्विभ्रमाद्यज्जगत्तेजानन्दकरं धराश्रय-

¹ A more satisfactory equivalent of the date would have been Sunday, the 15th November 1156 A. C., on which day the tithi ended 1 h. 46 m. after mean sunrise. But Kielhorn was not inclined to accept it as it would have necessitated the shifting of the epoch of the era to 248-249 A. C. This would have made most of the Kalachuri dates cite current, not expired, years, which was contrary to the usage observed in the case of other eras. Kielhorn's view has been supported by some dates discovered subsequently, to which the epoch of 248-249 A. C. would be altogether unsuitable. See *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IX, pp. 123 ff. and the date of No. 90, below.

² H. T. M., p. 20.

³ Act. IV, verse 18.

⁴ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 215.

⁵ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXIII, p. 102.

⁶ From photographs kindly supplied by the authorities of the American Oriental Society.

⁷ Expressed by a symbol.

⁸ Metre: *Vasantatilakā*.

⁹ Read कि वा.

¹⁰ Metre of this and the following verse: *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*.

- रसाद्यन्यत्वहेतुश्च यत् । यद्गन्धोद्धुरधाम यच्च यजते शीतं यदेकान्ततः सस्पर्शं यदरूपमेभिरव-
ताद्युष्मान्दारीरैः¹
- 4 शिवः ॥[३॥*] शक्तिहेतिपरश्रीतिहेतुश्चन्द्रकर्चच्चितः । ताण्डवाडं(व)रः कुर्यान्निलकण्ठः प्रि-
याणि वः ॥² [४॥*] विघ्नोषसन्तमससंहरणाय शक्तं मुक्तं कलंककलया शकलं सुधांशोः ।
कुन्दावदाततरदन्तमिषाद्वा-
5 नः श्रेयः परन्दिशतु वः सद्यं द्विपास्यः ॥³ [५॥*] रूपैरनेकैर्व्यवहारजातमातन्वती पातु सर-
स्वती वः । यल्लेशलालित्यलवाद्रपि स्यात्संसत्सु⁴ पुंसाङ्गरिमा गरीयान् ॥[६॥*]⁵ ॐ
गोत्रे रात्रिकरस्य भूपति-
6 रभूद्वि(द्वि) भ्रत्सहस्रं करान्प्रत्येकन्निजगन्मनोविनयने रात्रिन्दिवं जागृविः । तेजोभिर्ज्जंगतीभृता-
म्परिभवी नाम्नागर्जुनः संस्मृतयेस्याद्याप्यविगम्यते वसु गतन्नीतं च चौरैश्चिवरम् ॥⁶ [७॥*]
तस्या-
7 न्वये समभवत्प्रयितः पृथिव्या नाथः कथाद्भुततमापि वृथा न यस्य । कोकलदेव इति विभ्रदु-
[दार]रूपन्नाम त्रिलोकसुखसंजननैकधाम ॥⁷ [८॥*] निजित्योर्जितगर्वपर्वतभूतः प्रत्यर्थिपृथ्वी-
8 भुजः प्राप्तानन्तयशा बभूव नृपतिर्गाङ्गेयदेवस्ततः । पृथ्वी येन विधाय मेरुमतुलं कल्पद्रुमे[र्णाथि]-
नां स्वर्गाद्दुर्ध्वमवः स्थितापि विदुषाधारे[य]⁸मापादिता ॥⁹ [९॥*] पुण्यामृतेन संसिक्ता शुद्धस-
[त्त्व]प्रवर्द्धि-
9 [ता] । यत्कीर्त्तिव्रततिः सर्वं व्याप व्र(त्र)ह्माण्डमण्डपम(म्) ॥¹⁰ [१०॥*] तेनाजनि मही-
पालः¹¹कण्ठः स्वर्णेन कुर्वता । पूर्णतुण्णाण्णवानथिसार्धानथितकीर्त्तिना ॥ [११॥*] पाण्ड्यदत्त-
ण्डिमताम्मुमोच मुरलस्तत्याज गर्व[म]हं¹¹
10 [कु]¹²ङ्गः सङ्गतिमाजगाम चक्रे¹³ वङ्गः कलिङ्गः सह । कीरः कीरवदास पञ्जरगृहे हूणः
प्रह्वं जहौ यस्मिन् राजनि शौर्यविभ्रमभरं विभ्रत्यपूर्वप्रभे ॥¹⁴ [१२॥*] अस्मद्भूतपराभवेन
सकला-
11 भुङ्क्ते [भुव] यामसो तामेतान्तनवामहं तनुतराकारामितीव स्त्रियः । यत्प्रत्यर्थिमहीभुजान्नयन-
जैर्वा(र्वी)धैः पयोधीन्वधुः स्फारान् रत्नमहोम्मिभिः पुनरमी [सं]¹⁵वदं[याञ्च]-

¹ Read -द्युष्मान्दारीरैः.

² Metre: *Anushtubh*.

³ Metre: *Vasantatilakā*.

⁴ Read स्यात्संसत्सु.

⁵ Metre: *Indravajrā*.

⁶ Metre: *Sārdūlavikrīḍita*.

⁷ Metre: *Vasantatilakā*.

⁸ The *akṣara* in the brackets is mutilated. Kielhorn with diffidence proposed to read [स]मापादिता, but this requires the previous word to be taken as विदुषाधारे which admits of no satisfactory construction. In our reading it would be विदुषारा and would qualify पृथ्वी.

⁹ Metre: *Sārdūlavikrīḍita*.

¹⁰ Metre of this and the following verse: *Anushtubh*.

¹¹ I follow Kielhorn in the reading of this verse. The last *akṣara* is quite clear in the photographs. Hall read -स्पृहं which is grammatically indefensible. The intended reading may have been गर्वप्रहं as suggested by Kielhorn.

¹² The first *akṣara* is partly mutilated, but it can be restored with the help of l. 10 of the Karanbel stone inscription of Jayasimhadēva (Appendix, No. 3.). Kielhorn read the following word as सद्गति. It would be better to read सङ्गति in view of the alliteration prevailing in this verse.

¹³ Read चक्रे. The word was altered to suit the metre.

¹⁴ Metre of this and the two following verses: *Sārdūlavikrīḍita*.

¹⁵ The *akṣara* in the brackets which is somewhat damaged was read as सं by Hall and सं by Kielhorn. I adopt Hall's reading in view of the angular look of its left limb.

- 12 क्रिरे ॥[१३॥*] चम्पारण्यविदारणोद्गतयशःशुभ्रांशुना भासयन्नाशाचक्रमवक्रभावहृदयः क्षमा-
पालचूडामणिः । तस्माज्जन्म समाससाद विशदं श्रीमान्यशःकर्णं इत्यौदार्याद्वि[नदी*]¹—
- 13 चकार विबुधान्यः प्रेक्ष्य सर्वानपि ॥ [१४॥*] तस्मादशेषगुणरत्ननिधेरगाधाद्भू वल्लभः समभ-
वदगयकर्णदेवः । यस्य प्रतापतपनोप्यरिसुन्दरीणां शोकार्णवोदयनिदानपदं प्रपेदे ॥²[१५॥*]
- 14 द्युतिजितहृतालः श्रीलताकल्पशालः पुष्पतरुगुणमालः शत्रुवर्गैककालः । विमलितरणभालः का-
न्तकीर्त्या श(स)टालः शिततरकरवालः सोभवद्भूमिपालः ॥³[१६॥*] ॐ ॥ अस्ति
- 15 प्रसिद्धमिह गोभिलपुत्रगोत्रन्तत्राजमिष्ट नृपतिः किल हंसपालः । शौर्यावसज्जितनिरर्गलसैन्य-
संघनम्रीकृताखिलमिलद्विपुचक्रवालः ॥⁴[१७॥*] तस्याभवत्तनुभवः प्र-
- 16 णमत्समस्तसामन्तशेखरशिरोमणिरञ्जितां ह्रिः⁵ । श्रीवैरिसिन्ह⁶धसुधाधिपतिर्विशुद्धबुद्धेनिधिर्न
परमधिजनस्य चोच्चैः ॥⁷[१८॥*] स वैरिसिन्हो⁸प्यन्यद्विपूर्णां कुलानि गम्भीरगुहागृ-
हाणि । स्वयञ्च तेषामधिशय्य चक्रे पुराणि दूरावजितालकानि ॥⁹[१९॥*] तस्मादजायत
समस्तजनाभिनन्द्यसौन्दर्यशौर्यभरभंगुरिताहितश्रीः । पृथ्वीपतिर्विजयसिन्ह¹⁰ इति
- 18 प्रवर्द्धमानः सदा जगति यस्य यशःसुधान्¹¹ ॥¹²[२०॥*] तस्याभवन्मालवमण्डलाधिनाथोदया-
दित्यसुता सुरुपा । शृङ्गारिणी श्यामलदेव्युदारचरित्रचिन्तामणिरञ्चितश्रीः ॥¹³[२१॥*]
- 19 मेनायामिव शंकरप्रणयिनी क्षोणीभूतान्नायकाद्वीरिण्यामिव शुभ्रभानुवनिता दक्षात्प्रजानां सृजः ।
तस्मादल्हणदेव्यजायत जगद्रक्षाक्षमाद्भूपतेरेतस्यास्रिज-
- 20 दीर्घवन्¹⁴विशदप्रेक्ष्यताकाकृतिः ॥¹⁵[२२॥*] विवाहविधिमाधाय गयकर्णनरेश्वरः । चक्रे
प्रीतिम्परामस्यां शिवायामिव शंकरः ॥¹⁶[२३॥*] शृङ्गारशाला कलशी कलानां लावण्यमाला गु-
- 21 णपण्यभूमिः । असूत पुत्रज्जयकर्णभूपादसौ नरेश्वरसिन्ह¹⁷देवम् ॥¹⁸[२४॥*] अस्य श्रीनर-
सिन्ह¹⁹देवनृपतेः प्रोद्यन्त्यशश्चन्दमा दिग्भितीर्विदधातु व(व)न्धुपसुधासम्भारगर्भा इव । भूर्भर्ता-
रम-
- 22 वाप्य चैनमुचितं प्रीतिन्तथा प्राप्नुयात्पूर्वेषाम्न यथा मनागपि महाक्षोणीभूतां ध्यायति ॥²⁰[२५॥*]
अस्यानुजो विजयतां जयसिन्हदेवः²¹ सौमित्रवत्प्रथमजेद्भुतरूपसेवः ॥ (1) यो मेघनादव(व)ह-

¹ Hall's suggestion to read घनिकी here was adopted by Kielhorn. I fail, however, to see any trace of the medial *i* of नि which according to Kielhorn is partly visible. I prefer to restore the text as above in view of the resulting *Virūdbābhāse* सर्वान् विबुधान् घनदीचकार which must have been intended here.

² Metre: *Vasantatilakā*.

³ Metre: *Mālinī*.

⁴ Metre: *Vasantatilakā*.

⁵ This has not been altered to ह्रैः, as supposed by Kielhorn.

⁶ Read श्रीवैरिसिन्ह-

⁷ Metre: *Vasantatilakā*.

⁸ Read वैरिसिन्हो.

⁹ Metre: *Upēndranajrā*.

¹⁰ Read -विजयसिन्ह.

¹¹ Read -सुधान्.

¹² Metre: *Vasantatilakā*.

¹³ Metre: *Upajāti*.

¹⁴ Read -वन्.

¹⁵ Metre: *Sārdūlavikrīḍita*.

¹⁶ Metre: *Anushṭubh*.

¹⁷ Read -नरसिन्ह.

¹⁸ Metre: *Upajāti*.

¹⁹ Read श्रीनरसिन्ह-

²⁰ Metre: *Sārdūlavikrīḍita*.

²¹ Read जयसिन्हदेवः.

BHERA-GHAT STONE INSCRIPTION OF NARASINHA: (KALACHURI) YEAR 907

[illegible]

- 23 मायमहातिकायसैन्यं द्विषामभिभवन्नहह प्रहस्तः ॥¹[२६॥*] अकारयन्मन्दिरमिन्दुमौलेरिदम्-
ठेनाद्भुतभूमिकेन । सहामुना श्रीनरसिंहदेवप्रसूरसावल्लहणदेव्युदारा ॥²[२७॥*] व्याख्यानशा-
24 लामुद्यानमालामविकलाममूम (म्) । अकारयत्स्वयं शम्भुप्रासादालीढयन्निजैः ॥³[२८॥*] देवा-
यास्मै वैद्यनाथाभिधाय प्रादाद्देवी जाउलीपत्तलायाम् । ग्रामभ्राम्ना नामउण्डीति सर्वदायैः⁴स्सा-
25 द्वं चारुचच्चप्रसिद्धं ॥⁵[२९॥*] नम्मदादक्षिणे कूले पव्वंतोपत्यकाश्रये । तथा परमदाद्प्रा-
मन्ना मकरपाटक[म्] ॥⁶[३०॥*] लाटान्वयः पाशुपतस्तपस्वी श्रीरुद्रराशिर्विधिवद्वचघत्ता-
म्⁷ । स्थानस्य रक्षावि-
26 धिमस्य तावद्यावन्मिमीते भुवनानि शम्भुः ॥⁸[३१॥*] ॥ मौन्यान्वये¹⁰ भार्गववैतहव्यसा-
वेतसेति¹¹ प्रवरत्रयादये । महेश्वराख्यादरणीधरोभूभ्राम्ना गरिम्णा यशसा श्रिया च ॥¹²[३२॥*]
कोमल-
27 कान्तिसटालेनोच्चैः स्नेहातिभारभरितेन । दीर्घमनोज्ञदशेन त्रिभुवनदीपायितं येन ॥¹³[३३॥*]
पृथ्वीधरस्तस्य सुतः समस्तगभीरशास्त्राणवपारदृश्व । प्रशस्तिमेतामलिखद्यदीयैर्हि-
28 ङ्गमण्डली शिष्यगणैर्विजिग्ये ॥¹⁴[३४॥*] एतस्यावरजस्तर्कनिष्णा[तो]द्भुतनैपुणः । प्रशस्ति-
मकरोदेतान्सूरिः¹⁵ शशिधराभिधः ॥¹⁶[३५॥*] आ(अ)¹⁷सूत्रयदिदं सर्वं विश्वकर्म्मविधान-
वित् । पीथेसमभिधः सूत्र-
29 धारः पृथ्वीम्पृथुयथा ॥[३६॥*] सूत्रधारान्गणीवा(वा)लसिंह¹⁸सूनुर्महीधरः । शिलान्तथाक-
रोद्ध[र्ण]न्नभस्तारकितं यथा ॥[३७॥*] संवत् ९०७ मार्ग सुदि ११ रवौ ॥ ॐ ॥ ॐ ॥

TRANSLATION

Success ! Ōm ! Adoration to Siva !

(Verse 1) May the moon's digit on the forehead of the Moon-crested (*god*) (Siva) grant you perfect bliss,—(*the digit*), which, though only one (*i.e.*, the first), makes the host of Siva's attendants always think, even in the absence of the evening, that it is the second (*digit*)¹¹

¹ Metre : *Vasantatilakā*.

² Read श्रीनरसिंह-.

³ Metre : *Upāṇḍravajrā*.

⁴ Metre : *Anuṣṭubh*.

⁵ This *visarga* is superfluous.

⁶ Metre : *Śālīnī*.

⁷ Metre : *Anuṣṭubh*.

⁸ The sense requires the reading विधिवद्विघत्ताम् here.

⁹ Metre : *Indravajrā*.

¹⁰ Kjelhorn thought that this was altered मौन्यान्वये, but the correction has not been made in the original. The Jabalpur stone inscription of Jayasimha (below No. 64, l. 26) also mentions this family as मौन्य. See below, p. 333, n. 3.

¹¹ The last *pravara* is generally mentioned as सावेदस, see the *Gōṭrapravarānibandhakadamba* (Vēṅkaṭāśvara Press ed.), pp. 25 ff.

¹² Metre : *Upajāti*.

¹³ Metre : *Āryā*.

¹⁴ Metre : *Upajāti*.

¹⁵ Read —देतां सूरिः.

¹⁶ Metre of this and the following two verses: *Anuṣṭubh*.

¹⁷ The correction has not been made in the original.

¹⁸ Read —सिंह-.

¹⁹ The figure is *Virōḍhābhāsa*. There is a play on the word *dvitīyā* which means (1) 'the second (digit)' and (2) 'the second lunar day'. The crescent shape of the moon makes Siva's attendants think every day to be the second lunar day of the bright fortnight in the evening of which that shape of the moon is seen on the western horizon.

(V. 2) May those founts of religious merit, the lines of the creeping, lovely,¹ tortuous waves of the heavenly river meandering on Śiva's head protect you!—(the waves) about which heavenly beings have such doubts,—Are these wreaths of white lotuses, or digits of the moon, or sprouts of religious deeds, or sloughs of snakes, or ashes emerging (from Śiva's body)?²

(V. 3) May Śiva with these (eight) bodies³ (of his) protect you—(viz.) (that body) which, being an element, is all-pervading; (that) by whose revolution the world becomes manifest; (that) which gives delight to the eyes (of creatures) in the (whole) world; (that) which is the cause of the diversity of flavour and other (qualities) abiding in the earth; (that) which is a vast repository of odour; (that) which sacrifices; (that) which is exclusively cold; and (that) which, (though) devoid of colour, is felt by the touch!

(V. 4) May the blue-necked (Śiva), who gives delight to such as are fond of wielding spear and missile, who is adorned with the young moon and exults in his *tāṇḍava* (dance), grant whatever is pleasing to you!⁴

(V. 5) May the Elephant-faced (*Gaṇapati*) graciously confer on you highest bliss,—who, under the guise of a tusk whiter than jasmine, holds a piece of the moon free from the slightest dark-spot and capable of dispelling the intense darkness of multitudes of obstacles!

(V. 6) May Sarasvatī protect you,—who by varied forms of speech conducts the intercourse (of men), and by obtaining the slightest portion of whose elegance even for a short time, men may attain very great honour in assemblies!

(V. 7) There was in the moon's race, a king with a thousand hands, who was, day and night, wakeful to educate individually the minds of (the dwellers in) the worlds, (and) who surpassed the rulers of the world by his lustre—(a king) named *Arjuna*, by the mere remembrance of whom even now is regained wealth which had been lost or taken away by thieves long since.⁵

(V. 8) In his lineage was born a well-known lord of the earth, of whom even the most marvellous tale is not untrue, bearing the illustrious name *Kōkalladēva* (II), the sole source of the happiness of the three worlds.

(V. 9) From him was born *Gāṅgēyadēva* who, by over-coming the hostile rulers of the earth, possessed of huge mountains of pride, attained endless glory, who, a wish-fulfilling tree to suppliants, made this earth, an abode of learned men, though situated below, soar higher than heaven (which is an abode of gods), by (constructing here) a matchless *Mēru*.

(V. 10) The creeper of his fame, sprinkled with the water of his religious merit and made to grow by his stainless character, has overspread the whole bower of the universe.

¹ Kielhorn remarks that *valgu* in the text is used for the participle *valgat*. But *valgu* can be taken as an adjective meaning 'beautiful' or 'lovely'.

² Kielhorn translated *bhūty-udgamāḥ* by '(the god's) majesty bursting into view.' But as in the case of other things mentioned in this verse, the poet refers here to a white thing worn or applied to his body by Śiva.

³ The eight forms are ether (*ākāśa*), the sun, the moon, fire, earth, the sacrificer, water and air respectively. The same eight forms of Śiva are referred to in the first verse of the *Śākuntala*.

⁴ The verse would be equally descriptive of *Kārttikēya*'s peacock. 'May the peacock indulging in dancing, which gives great delight to him whose weapon is a spear (i.e., to *Kārttikēya*) and (the tail of) which is covered with (bright) moon-like spots grant whatever is dear to you!'

⁵ Hall cites the following verse from the *Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa* :—कार्तवीर्यार्जुनो नाम राजा बाहुसहस्रवान् । तस्य स्मरणमात्रेण गतं नष्टं च लभ्यते ॥

(V. 11) He, who, seeking glory, filled with gold the oceans of the desires of supplicants, begot the prince **Karṇa**.

(V. 12) While that king of unprecedented lustre gave full play to his heroism, the **Pāṇḍya** renounced violence, the king of **Murala** gave up arrogance, the ruler of **Kuṅga** sought his alliance, the prince of **Vaṅga** trembled with that of **Kaliṅga**, the lord of **Kīra** stayed at home like a parrot in the cage, and the **Hūṇa** lost all merriment.

(V. 13) 'Let us reduce the size of the earth, the whole of which he enjoys by defeating our husbands'—With this motive as it were, the wives of hostile kings enlarged the seas with tears flowing from their eyes. These (*seas*), on the other hand, presented¹ him with large waves of precious stones!

(V. 14) From him the illustrious **Yaśaḥkarṇa** took his spotless birth—(*he who was*) a crest-jewel of the rulers of the earth, who had a guiltless heart, who illuminated the circle of quarters with the bright rays of his fame which sprang from his devastation of **Champāranya**, (*and*) who transformed into gods of wealth whatever learned men² met his eyes.

(V. 15) From him, an unfathomable ocean of all merits, was born **Gayakarṇa-dēva**, the favourite of the earth, in whose case, even the sun³,—the sun of his prowess—, caused the rise of the ocean—the ocean of grief—of his enemies' beautiful wives.

(V. 16) That king surpassed yellow orpiment by his lustre, was the wish-fulfilling tree supporting the creeper of fortune, wore a large garland of noble qualities, was the sole god of death to the host of his enemies, adorned the fore-front of the battle-field, was surrounded by a (*halo of*) charming glory, and wielded a very sharp sword.—

(V. 17) Famous in this world is the family of the son of **Gōbhila**. Therein was born, forsooth, the king **Hamsapāla**, who, with his valiant and irresistible armies, humbled all the combined hosts of (*his*) enemies.

(V. 18) He had a son, the lord of the earth, the illustrious **Vairisimha**, whose feet were reddened by the crest-jewels in the diadems of all feudatory princes paying homage to him, (*and who was*) a treasure, not merely of pure thoughts, but also eminently (*one*) for suppliants.

(V. 19) That **Vairisimha** too, drove the families of his enemies to deep cave-dwellings, while he himself occupying their cities made them far surpass (*in splendour*) the city of **Alakā**.⁴

(V. 20) From him was born the lord of the earth named **Vijayasimha**, whose beauty was praised by all men, who, by his great valour, made his enemies' fortune unstable, (*and*) the moon of whose fame was always waxing in the world.

(V. 21) His loving wife was **Śyāmaladēvī**, the beautiful daughter of **Udayāditya**, the lord of the country of **Malwa**, a jewel which fulfilled the desires (*of suppliants*) of noble conduct, and a devotee of fortune.

(V. 22) As the beloved of **Saṅkara** (*i.e.*, **Umā**) was born to **Mēnā** from the lord of mountains (*i.e.* **Himālaya**), as the wife of the Moon was born to **Vīriṇī**⁵ from **Dakṣha**, the creator of beings, even so was **Alhaṇadēvī** born to her from that king capable of protecting the (*whole*) world,—(*she*) who appeared like an unsullied banner fluttering from the staff of his long pedigree.

¹ Monier-Williams gives √*śaṅh-vidb* (causal) in the sense of 'presenting'.

² There is a pun on '*vibudha*' which means 'a god' also. The verse apparently means that he turned all gods into **Kubēra**, the figure being *Vīrōdhābhāsa*.

³ Ordinarily it is the moon which causes the tides of the ocean.

⁴ *Alakā* is the city of **Kubēra**, the god of wealth.

⁵ She was the wife of **Dakṣha**.

(V. 23) Having performed the nuptial ceremony, the king **Gayakarṇa** bore intense love for her as **Śaṅkara** did for **Śivā** (*i.e.*, **Umā**).

(V. 24) She, a home of amour, a pitcher (*brimful*) of accomplishments, a garland of beauty, a store-house of noble qualities, had, by the king **Gayakarṇa**, a son, the prince **Narasimha**.

(V. 25) May the rising moon of the glory of this king, the illustrious **Narasimhadēva**, saturate, as it were, the walls of the quarters with a beautiful white-wash; and may the earth, having secured in him a worthy lord, experience such delight that she would not, even slightly, think of its past great rulers!

(V. 26) May his younger brother **Jayasimhadēva**, who does marvellous service to his elder brother as (**Lakshmaṇa**,) the son of **Sumitrā**, did to **Rāma**, attain victory! —(*he*) who, behold! being long-armed, vanquishes the gigantic forces of his enemies roaring like clouds, and practising many tricks (*even as Lakshmaṇa defeated the hosts of Mēghanāda and the wily and stalwart Atikāya*)!¹

(V. 27) The generous **Alhaṇadēvī**, the mother of the illustrious **Narasimhadēva**, caused this temple of the moon-crested (*god*) to be built together with that monastery of wonderful storeys.

(V. 28) She also caused her people to construct a lecture-hall, that continuous line of gardens, as well as two rows (*of rooms attached*) to the temple of **Sambhu**.

(V. 29) To the god named **Vaidyanātha** the queen donated, for his beautiful decoration,² the village named **Nāmaūṇḍī** (*situated*) in the **Jāulipattalā**, together with all income.

(V. 30) And she gave another village named **Makarapātaka** (*situated*) on the right bank of the **Narmadā** and in the land near the foot of the hills.

(V. 31) May the **Pāsupata** ascetic, the holy **Rudrarāśi** of **Lāṭa** lineage, duly arrange for the management of this place so long as **Sambhu** pervades the worlds! /

(V. 32) In the **Maunya** lineage which has the three *pravara*s **Bhārgava**, **Vaitahavya** and **Sāvēṭasa**, there was born; from one named **Mahēśvara**, (*a son*) **Dharaṇīdhara** by name, possessed of greatness, glory and fortune.

(V. 33) Who, encircled by a delightful lustre, being full of exceedingly great affection and occupying, for long, an agreeable position, acted like a lamp of the three worlds (*which is surrounded by a halo of light, is filled to over-flowing with oil, and has a long and beautiful wick*).

(V. 34) His son **Prithvīdhara**, who has seen the further shore of the deep ocean of all the *Sāstras*, and by the crowds of whose pupils the circle of regions has been conquered, wrote this eulogy.

(V. 35) His younger brother, a learned man named **Śaśīdhara**, proficient in dialectics and wonderfully clever, composed this eulogy.

(V. 36) The architect **Pīthē**, who is conversant with the science (*taught*) by **Viśvakarman**,³ planned all this as **Prithu** did the earth.

(V. 37) **Mahīdhara**, the son of **Bālasimha**, the foremost of artisans, incised the stone with letters so as to resemble the starry sky.

¹ *Mēghanāda* and *Atikāya* were **Rāvaṇa**'s sons who were defeated by **Lakshmaṇa**; see the *Vālmiki-Rāmāyaṇa*, *Yuddhakāṇḍa*, *adhyāya*s 90 and 71 respectively. *Prabasta* was also the name of **Rāvaṇa**'s general.

² Kielhorn translates *chāru-charchchā-prasiddhyai* as 'to make known her good report'; but *charchchā* which literally means 'smearing' or 'annointing', seems to be used here in the wider sense of 'decoration'.

³ As pointed out by Kielhorn the adjective would also mean 'who knows how to execute every kind of work.'

(Line 29) (In) the year 907, (the month) Mārgaśīrsha (and) the bright (fortnight),
on the (lunar) day 11, on Sunday.

No. 61 : PLATE L

LAL-PAHAD ROCK INSCRIPTION OF NARASIMHA: (KALACHURI) YEAR 900

This inscription was discovered in 1873-74 by Sir Alexander Cunningham, who published a transcript of it together with a photozincograph in the *Archaeological Survey of India Reports*, Vol. IX, p. 94 and Plate II. The record was subsequently edited, without any lithograph or translation, by Dr. Kielhorn in the *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 211-13. It is edited here from inked estampages kindly supplied by the Director General of Archaeology.

The inscription is rudely engraved on a piece of rock on the top of a hill called **Lāl-Pahād** near Bharhur, in the State of Vindhya Pradesh. It contains eight lines, of which the last is separated from the rest by some distance. The writing of the first seven lines covers a space 17½" in height; the first three lines are 2' 6", the next four 1' 9½" and the last 1' 4" in length. The inscription is in a state of good preservation. The size of the letters varies from 1.2" to 2.5".

The characters are Nāgarī. Attention may be drawn to the two forms of *r*, one of which shows a horizontal line and the other a loop on the left, and of *dh* in *-pād-ānudyāt*, 1.2, and *-Mahārājādhirāja*, 1.1; *s* and *bh* appear everywhere in the modern Nāgarī forms. The language is Sanskrit. As regards orthography, we may note that *b* is denoted by the sign for *v* as in *-Vallāladēvakasya*, 1.6 and the dental *s* is used for the palatal *ś* in all cases except *Srī*.

The inscription refers itself to the reign of the king **Narasimhadēva** of the **Later Kalachuri Dynasty**. He is described as *Paramabhaṭṭāraka*, *Mahārājādhirāja* and *Paramīśvara*, the lord of **Trikaliṅga**, who by his own arm had acquired the suzerainty over the three kings, viz., the lord of horses, the lord of elephants and the lord of men, and who meditated on the feet of the *Paramabhaṭṭāraka*, *Mahārājādhirāja* and *Paramīśvara*, the illustrious **Vāmadēva**. The object of the inscription is to record the construction of a *vaha* or water-channel by **Ballāladēvaka** (or *Rāuta*¹ **Ballāladēva** as he is called in the last line), the son of the illustrious **Kayavāditya**,² *Mahārājaputra* of the village **Vadyavā**. This **Kayavāditya** seems to have been a high official of the king **Narasimhadēva**, during whose reign the inscription was engraved.

The inscription is dated, in line 7, in the year 909 (expressed in numerical figures only) of an unspecified era, on the fifth tithi of the bright half of Śrāvaṇa, on Wednesday. The date must of course be referred to the Kalachuri era. According to the epoch of 247-48 A. C., there were two Śrāvaṇas in the expired Kalachuri year 909. Of these the first or *adhika* Śrāvaṇa is evidently intended here; for the fifth tithi of the bright half of it ended 16 h. 20 m. after mean sunrise on Wednesday, the corresponding Christian date being the 2nd July 1158 A. C.³

¹ *Rāuta* (*Rājaputra*) and *Mahārājaputra* appear to be titles of officials.

² Both Cunningham and Kielhorn read this name as *Kṛṣṇa* (śr) *pāditya*, but there is no sign of the medial *ṣ* on *ṣ*, and the following letter is not *ṣ* which has a different shape throughout this record.

^a In the *nija* Śrāvaṇa the *tithi* ended on Friday, the 1st August 1138 A. C. Kielhorn has cited some other instances in which an *adika* month has not been specified as such in the wording of the date. See *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 212. See also the date of the Tewar stone inscription of the reign of Jayasimhadēva (No. 66, below).

The village Vadyavā which was probably situated in the vicinity of Lāl-Pahād cannot now be traced.

TEXT¹

- 1 [सिद्धिः²] स्वस्ति श्री[: 1*] परमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेस्व(स्व) रश्री-
- 2 वामदेवपादानुध्यात्(त) परमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपर-
- 3 मेस्व(स्व) रपरममाहेस्व(स्व) रत्रिकलिगाधिपतिनिजभुजोपा[र्जिज]तज³-
- 4 स्व(स्व) पतिगजपतिनरपतिराजत्र्या(त्रया) धिपति(त्य) श्रीमन्त्र-
- 5 सिंहदेवचरणाः ॥ वद्यवाप्राप्तकस्य महारा-
- 6 जपुत्रश्रीकयवादित्य⁴पुत्रव(व)ल्लालदेवकस्य वहः ।
- 7 [सं]वत् ।⁵ १०९ सा(श्रा)वण सुदि ५ बुद्धे⁶ ॥ [श्रीः] [11*]
- 8 राउत श्रीव(व)ल्लालदेव[: 11*]

TRANSLATION

Success! Hail! Śrī! (*There reigns*) the *Paramabhaṭṭāraka*, *Mahārājādhirāja* and *Paramēśvara*, the illustrious and venerable *Narasimhadēva*, the devout worshipper of *Mahēśvara*, the lord of *Trikaṭiṅga*, who by his own arm has acquired the suzerainty over the three kings, (*viz.*) the lord of horses, the lord of elephants and the lord of men, and who meditates on the feet of the *Paramabhaṭṭāraka*, *Mahārājādhirāja* and *Paramēśvara*, the illustrious *Vāmadēva*. (*There has been constructed*) (*this*) channel of *Ballāladēvaka*, the son of the great prince, the illustrious *Kayavāditya*.⁷

(Line 7) (*In*) the year 909, (*the month*) Śrāvaṇa (*and*) the bright (*fortnight*), on the (*lunar*) day 5, on Wednesday.

(L. 8) The *Rāuta*, the illustrious *Ballāladēva*.

No. 62; PLATE LI

ALHA-GHAT STONE INSCRIPTION OF NARASIMHA : (VIKRAMA) YEAR 1216

*THIS inscription together with two others is on a block of stone, which is about a hundred yards from a large cave, somewhere near the foot of the Alha-Ghāt, "one of the natural passes of the Vindhya hills by which the Tons river finds its way from the table-land of Rewa to the plain of the Ganges." . . . It was discovered in 1883-84 by Sir A. Cunningham by whom a transcript of the text, accompanied by a photo-lithograph was published in the *Archaeological Survey of India Reports*, Vol. XXI, p. 113 and Plate xxviii.⁸ Its date was next referred to by Dr. Kielhorn in connection with the epoch of the Kalachuri era in the *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XVII, p. 218. The record was finally edited, without any translation or facsimile, by the same scholar in the *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 213 f. It is edited here from inked estampages kindly supplied by the Superintendent of Archaeological Survey, Central Circle, Patna.

¹ From inked estampages supplied by the Director General of Archaeology.

² Expressed by a faint symbol.

³ अस्वपति which was at first omitted was incised later on in ll. 3 and 4. Read भुजोपाजितास्वपति-.

⁴ This name was read as *Kṣayavāditya* by Cunningham and Kielhorn; see above, p. 321, n. 2.

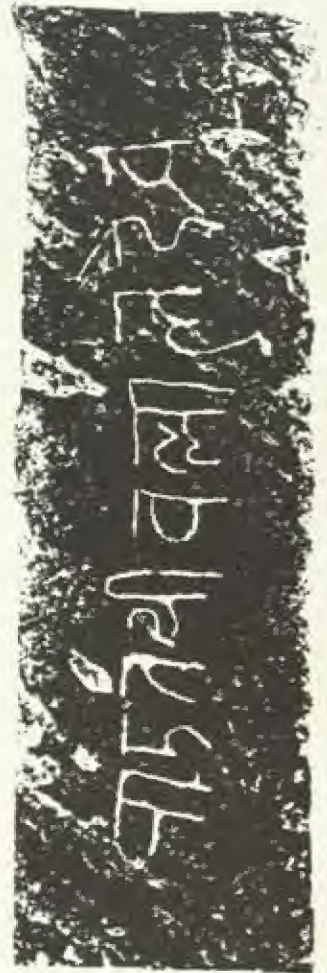
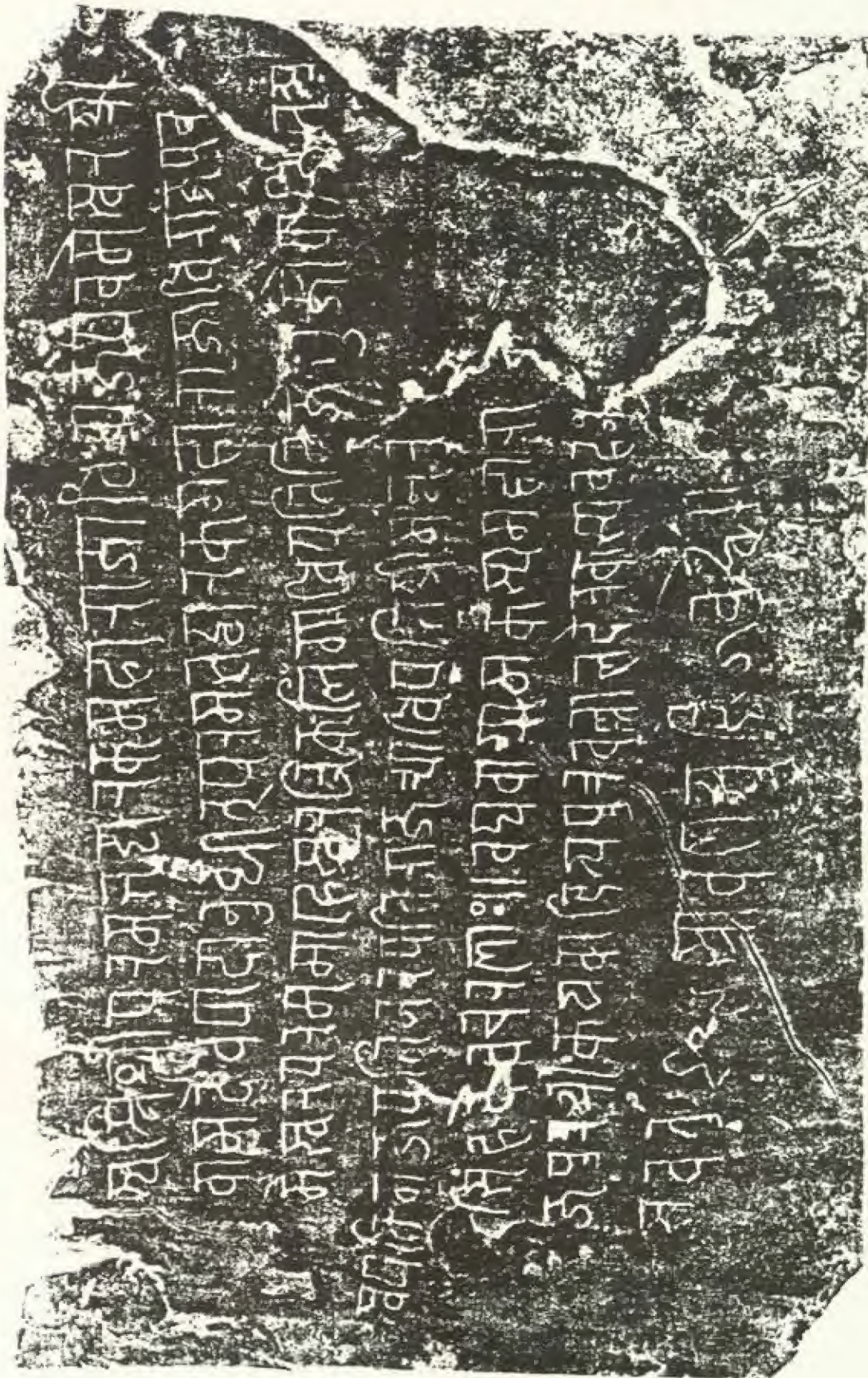
⁵ This *daṇḍa* is superfluous.

⁶ The *mātrā* on *ddh* is quite clear. Read बुद्धे.

⁷ See above p. 321, n. 2.

⁸ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 213.

LAL-PAHAD ROCK INSCRIPTION OF NARASIMHA: (KALACHURI) YEAR 909



The inscription contains seven lines and covers a space about 2' broad by 1' high. It is in a state of good preservation. The letters are deeply engraved, but not well-formed. Their size varies from .8" to 1.4". The characters are Nāgarī. The only form which calls for notice is that of *r* which has a triangle instead of a loop on the left of its vertical; see, e.g., *Mahārājā-*, l. 1. The language is incorrect Sanskrit. We may notice, for instance, the wrong elision of the case-affix in *-sādhana*, l. 5, *jāti*, l. 6, etc., and of the feminine affix in *-Āmikādēva* (for *-Āmbikādēvi*) in l. 4 as well as the incorrect participial forms *udharitah* for *uddhāritā* in l. 6 and *karāpitā* for *kāritā*, ll. 4-5. In respect of orthography we find that the sign for *v* is used to denote *b* in *-vaṁdhana-*, l. 4, *Kausānvi-*, l. 5; *j* is used for *y* in *Kali-juga*, l. 3, the dental *s* for the palatal *ś* in *Kausānvi* and the lingual *sh* for *kh* in *lishitā* l. 6.

The inscription refers itself to the reign of the illustrious Narasimhadēva, the *Mahārājādhirāja* of *Dāhāla*, who is evidently identical with the homonymous Kalachuri king who ruled at Tripurī. Its object is to record that the *Rāṇaka*, the illustrious *Chhīhula*, the son of the illustrious *Jālhaṇa*, the *Mahārāṇaka* of the *Pipalāma* fort caused the *Shaṭashadikā-ghāt* to be constructed and (a temple of) the goddess *Ambikā* to be built near the road leading to it. He is thereby said to have freed (from the bondage of worldly existence) the whole tribe of the *Rautiās* (*Rāuts*) dwelling in *Kauśāmbī*.¹ This seems to suggest that he had himself originally hailed from that place. The record finally mentions the names of the writer and of the artisans who executed the work.

The inscription opens with the date, *Samvat 1216*, the first (tithi) of the bright fortnight of *Bhādrapada*, Sunday. As we know that Narasimhadēva was ruling in the Kalachuri year 909, the date of the present inscription must be referred to some other era. The only era which would suit the present case is the Vikrama era. As Dr. Kielhorn has shown, the first tithi of the bright fortnight of *Bhādrapada* in the northern expired (or southern current) Vikrama year 1216 ended 1 h. 23 m. after mean sunrise and was, therefore, current at sunrise on Sunday as required, the corresponding Christian date being the 16th August 1159 A. C.

Of the geographical names mentioned in the present inscription *Dāhāla* or *Dāhala*, which the lexicographers give as a synonym of *Chēdi*, denoted generally the country between the *Gaṅgā* and the *Narmadā*,² corresponding to the modern *Baghelkhand*. *Kauśāmbī* has already been identified with the village *Kōsam*, 28 miles west by south from *Allahabad*. *Shaṭashadikā-ghāt* may have been the ancient name of the *Alha-Ghāt*. *Pipalāmadurga* cannot be identified.

TEXT*

- 1 सिद्धिः⁴ [१*] संवत्(त्) १२१६ भाद्रसुदि प्रतिपदा(दि) रवौ ॥ डहालीयमहाराजा—
- 2 वि(धि)राजश्रीनरसिंहदेव⁵विजयराज्ये ॥ पिपलामदुर्गत्वे(स्थ ?)⁶महा—

¹ The text has clearly *Kausānvi-nikāya*. Pāṇini, III, 3, 41 gives *nikāya* in the sense of 'habitation', 'dwelling', and the *Siddhāntakaumudī* gives *Kāśī-nikāya* as an illustration.

² See *Bhāgīratī-Narmadayōr—madhyam Dāhala-maṇḍalam* in line 34 of the *Malkāpuram* stone inscription of Rudradēva, *J. A. H. R. S.*, Vol. IV, p. 136.

³ From inked estampages.

⁴ Expressed by a symbol.

⁵ Read श्रीनरसिंहदेव—

⁶ Dr. Kielhorn read *Pipal[ḍ][an ?]durgga[ṣya]*. The *mātrā* on *l* is very doubtful and the following

- 3 राणकश्रीजाल्हणा¹पुत्र राणकश्रीच्छीहुलस्य² कलिजु(यु)ग-
 4 घम्मर्थि(यं) षट्पडिकाघाटवं(वं)घनमार्गतटामिकादेव करा-
 5 पिता इति³ ॥ घम्मर्थिकाममोक्षसाधन(नम्) ॥ कौसाम्बिनिकाय⁴ रो-
 6 तिआ नाम जाति उधरितः⁵ ॥ ठकुर श्रीकमलाधर⁶ लिषि(खि)तं [1*]
 7 सूत्रधार कमलसीहाः⁷ [1*] सोमे । कोकास ॥ पाल्हण [1] [ड]ल्हण ॥

TRANSLATION

Success! (In) the year 1216, on Sunday, the first (lunar) day of the bright (fortnight) of Bhādra (i.e., Bhādrapada), during the victorious reign of the illustrious Narasimha-dēva, the Mahārājādhirāja of Dāhāla, the Rāṇaka, the illustrious Chhīhula, the son of the illustrious Jālhaṇa, the Mahārāṇaka of Pipalāma fort, constructed the Shaṭa-shaḍikā ghāt and (the temple of) the goddess Ambikā near the road (leading to it) for (the acquisition of) religious merit in the Kali age. This is a means of (acquiring) religious merit, wealth, pleasure and liberation. The tribe of Rautiā (Rauts) living in Kauśāmbī⁸ has been liberated (by this religious deed).

(L. 6) (This) has been written by the Thakkura, the illustrious Kamalādhara. (The work was executed by) the artisans, Kamalāsīmha, Sōmē, Kōkāsa, Pālhaṇa (and) Dālhaṇa.

No. 63; PLATE LII

JABALPUR PLATES OF JAYASIMHA: (KALACHURI) YEAR 918

THESE plates were found in a stone-box while digging for the foundation of a Kōt-wāli building at Jabalpur, the headquarters of a district of the same name in Madhya Pradesh. When first discovered, the plates were thickly covered with verdigris. Several aksharas especially in ll. 10-17 of the first plate have consequently been damaged a good deal, but as the present inscription has this portion in common with some other records⁹ of the Kalachuri dynasty, the damaged letters can be easily supplied. The writing on the second plate is fortunately in a state of fair preservation. Nothing of historical importance has, therefore, been lost. The plates are now deposited in the Central Museum, Nagpur. The inscription was published, with lithographs but without any translation, by Rai Bahadur Hiralal in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XXI, pp. 91 ff. It is edited here from the original plates and from ink impressions kindly taken for me by Mr. K. Natarajan, Superintendent of the Government Press, Nagpur.

akshara appears to be *ma*, though the horizontal stroke at the top is wanting. The last akshara again is doubtful. If the reading given above is correct, it may be explained as formed on the analogy of *atratya*, *ihatya* etc., though it is against Pāṇini, IV, 2, 104.

¹ Read जाल्हण-. There is no clear indication of the vertical stroke after *ya* being cancelled.

² The original has *chhchīhulasya*. Read श्रीच्छीहुलेन.

³ Read बंधनं मार्गतटामिका देवी च कारितेति.

⁴ Read कौशाम्बिनिकाया. The aksharas are perfectly clear here. So Kielhorn's suggestion that the reading may be —*nivāsi* cannot be upheld.

⁵ Read जानिरुद्धारिता.

⁶ Read कमलाधरेण.

⁷ Read सूत्रधारः कमलसिंहः. The case-affixes of the following words also are dropped.

⁸ See above p. 323, n. 1.

⁹ Viz., the Khaitha and Jabalpur plates of Yaśahkarma (Nos. 56 and 57, above) and the Kumbhī plates of Vijayasimha (Appendix No. 4, below).

They are two copper-plates, each measuring 1' 2" broad and 9½" high. The first plate weighs 226½ *tolas* and the second 215½ *tolas*. Their ends are raised into rims for the protection of the writing. The first plate is inscribed on the inner side only, and the second on both the sides. In the middle of the top of each plate there is a hole, .8" in diameter, for the ring which must have originally held the plates together; but neither the ring nor the seal, which must have been attached to it, was apparently discovered.¹

The record consists of 43 lines, of which twenty are inscribed on the inner side of each plate and the remaining three on the outer side of the second. The inscription seems to have been completed at first in the last line on the inner side of the second plate; for the words *maṅgalam mahāśrīḥ*, which usually indicate the completion of a record, occur at the end of that line. It seems, therefore, plausible, as conjectured by R. B. Hiralal, that the engraver whose name was at first inadvertently omitted, induced the Head of the Department of Religion to compose one more verse about himself to serve as an excuse for engraving the second side of the second plate, before he could insert his own name.

The characters are Nāgarī. They are beautifully formed and carefully incised. The size of the letters varies from .3" to .4". The *akshara da* which was omitted in l. 2 has been written at the top of the first plate with the figure 2 following it, and the place of omission is shown with an inverted *kākapada* above the line.² As regards individual letters we may note that the initial *i* appears in its old form, see, e.g., *iva*, l. 6; *i* is still without its dot, see *-Trikaṅgā-*, l. 21; while *th*, *dh* and *jñ* approximate to their modern Nāgarī forms; see, e.g., *yathā*, l. 31, *-madhūkāḥ*, l. 28, *saṁājñāpayanti*, l. 25; *b* is indicated by its proper sign in a few cases where it appears as the superscript letter of a ligature, see, e.g., *-abja-*, l. 1. The language is Sanskrit. The eulogistic part of the grant which extends to l. 19 is in verse; it is followed by the formal part in prose in ll. 19-21. Then come the benedictive and imprecatory verses, of which as many as eleven are included here in ll. 31-39. Two more verses, one recording the name of the writer and the other in praise of the Head of the Religious Department, are next added. The record finally ends with the name of the engraver in prose. Verses 1-12 of the present grant which carry the genealogy of the donor from Brahman to Yaśaḥkaṇa occur in the same order in the Khairhā and Jabalpur plates of Yaśaḥkaṇa. The draft of the present grant is, however, shorter than the corresponding portion of the aforementioned grants of Yaśaḥkaṇa by three verses.³ Again, all the verses of the eulogistic part of the present inscription are repeated in the Kumbhī copper-plate inscription of Vijayasimhadēva, which contains seven more verses⁴ in its corresponding portion. As regards orthography, we find that the sign of *v* is used to denote *b* except in ligatures see, e.g., *abja-*, ll. 1 and 2; *-abdhi-*, ll. 2 and 5 etc.; the palatal and dental sibilants are generally used each in its proper place, but occasional deviations from this are also noticed, see, e.g., *-rasanā* for *-raṣanā* in l. 5 and *śravantyaḥ* for *śravantyāḥ*, l. 12; finally, *y* is used for *j* in *griha-yāmātaram*, l. 2.

The plates were issued by the king Jayasimha of the Later Kalachuri Dynasty of Tripurī. He is described here exactly like his elder brother Narasimha in the Lāl-Pahāḍ rock inscription. The object of the present inscription is to record the grant of the village Agarā near Akharauda, which the king made at Tripurī after bathing in the

¹ The Rai brothers of Kaṭni kindly showed me a seal of Jayasimhadēva which was previously in the collection of Hiralal (Plate LII). But there was no indication of its having been soldered to or otherwise connected with any ring.

² It does not, therefore, signify दान २ or देण २ as supposed by Hiralal and Hirananda Sastri respectively, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXI, p. 93 and n. 1.

³ *Viṭ.*, verses 9, 11 and 13 of the Khairhā plates (above, No. 56).

⁴ *Viṭ.*, verses 9, 14, 16, 19-21 and 24.

Rēvā on the occasion of a lunar eclipse which occurred on **Saturday, the full-moon tithi of Āśvina in the year 918** (expressed in numerical figures only). The date must, of course, be referred to the Kalachuri era. The donee was the Brāhmaṇa **Dēlhaṇa**, the son of **Dāmōdara** of the *Agastya gōtra* with three *pravaras*.¹ Among the officials to whom the order is addressed occur the names of the *Mahārājāli* **Kēlhaṇadēvī**,² the *Rājaguru* **Vimalaśiva**, the *Dharma**pradhāna* *Paṇḍita* **Rāghava**, the *Sāndhivigrahika* **Purushōttama**, the *Pratihāra* **Kamalasimha** and the *Dushtasādhyā* **Padmasimha**. Some of these figure in other records also. Thus the *Rājaguru* **Vimalaśiva** is mentioned in the Jabalpur stone inscription (No. 64) and in the Dhurēti plates (No. 72) and the *Sāndhivigrahika* **Purushōttama** in the Kumbhī plates (Appendix No. 4). In the enumeration of the rights, privileges and exemptions of the donee there occur some technical terms, the exact signification of which is not yet known. This portion is repeated *verbatim* in the later Kumbhī plates of **Vijayasimha**.

As all the verses descriptive of **Jayasimha's** ancestors down to **Yaśaḥkarṇa** are repeated here from older records like the **Khairhā** plates, they furnish no additional historical information. We are next told that **Yaśaḥkarṇa** was succeeded by **Gayākarṇa**. The latter had, from his queen **Alhaṇadēvī**, a son named **Narasimhadēva**. His younger brother **Jayasimhadēva**, who succeeded him, is the donor of the present plates. The verses descriptive of these princes also contain mere conventional praise and are altogether devoid of historical interest.

The importance of the present inscription lies mainly in the data it furnishes for testing Dr. Kielhorn's conclusion regarding the beginning of the Kalachuri year. According to Kielhorn's final view,³ the Kalachuri era commenced on the first *tithi* of the bright fortnight of the *pūrṇimānta* **Āśvina** in 248 A.C. As the bright fortnight of **Āśvina** thus fell in the beginning of the Kalachuri year, we should get the Christian equivalent of a date in that fortnight by adding 247 or 248 to the particular Kalachuri year according as the latter is current or expired. Thus the date of the present grant,—Saturday, the full-moon day of **Āśvina** with a lunar eclipse in the (Kalachuri) year 918,—should fall in 1165 A.C. if the Kalachuri year 918 was current, and in 1166 A.C. if it was expired. But neither of these would suit; for, in the former year, the *tithi* fell on Tuesday (the 21st September) and in the latter on Monday (the 10th October). Nor was there a lunar eclipse on that *tithi* in either of these years. On the other hand, if we suppose that the Kalachuri year began in some month later than **Āśvina**, say in **Kārttika**, the date of the present grant would regularly correspond, for the *expired* year 918, to Saturday, the 30th September 1167 A.C., on which day the *pūrṇimā* ended 13 h. after mean sunrise and there was a lunar eclipse as stated in the present grant. This date, therefore, is clearly adverse to Dr. Kielhorn's conclusion regarding the beginning of the Kalachuri year. It shows that the year must have commenced on some date later than the full-moon *tithi* of **Āśvina**.⁴

As for the geographical names occurring in the present grant, **Tripurī**, **Rēvā**, **Karṇāvatī** and **Kuntala** have already been identified. **Agarā**, the donated village, is

¹ The *pravaras* are not mentioned in the present inscription. They are variously enumerated by the authorities on *pravaras*. Some give them as *Āgastya*, *Dārḍhachyuta* and *Aidhmavāha*, while some others substitute *Sāmbhavāha* in place of *Aidhmavāha*. For other enumerations, see *Gōtrapravaranibandhakadamba*, pp. 86 ff.

² The Kumbhī plates of **Vijayasimha** mention **Gōsaladēvī** as the mother of **Vijayasimha** and consequently as the queen of **Jayasimha**. She seems to be different from this **Kēlhaṇadēvī**.

³ See his article 'Die Epoche des Cedi-Aera' in the *Festgruss an Roth*, pp. 53 ff.

⁴ For another case of this type, see the date of the **Amōdā** plates of **Prithvidēva** (Second Set) of K. 905 (No. 94, below).

probably identical with Agariā in the Sihōrā *tahsil*, about 20 miles north by east of Jabalpur. Akharaud cannot, however, be traced in its vicinity.

TEXT¹

First Plate

- 1 सिद्धिः² [॥*] ओं नमो ब्र(ब्र)ह्मणे ॥ जयति जलजनाभस्तस्य नाभोसरो[जं] जयति जय[ति
त]स्मा[ज्जा]तवानब्जसूतिः । अथ जयति स तस्या-
- 2 पत्यमत्रिस्तद[क्ष]स्तद³नु जयति जन्म प्राप्तवानब्जव(व)न्धुः ॥⁴[१॥*] अथ वो(वो)घन-
मादि[रा]जपुत्रं [गु]ह्या(जा)मातरमब्जवा(वा)न्धवस्य । तनयं जनयाव(व)-
- 3 भूव राजा गगनाभोगतडागराज[हंस]ः ॥⁵[२॥*] पुत्रं पुरुरवस[मौ]र[स]माप सूनुर्देवस्य
[सप्त]जलरा[शि]रसायनस्य । आसीदनन्यसम-
- 4 भाग्यशतोपभोग्या यस्योर्व्वशी च सुक[लत्र]मिहोर्व्वरा च ॥⁶[३॥*] अत्रा[न्वये] किल
[स(श)ता]धिकसप्तिमेघयूपोपरुद्धयमुनोक्तविविक्तकीर्तिः । स-
- 5 प्ताब्धिरत्नरस(श)नाभरणाभिरामविश्वंभराशुभरतो भरतो व(व)भूव ॥⁷[४॥*] हेलागृही-
त[पुन]स्तस[म]स्तशस्त्रो [गो]त्रे जयत्यधिकमस्य
- 6 स कार्तवीर्यः । अत्रै[व हं]हयनृपान्वयपूर्व्वपूंसि राजेति नाम शशलक्ष्म[णि] चक्षमे यः ॥⁸[५॥*]
[स] हि[माच]ल इव कलचुरिवंशमसू-
- 7 त जगतीभृतां भ[र्त्ता] ॥ मुक्ताम[णिभि]रिवामलवृत्तैः पूतं महीपतिभिः ॥⁹[६॥*] तत्रान्वये
नयवतां प्रवरो [न]रै[द्र]ः पौरंद[री]मिव पुरीं त्रि-
- 8 पुरीं पुनानः । आसीन्मदान्वनृपगन्धजाधिराजनिर्म्माय¹⁰केसरियुवा युवराजदेवः ॥¹¹[७॥*] सि-
[हा]सने नृपतिसिंहममुष्य सूनु-
- 9 [मारुह]पन्नवनिभर्तुरमात्यमुख्याः । कोकलमण्णवच[तुष्टयवीचि]संघसंघट्टरुद्धचतु[रंग]चमू-
प्रचारं(रम्) ॥¹²[८॥*] मरकतमणिपट्टप्रौढव-
- 10 क्षाः स्मितास्यो¹³ नगर[परि]षदै[र्धो]¹⁴(ध्वं) लंघयन्दोद्वयेन । [शि]र[सि] कुलिशपातो
वैरि[णां वी]रल[क्ष्मी]पतिरभवदपत्यं यस्य गाङ्गेयदेवः ॥¹⁵[९॥*]
- 11 प्राप्ते [प्रयागव]टमूल[नि]वेश[वं(वं)घौ] [सा]र्द्धं शतेन गृहि[णी]भिरमुत्र मुक्ति(क्तिम्) ।
पुत्रोस्य खड्गदलितारिकरीन्द्रकुंभमुक्ताफलैः [स्म] ककुभोर्चति
- 12 [कर्ण]दे[वः] ॥¹⁶[१०॥*] अग्रचं घाम श्रे[यसो] वे[द]विद्याव[ल्ली]कंद[ः] [स्वः]श्र¹⁷-

¹ From the original plates and ink-impressions.

² Expressed by a symbol.

³ This *akshara*, which was omitted at first, is written at the top of the first plate with the figure 2 indicating the line where it is to be supplied.

⁴ Metre: *Mālinī*.

⁵ Metre: *Anpachchandasika*.

⁶ Metre of this and the two following verses: *Vasantatilakā*.

⁷ Metre: *Āryā*. The Khairhā and Jabalpur plates (Nos. 30 and 51 read क्षमाभृतां in place of जगतीभृतां.

⁸ See above, p. 303, n. 9.

⁹ Metre of this and the following verse: *Vasantatilakā*.

¹⁰ Both the Khairhā and Jabalpur plates read स्मिताक्षो, which is also Hiralal's reading here. The original, however, has स्मितास्यो quite clearly.

¹¹ This *akshara* is partly damaged, but the traces that remain are sufficient to show that it was ध्वं, not ध्यं as read by Hiralal.

¹² Metre: *Mālinī*.

¹³ Metre: *Vasantatilakā*.

¹⁴ This *akshara* is quite clear. Read स्वःश्रवत्याः.

- वंत्याः किरीटं(टम्) । [व(व)हस्तं¹वो(वो)] येन कण्णवितीति प्रत्यष्टा[पि] क्षमा[त]ल-
व(व)हस्तो-
- 13 कः ॥²[११॥*] अ[जनि] कल[चु]रीणां स्वा[मि]ना [ते]न हूणान्वयजलनिधिल[क्ष्म्यां]
श्रीम[दाव]ल्ल[देव्यां] (व्याम्) [॥*] श[शभृदुद]यशंकाक्षुब्धदुग्धाब्धिबीचीस-
- 14 हच[रित]यशःश्रीः [श्री]यशःकण्णदेवः ॥³[१२॥*] [त]स्या[त्मजो]भूद[तुल]प्रता[पः]
श्रीमदगयाकण्णं इ[ति] प्रतीतः । यस्याहवेपुदतवैरिक्कण्ठच्छेदा-
- 15 [स]पूण्ण[व घ]रानुरक्ता ॥⁴[१३॥*] [अ]साव[लह]णदेव्यां श्रीनरसिहनरेस्व(स्व)रं(रम्) ।
[संवे]दन[मि]वेच्छायां प्रयत्नं सु[पु]वे सु[शु]भं(भम्) ॥⁵[१४॥*] उच्चैर्हिरण्यकशि-
- 16 पुप्रतिपादनेन प्रीति परां विवु(वु)घसंहतिषु प्रकुर्व्वं[न्] । सौदयसार[वि]निवारितसा(मा) रगव्वं-
श्चित्रं तथा[प्य]यमहो नरसिहदेवः ॥⁶[१५॥*]
- 17 तस्यानुजो वि[जय]तां जय[सि]ह[दे]वः शौर्यो[ज्व]ज्ज्व[ल]लैर[पि] नृपैः क्रियमाणसे[व]ः ।
यदाम(न)लुप्तयशसेव सुरद्रुमेण व्यद्रावि भूतल-
- 18 तले व(व)लिना प्रलीनं(नम्) ॥[१६॥*] नष्टं गूर्जर[भू]भुजा भुजव(व)लं मुक्तं तुरुक्केण
च त्यक्तः कुंतल[नाय]केन सहसा कंदर्पकेलिक्रमः । श्रुत्वा
- 19 श्रीजयसि[ह]देवनृपते राज्याभिषेकं नृपाः संत्रासादपरेष्यपास्य जग[ती] पारे ययुर्व्वारिवेः ॥⁷
[१७॥*] परमभट्टारक-
- 20 महाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरश्रीवामदेवपादानुध्यातपरमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरपरममाहे-

Second Plate : First Side

- 21 श्वरत्रिकलिङ्गाधिपतिनिजभुजोपाज्जिताश्वपतिगजपतिनरपतिराजत्रयाधिपति (त्यः) श्रीमज्जय-
सिहदेव एते विजयि-
- 22 नः ॥⁸ महाराज्ञी श्रीकेल्हणदेवी । महाराजपुत्र । महामात्य । श्रीमद्राजगुरुविमलशिव । महा-
पुरोहित । धम्मप्रधान
- 23 पं । श्रीराघव । महाप्रधानार्चलेखिठक्कुरश्रीदशमूलिक । सांधिविश्हिकटक्कुरश्रीपुरुषोत्तम । प्र-
तीहारश्रीकमलसिह ॥
- 24 दुष्टसाध्यश्रीपद्मसिह । महासामन्त । अक्षपटलिक । प्रमत्तवार । अश्वसाधनिक । भांडागारिक ।
इत्येतानन्याश्च प्रदास्यमा-
- 25 नग्रामनिवासिजनपदांश्चाहूय यथाहं मानयन्ति वो(वो)धयन्ति समान्नापयन्ति च । विदितमस्तु
भवताम् । संवत् ९१८ आश्वि-
- 26 न सु(शु)दि पौर्णमास्यां तिस्रो स(स)निदिने त्रिपुर्या सोमग्रहणे रेवायां विधिवत्स्नात्वा श्रीमहा-
देवं समभ्यर्च्य मातापित्रो-
- 27 रात्मनश्च पुण्ययशोभिवृद्धये अक्षरीदसमीपे अग्राग्रामः स्वसीमापर्यंतश्चतुराघाटविशुद्धः सगोप्र-
चारः ।⁹

¹ The lower part of this *akshara*, which is extant, shows that the word was स्तंवो, not स्तंभो as read by Hiralal.

² Metre: *Sālinī*.

³ Metre: *Mālinī*.

⁴ Metre: *Indravajrā*.

⁵ Metre: *Anuchubb*.

⁶ Metre of this and the following verse: *Vasantatilakā*.

⁷ Metre: *Sārdūlavikīṛita*.

⁸ The marks of punctuation in lines 22-24 are superfluous.

⁹ This mark of punctuation is redundant.

JABALPUR PLATES OF JAYASIMHA: (KALACHURI) YEAR 918

1.

[illegible]

ii, a.

[illegible]



A Seal of Jayasimha.



(From a photograph).

- 28 सजलस्थलः साम्रमधूकः सलवणाकरः सगर्तोषरः सनिर्गमप्रवेशः सजाङ्गलानूपो वृक्षारामो-
द्भिदोद्या-
- 29 नतृणादिसहितः सनदीपर्वतः¹ भागकरप्रवणिवाडचरीरसवतीकामतविसेणिमादायपट्टकिलादायदुः-
साध्यादा-
- 30 यवि(वै)षयिकादायादिकृतकरिष्यमाणादायैः सह² अगस्त्यगोत्राय त्रिप्रवराय पंडितश्रीदामोदर-
पुत्राय पंडितश्रीदेल्हण-
- 31 शर्मणे ब्रा(ब्रा)ह्मणायोदकपूर्वकत्वेन शासनीकृत्य प्रदत्तः ॥ अत्र चाभ्यर्थना दातुं भवति यथा ॥
सर्वनितान्भाविनः पार्थिवे-
- 32 न्दानभूयो भूयो याचते रामभद्रः । सामान्योयं धर्मसेतुर्ब्रू(ब्रू)पाणां काले काले पालनीयो भवद्भिः ॥³
[१८॥*] व(व)हुभिर्व्वंसुधा [भु]क्ता राज-
- 33 भिः सगरादिभिः । यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फलं(लम्) ॥⁴[१९॥*] सुवर्णमेकं
गामेकां भूमेरप्येकमङ्गलं(लम्) । हरन्नरकमाप्नोति याव-
- 34 दाभूतसंलवं(वम्) ॥[२०॥*] तद्भागानां सहस्रेण अश्वमेधशतेन च । गवां कोटिप्रदानेन भू-
मिहर्ता न क्षुध्यति ॥[२१॥*] स्वदत्तां परदत्तां वा यो हरेत् व-
- 35 सुंघरां(राम्) । स विष्ठायां कृमिभूत्वा पितृभिः सह मज्जति ॥[२२॥*] पण्डि वपंसहस्राणि
स्वर्गो वसति भूमिदः । आच्छेत्ता चानुमन्ता च तान्ये-
- 36 व नरके वसेत् ॥[२३॥*] वारिहीनेष्वरण्येषु शुष्ककोटरवासिनः । कृष्णसर्पास्तु जायन्ते देव-
त्र(त्र)ह्मस्वहारिणः ॥[२४॥*] अन्यायेन
- 37 हृता भूमिरन्यायेन तु हारिता । हरतो हारयतश्च⁵ दहत्यासप्तमं कुलं(लम्) ॥[२५॥*] भूमि
यः प्रतिगृह्णाति यश्च भूमिं प्रयच्छ-
- 38 ति । उभौ तौ पुण्यकर्म्मणौ नियतं स्वर्गंगामिनौ ॥[२६॥*] शंखो भद्रासनं च्छत्रं वराश्वा
वरवारणाः ॥[२७॥*] भूमिदानस्य चिन्हा(ह्ला)-
- 39 नि फलमेतत्पुनरंदर ॥[२८॥*] अस्मिन्वंशे परिक्षीण(णो) यः कश्चिन्नृपतिर्भवेत् । तस्याहं हस्तल-
ग्नोस्मि शासनं न व्यतिक्रमेत् ॥[२९॥*]
- 40 अभ्युद्धरस्य पौत्रेण श्रीमद्वर्म्मस्य सूनूना । लिखितं वत्सराजेन चेदीशदशमूलिना ॥[२९॥*]
मङ्गलं ॥ महाश्रीः ॥

Second Plate : Second Side

- 41 सिद्धिः⁶ ॥[३०॥*] अस्य श्रीजयसिंहदेवनृपतेः श्रेयोर्णवं प्रीणयन्पूर्णः शीतमरीचिरचित्तमैरभ्यर्च्यतः
सद्गुणैः । विद्याः
- 42 कंदलयंस्तमांसि दलयन्नित्यं पतियंज्वनां भूयाद्भूतिसुखोदयाय विदुषां द्राघीयसे राघवः ॥⁷
[३०॥*]
- 43 श्रीकोकासवंशपालहृणसुतरूपकारताल्हणेनोत्कीर्णं(णम्) ॥

Seal

श्रीमज्जयसिंहदेव[*] ॥

¹ Read -पर्वतो.

² Read सहागस्त्य-.

³ Metre: *Śālinī*.

⁴ Metre of verses 19-29: *Anuṣṭubh*.

⁵ The metre requires a reading like हारयन्तश्च, but it would be ungrammatical.

⁶ Expressed by a symbol.

⁷ Metre: *Sārdūlavikrīḍita*.

TRANSLATION

Success! Ōm! Adoration to Brahman!

[For a translation of verses 1-12, see that of vv. 1-8, 10, 12, 14 and 15, above, pp. 296 ff.]

(Verse 13) His (*i.e.*, Yaśaḥkarṇa's) son of unrivalled prowess became famous as the illustrious **Gayākarṇa**; in whose wars the earth, replete with blood from the cut-off necks of arrogant foes, was, as it were, in love (*with him*).

(V. 14) He begat on **Alhaṇadēvī** the illustrious prince **Narasimhadēva**, as sensation produces in will a righteous effort.

(V. 15) Though he caused great joy among multitudes of learned people by his precious gifts of gold and food¹ (*unlike the man-lion god who pleased hosts of gods only by killing Hiranyakaśipu*) and did away with cupid's pride by his superb beauty (*unlike the ugly man-lion god*), he was, oh wonder! still (*called*) **Narasimhadēva**!

(V. 16) May his younger brother **Jayasimhadēva** be victorious—(*he*) who is waited upon even by princes resplendent with valour! Being deprived of their glory by his liberality, the celestial tree hastily left (*the world*) and Bali disappeared underground!

(V. 17) On hearing of the coronation of the illustrious **Jayasimhadēva** the Gurjara king disappeared, the **Turushka** lost the strength of (*his*) arms, the lord of **Kuntala** suddenly renounced all love-sports and other kings also, leaving the earth through apprehension, crossed the ocean.

(Line 19) This victorious (*king*), the **Paramabhaṭṭāraka**, **Mahārājādhirāja** and **Paramēśvara**, the illustrious **Jayasimhadēva**, a devout worshipper of Mahēśvara, the lord of **Trikaḷiṅga**, who has by (*the might of*) his arm, attained suzerainty over the three kings, (*vīṛ*), the lord of horses, the lord of elephants and the lord of men, (*and*) who meditates on the feet of the **Paramabhaṭṭāraka**, **Mahārājādhirāja** and **Paramēśvara**, the illustrious **Vāmadēva**,—having called together the **Mahārājānī**, the illustrious **Kēlhaṇadēvī**, the **Mahārājaputra**, the **Mahāmātya**, the illustrious **Rājaguru Vimalaśiva**, the **Mahāpurōhita**, the **Dharmaṇḍhāna Paṇḍita**, the illustrious **Rāghava**, the **Mahāṇḍhāna**, **Arthalēkhin**² **Ṭhakkura** the illustrious **Daśamūlika**³, the **Sāndhivigrahika Ṭhakkura**, the illustrious **Purushōttama**, the **Pratihāra**, the illustrious **Kamalasiṃha**, the **Duṣṭasādhya**⁴, the illustrious **Padmasiṃha**, the **Mahāsāmanta**, the **Akshapaṭalika**, the **Pramattavāra**, the **Aśvasādhhanika**, the **Bhāṇḍāgārika**—these and other (*officers*) and the inhabitants of the village which is to be granted,—duly honours, informs and commands them (*as follows*):—

(L. 25) "Be it known to you that on (*the occasion of*) the lunar eclipse on Saturday, the full-moon (*tithi*) of the bright fortnight of **Āśvina** in the year 918, we, having bathed in the **Rēvā** and having worshipped the holy Mahādēva, have given as a grant with a libation of water for the increase of the religious merit and fame of (*Our*) mother and father and Ourself, the village **Agarā** near **Akharauda** to the extent of its limits, with its four boundaries well-determined,—together with pasture-land for cows, with land and water, with mango and *mahnā* trees, with salt mines, with its pits and barren lands, with (*the right*

¹ There is a play on the word *Hiranyakaśipu* which means (1) gold and food (*kaśipu*) and (2) the name of a demon who was killed by Vishnu in his man-lion incarnation.

² This appears to be a technical title corresponding to the modern 'Chief Secretary.'

³ This officer is called *Daśamūlin* in verse 29 below. The post was then held by Vatsarāja. He is named in the Kumbhī plates (Appendix No. 4, below) also.

⁴ This corresponds to the *Dauṣṭasādhhanika* usually mentioned in the records of the Pālas. It was a technical title probably denoting 'an officer in charge of criminals.'

of) egress and ingress, with fertile¹ and marshy lands, with tree-groves, plant-gardens, grass and so forth, with rivers and hills, with the (royal) share (of produce), taxes, (the cess on) *pravaṇis*,² *vāḍa*, grazing tax, liquor tax, *kāmata*, the cess on *visēṇimā*,³ the tax levied for *Paṭṭakilas*⁴ and *Dussādhyas*,⁵ the district rates and such other taxes levied or to be levied,—to the Brāhmaṇa, the illustrious Paṇḍita Dēlhaṇaśarman, the son of the illustrious Paṇḍita Dāmōdara, of the Agastya *gōtra* and three *pravaras*.”

And in this matter this is the prayer of the donor—

(Here follow eleven benedictive and imprecatory verses.)

(V. 29) (This charter) has been written by Vatsarāja, the son of the illustrious Dharma and son's son of Abhyuddhara, (who is) the *Daśamulin* of the lord of Chēdi. May there be bliss and great prosperity !

Success !

(V. 30) May Rāghava, the lord of sacrificers, the full moon that delights the ocean of well-being of this illustrious king Jayasimha, who is honoured on account of his virtues, cause great prosperity and happiness to the learned, making the lores sprout forth, and annihilating ignorance !

(This charter) has been engraved by the sculptor Tālhaṇa, the son of Pālhaṇa of the illustrious Kōkāsa family.

Seal

The illustrious Jayasimha.

No. 64; PLATE LIII

JABALPUR STONE INSCRIPTION OF JAYASIMHA : (KALACHURI) YEAR 926.

THE stone bearing this inscription was found at Jabalpur, the headquarters of a district of the same name in Madhya Pradesh. The record has been referred to several times, e.g., by Dr. F. E. Hall in the *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, Vol. VI, p. 533, by Dr. F. Kielhorn in the *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XVIII, p. 210 and, again, in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. V, Appendix I, p. 10, n. 4 and by Rai Bahadur Hiralal in his *Inscriptions in the Central Provinces and Berar*, (second ed.), p. 42; but owing presumably to its very bad preservation⁶ none attempted a transcript or even an abstract of its contents. The record was for the first time edited by me in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XXV, pp. 309

¹ Compare अस्पोदकतृणो यस्तु प्रवातः प्रचुरातपः । स ज्ञेयो जाङ्गलो देशो बहुधान्यादिसंयुतः ॥ in Kullūka's com. on *Manusmṛiti*, adhyāya VII, v. 69.

² Kielhorn draws attention to the similarity of the expression *vaṇik-pravaṇi-pramukha* in l. 6 of the Rājōr inscription of Mathanadēva and *vaṇik-śrīṣṭhi-purāḡa* (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. III, p. 263, n. 4). *Pravaṇi* therefore, seems to mean *Śrīṣṭhin*, a banker. *Pravaṇi-kara* is mentioned in other records also, see, e.g., line 28 of the Faizābād grant of Jayachandra, *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XV, p. 12.

³ *Vāḍa*, *kāmata* and *visēṇima*, which occur also in the Kumbhī plates of Vijayasimha (below, Appendix, No. 4), I am unable to explain.

⁴ *Paṭṭakilas* are mentioned in some records together with *jānapadas* (residents of the country) as persons living in the village to whom the royal order is addressed. See, e.g., line 18 of the Mūndhātā plates of Jayasimha, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. III, p. 49. *Paṭṭakila* probably represents the modern *Pāṭil* or headman of a village.

⁵ These were probably criminals and other suspects living within the limits of the village.

⁶ Hiralal remarks that 'this is a pretty big record, but is too much defaced to yield any useful information.' *I. C. P. B.*, p. 42.

ff. It is edited here from the original stone and its inked estampages kindly supplied by the Government Epigraphist for India.

The writing covers a space 2' 7" broad and 1' 8½" high. The average size of the letters is .5". The surface of the stone which was originally made none too smooth, has been further damaged by exposure to weather and several letters in the middle as well as the right-hand side of the first fourteen lines and some more in the middle of lines 19-24 have become illegible.

The characters are Nāgarī. The letters were beautifully written and carefully executed. It will suffice to draw attention to the proper sign of *b* as an independent letter in *bibhrat*-, l. 25 and in its superscript form in *=bvabhūv*-, l. 9, to the form of the initial *i* in *iti*, l. 12, of the initial *ri* in *richām*, l. 15 and of *ś*, the left member of which resembles the English figure 8 in *śivāya*, l. 11. The language is Sanskrit, and except for the obeisance to Siva in the beginning of the first line and the date in the last, the inscription is in verse throughout. The verses are not numbered, but they appear to be fifty in all. The orthography does not present anything calling for special notice except that *v* and *b* as well as *ś* and *s* are confounded in some places.

The object of the inscription is to record the construction of a temple of the moon-crested god (Siva) by Vimalaśiva, the religious preceptor of the king Jayasimha of the Later Kalachuri Dynasty of Tripurī. The god was named Kīrtiśvara after Vimalaśiva's guru Kīrtiśiva. The inscription also records that the king Jayasimha endowed the temple with three villages on the occasion of a solar eclipse.¹

The record is dated in words as well as numerical figures in the year 926 without any specification of the month, fortnight, *tithi* or week-day. This date must, of course, be referred to the Kalachuri era. It corresponds, for the expired Kalachuri year 926, to 1174-75 A. C. In this year there was only one solar eclipse, viz., that which occurred on the *amāvāsyā* of the *pūrṇimānta* Pausha, on Tuesday, the 26th November, 1174 A. C. This is, therefore, probably the date of Jayasimha's grant if it was made in the same Kalachuri year in which the record was put up.² It does not admit of verification, but it falls in the reign of Jayasimha, who, we know, was ruling at least from K. 918³ to K. 928.⁴

After three *maṅgala-ślōkas* in praise of Siva, we are told that the god revealed the Śaiva doctrine for the realization of the self by the worlds. Some Śaiva teachers were named in lines 4-7, but the names of Vimalaśiva⁵ and Vāstuśiva⁶ only are now completely legible. In line 8 we read the name of Puruṣaśiva who is described as the cause of Yaśaḥkarṇa's prosperity. Next is mentioned Śaktiśiva in connection with Gayākarṇa.

¹ I take *raśmī parvāṇi* in line 26 to mean 'on the occasion of a solar eclipse'. *Parvāṇi* also means a *saṅkṛānti*, but in that case the name of the *saṅkṛānti* would have been specified.

² There was a solar eclipse on the *amāvāsyā* of *pūrṇimānta* Āshāḍha (the 1st June 1174 A. C.) also. So the year can be taken as current. But current years are cited very rarely.

³ Above, No. 65.

⁴ Below, No. 66.

⁵ This Vimalaśiva is probably different from the Śaiva ascetic who put up the present inscription.

⁶ I examined the name of this ascetic carefully to see if he could be identified with Vāmaśiva in view of the suggestion recently made that the latter was the spiritual teacher of Karṇa and represents Vāmadēva on whose feet several Kalachuri kings from Karṇa downwards are described as meditating. (See *Ind. Hist. Quart.*, Vol. XIV, pp. 96 ff.). A Śaiva Āchārya named Vāmarāśi is also mentioned as living in Banaras in the Sārnāth inscription of Mahipāla, dated V. 1083, *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIV, p. 140. The Śaiva ascetic mentioned in the beginning of line 6 in the present record may have been a contemporary of Karṇa; for the next legible name is that of Puruṣaśiva who was the guru of Karṇa's son Yaśaḥkarṇa. But the second *akṣara* of the aforementioned name does not at all appear like *mā*. I have shown elsewhere that Vāmadēva was a Kalachuri king and not a Śaiva ascetic; see *A Volume of Eastern and Indian Studies*, pp. 132 ff.

His desciple was Kīrtiśiva who is said to have contributed to the prosperity of the king Narasiṃha. Five verses (22-26) are devoted to his description. The next eighteen verses refer to Vimalaśiva. He belonged to the *gōtra* of Viśvāmitra and was the son of Madhu-sūdana and Umā. Having paid off his debt to gods and others by performing religious rites at Prabhāsa, Gōkarṇa, Gayā, and other *tīrthas*, he was initiated in the Śaiva doctrine by Kīrtiśiva. He was very handsome, learned and liberal, and exercised great vigilance in looking after all affairs of the king. The earth being adorned with gardens, tanks, charitable houses, temples and dwellings for Brāhmaṇas constructed by him is said to have vied with heaven in splendour. The king Jayasiṃha devoutly bowed to him. We are next told that Vimalaśiva built a temple of Śiva under the name Kīrtiśvara for the glory and religious merit of his spiritual preceptor Kīrtiśiva. The king Jayasiṃha endowed it with three villages on the occasion of a solar eclipse. One of these villages, which was named Tēkabhara, was situated in the *viśaya* (district) of Navapattalā and the other two named Kaṇḍaravāḍa and Vaḍōha or Avaḍōha in Samudrapāṭa which was apparently another district.

The importance of the present inscription lies in the information it furnishes about the spiritual preceptors of the Kalachuri kings of Tripurī from Yaśaḥkarṇa downwards. It may, however, be noted in this connection that the Asiatic Society of Bengal plates of Gōvindachandra¹ mention the Śaiva Āchārya Rudraśiva, not Puruṣaśiva, as the *Rājaguru* of Yaśaḥkarṇa. Perhaps Yaśaḥkarṇa had two *Rājagurus* in succession. The name of Vimalaśiva, the *guru* of Jayasiṃha occurs in his Jabalpur plates² also.

The present *prafasti* was composed by the poet Śaśidhara, who was a Brāhmaṇa of the Maunya³ *gōtra*. He composed also the Bhērā-Ghāt inscription of Alhaṇadēvī, while his elder brother Prithvīdhara was the author of the Tēwar inscription of the reign of Gayākarṇa. The present record was incised on the stone by Nannadēva, the son of Mahīdhara. His father was the sculptor of the aforementioned stone inscription of the reign of Gayākarṇa and that of Alhaṇadēvī.

As for the localities mentioned in the present record, Tēkabhara may be identical with Tikhāri, 5 miles south by west of Jabalpur. The *viśaya* (district) of Navapattalā in which it was situated may have comprised the territory round the modern Nayākhērā which lies about 8 miles west of Tikhāri. Samudrapāṭa is probably Samand Pipāriā, 4 miles south of Jabalpur. There are several villages named Kuṇḍa or Kuṇḍan near Jabalpur, one of which may represent the ancient Kaṇḍaravāḍa. No place exactly corresponding to Vaḍōha or Avaḍōha can, however, be traced in the Jabalpur District. Prabhāsa, Gōkarṇa and Gayā are too well-known to need identification.

TEXT⁴

- 1 सिद्धिः⁵ [१*] ओं नमः शिवाय ॥ उन्मीलत्कमलावलम्बि (म्बि) तरतिर्वन्द्यद्विजेन्द्रस्थितिर्निर्दोषा
[म]हितप्रकाशवसतिः [काहण्यपूर्णोद्गतिः] । सम्यग्वर्जित[संश्रिता]हितकृतिः [श्रीसत्त्वं]-
देहोद्गतिर्भूत्वा पुण्यकुदात्मजः

¹ J. A. S. B., Vol. XXXI, pp. 123 ff.

² Above, No. 63. Vimalaśiva is also mentioned in the Dhurēti plates, below, No. 72.

³ This is also the spelling of the name in the Bhērā-Ghāt stone inscription of Narasiṃha (above, No. 60, l. 26), but the *Gōtrapravaranibandhakadamba* spells it as *Mama*.

⁴ From the original stone and ink impressions.

⁵ Expressed by a symbol.

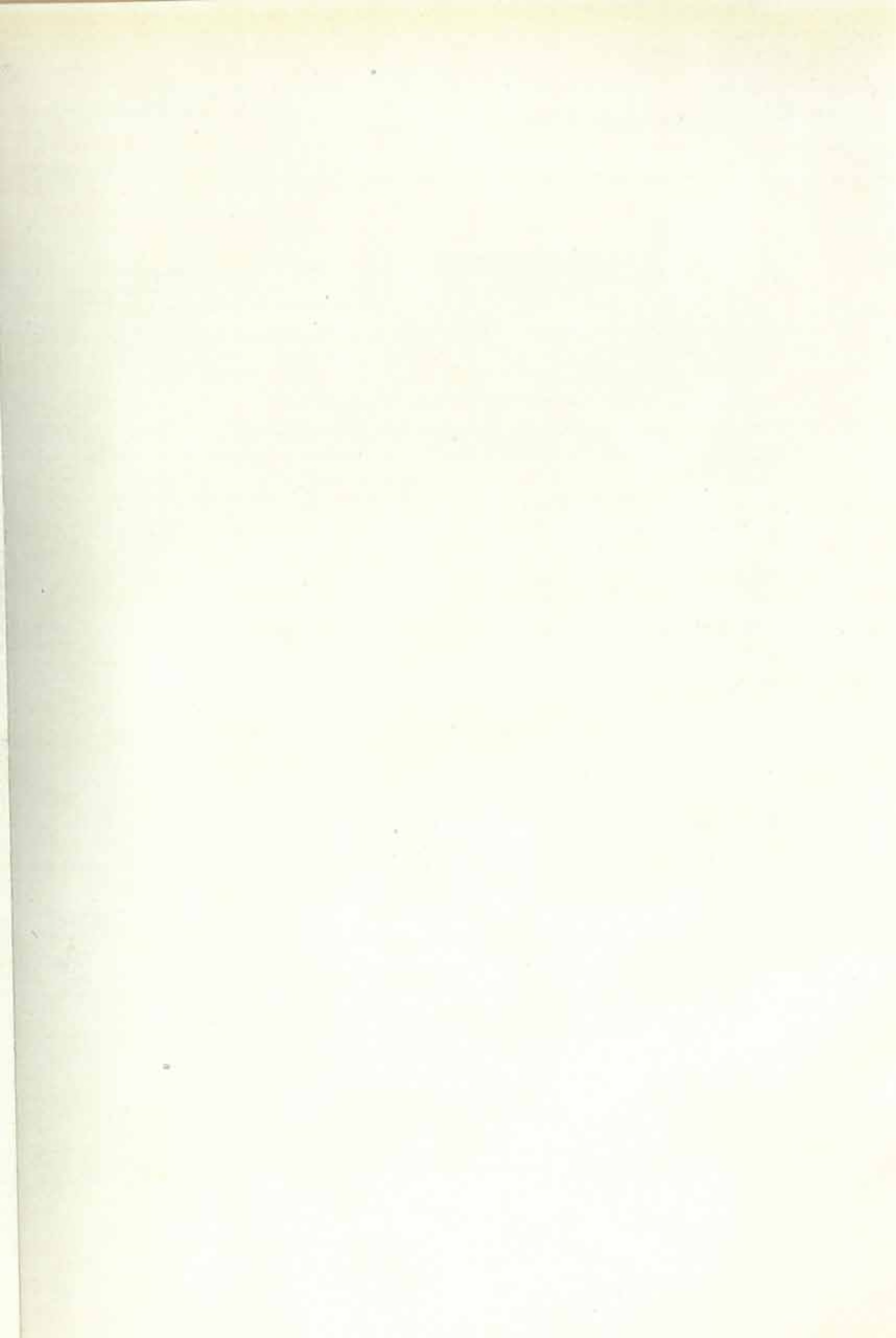
- ¹⁷ Metre of this and the two following verses: *Anushtubh*.

JABALPUR STONE INSCRIPTION OF JAYASIMHA: (KALACHURI) YEAR 926

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- लतिकावष्टंभाद्भुतभूरुहः । तस्य कीर्त्तिशिवः शिष्य[स्तिष्य?] ७७ [बभूव सः] ॥२१॥*
 [येन देव?] ७- - ७, ७७७७७- ७७ । नरसिहनरेन्द्रस्य बभूवा-
- 12 भ्युदयाय सः ॥२२॥* न स्पंदनं वसुमती न च चंद्रसूर्यौ चक्रे न सारथिरभूत्स च विश्वयोनिः ।
 नेषुर्हरिः परपुराणि तथापि भस्म चक्रे यतः स इति कीर्त्तिशिवः स्फु- - ॥२३॥* यशोभिरि-
 दुविशदैस्तथैवारिविकर्षितैः । अपूपुरत्स सर्वाशा विवे-
- 13 ककुसुमैरिव ॥२४॥* दृष्टौ च विप्रु(प्लु)ष्टमनोभवोपि प्रसन्नचंद्रप्रतिमानतोपि । वृषप्रति-
 ष्ठोपि शिवावसवतोप्यभूत्स नोगो न च सद्विजिह्वः ॥२५॥* कलचुरिकुल⁴
 यन्ति प्रदीपा⁵ । स यथैव तथेन्द्रियाणि सर्वा-
- 14 प्यपि विश्रामसुरदुरिदिरायाः ॥२६॥* विश्वामित्रजगन्मित्रगोत्रे मैत्र्याद्यलंकृताः । प्रापु-
 ष्विप्राः कियंतो न प्रतिष्ठां परमेष्ठिनः ॥२७॥* येषां सम्यगधीतवेदविषयज्ञानार्थमत्याद-
 रा[त्*] [येषां - ७७- [रदायनमभू] - - ७- - ७- । येषां [चा]र्थसमृद्धिभिः समभव-
- 15 श्लिष्टानि पुत्तानि च प्राशस्त्येन महीभृतामिव सदा यायावरानामपि ॥२८॥* क्रमात्तत्रा-
 भवद्गोत्रे मैत्रीं सत्वे(वै)षु संदधत् । ऋचां पदक्रमाधीती वो(वो)ढा च मधुसूदनः ॥२९॥*
 दक्षिणाशावतंसस्य कुंभयोनेरिवाधिकम् । व(व)भूव यस्य विवु(वु)घोढो(ढो)घाय म-
- 16 हिमोदयः ॥३०॥* द्विजेन्द्रभूषणात्स्मादुमेवोमाभिधा वधूः । अलंचक्रे तनूजेन स्कन्देनैव
 जगत्त्रयम् ॥३१॥* सोधीत्य वेदान्वेदार्थानधिगम्य व्रतं ब्रह्म । ७७७७७- - ७ नभस्वानिव
 दक्षिणः ॥३२॥* प्रभासगोकर्ण[ग]यादितीर्थेष्व-
- 17 नृप्यमापद्य सुरादिवर्यै । शैवं व्रतं कीर्त्तिशिवाद्भार समग्रमुग्रादुपमन्युवद्यः ॥३३॥* कल्पा-
 युष्विमलशिवः स एष [तस्मा]द्वि(द्वि)भाणः कलियुगकल्पपादपत्वम् । [यच्छा]यां विवु(वु)घ-
 गणोधिगम्य धत्ते वैधुर्यन्न खलु [महोत्स]वोदयेषु ॥३४॥* जा-
- 18 तिः सज्जनपूजिता रतिपतेर्व्यावर्तनायाकृतिर्व्यक्तिः कांतिसुहृत्प्रशांतिसुतपा¹² स्फीतिर्गुणानां
 गुरुः । रीतिः [प्रीति]करी सतामतितरां नीतिः सदा तद्विदां [मीनं मङ्गल]मुद्यमैकसरणेरस्यैव
 संदृश्यते ॥३५॥* वाणी सद्गुणनैपुणप्रण-
- 19 यिनी ब्र(ब्र)ह्मास्यपद्माश्रया श्रीः श्रीवत्सविभूषवत्स¹⁴वसतिप्रेमेति [लो]कोक्तयः । एतस्मिन्पु-
 रद्भुतं द्वयमिदं सानन्द[मुद्यो(द्यो)]तते तादृभ्यादृगजीजन[त्सुमनसां] चेतस्सु - - ७- ॥३६॥*
 विद्यासमुद्रचंद्रस्य तपःश्रीसरसीरुहः । सत्योत्सवादेः स-
- 20 दूतमित्रस्यास्याद्भुतं न किम् ॥३७॥* यस्याधिद्विजराजदर्शनवशादानाम्बु(म्बु)भिर्ध्व-
 द्रते श्रद्धा [रात्रिदिवं] वरेण विधिना [धर्मस्य] वल्लीरिव¹⁶ । यो दर्शेष्वपि सादरं द्विजपती-

¹ Restore स्फुटं सः । Metre: *Vasantatilakā*.

² Metre: *Anuṣṭubh*.

³ Metre: *Upajāti*.

⁴ About 5 aksharas are missing here.

⁵ About 7 aksharas are gone here.

⁶ Metre: *Anuṣṭubh*.

⁷ Metre: *Anuṣṭubh*.

⁸ Metre: *Sārdūlavikrīḍita*.

⁹ Metre of this and the next three verses: *Anuṣṭubh*.

¹⁰ Metre: *Upajāti*.

¹¹ Metre: *Prabharishīḍ*.

¹² The *visarga* is dropped here by the *vārttika* on Pāṇini, VIII, 3,36.

¹³ Metre of this and the following verse: *Sārdūlavikrīḍita*.

¹⁴ The second *vatsa* here means 'the breast'.

¹⁵ Metre: *Anuṣṭubh*.

¹⁶ Properly वल्लीव, but this reading would not suit the metre.

- [३८॥*] नदीगणशोभाभरान्दक्षो योजयते सुवर्णविक्रश(स)त्सद्रोहिणीनां स(श)तैः ॥¹[३८॥*]
- 21 सकलनृपतिकृत्यप्रत्यवेक्षासुदास्यं समधिकमधि --- ७- जयंघुर्यः । द्विजप्रतिरपि पूर्णः कोम-
लाभिः कलाभिः कलयति वललीलां योरि --- ७- ॥²[३९॥*] लक्ष्मीलीलाकटाक्षैरतिकुतु-
कतया संततं लक्ष्यमाणो-
- 22 प्यक्षाणां न क्षमी यः क्वचिदपि सहते स(श)क्तिमुत्सेचयित्रीम् । पृथ्वीपालेन नित्यं व(व)हुल-
समुचिते कार्यजाते नियुक्तोप्यादत्ते नैव जाड्यं [कयम]पि विधिवन्नित्यनैमित्तिकेषु ॥³
[४०॥*] नित्यं वासनया ७- ७ ७ ७- --- ७- ७- संजज्ञे न विचा-
- 23 रपूर्वकविधि[द्वैतं] न यन्नास्ति तत् । पात्रं तन्न यद्वच्चितं न व(व)हुशस्तीर्थं न तद्भूतले दान-
स्नानतपोभिर्द्भुततमैर्यन्नामुना संस्कृतम् ॥⁴[४१॥*] साधीयांसि महीयांसि स्थेयांसि स्थाणु-
रुपिणः । श्वेयांसि यस्य बद्धन्ते महांसीव यथा-
- 24 सि च ॥⁵[४२॥*] उद्यानसरसी [सत्त्व]प्रासादद्विजवेश्मभिः । भूमिः परिभवत्यस्य न कैर्भूपा-
भरैर्दिवम् ॥[४३॥*] यो मंत्रैः करवर्तिनः समकरोल्लेकान्तरेभ्यः परान् --- ७- ज्ञेयसिंहदेव-
नृपतिर्भक्त्यातिनम्रोपि सन् । स श्रीमान्विमलेश्वरः कलिमलप्र-
- 25 शालनैकक्षमां कीर्त्तिं देव[नदीमिव] त्रिभुवने विस्तारयेन्नदनीम् ॥⁶[४४॥*] अचीकरच्चंद्र-
मौलेर्मन्दिरमादरात् । गुरोः कीर्त्तिर्शिवस्यैतत्कीर्त्तये सुकृताय च ॥⁷[४५॥*] देवाय कीर्त्ति-
श्वरसंज्ञिताय प्रादादमुष्मं जयसिंहदेवः । विभ्रद्भवे भक्तिभरं गुरो
- 26 च ग्रामान्वेः पर्वणि न[व्य]दायान् ॥⁸[४६॥*] [टेकभराख्य]स्तेषामेको तवपत्तलाविषये ।
अन्यौ समुद्रपाटे कंडरवाडो वडोहस्व(श्च) ॥⁹[४७॥*] मौन्यान्वयद्विजैर्द्विधरणीधरतंदनः ।
प्रशस्तिमकरोदेताम्प्रीत्या शशिधरः¹¹ कविः ॥¹²[४८॥*] सूत्रधारशि-
- 27 [रोरत्न]महीधरतनूद्भवः शिलामलंकरोदेता¹³ नामदेवोऽक्षरेव्वरैः ॥[४९॥*] सम्बत्षड्विंश-
त्युत्तरनवशताब्देपि¹⁴ ९२६ ॥ यावत्सूयचंद्रो यातायातं नभस्तले तपतः । तावत्कीर्त्तनमेतत्कीर्त्यं
कर्तुः स्थिरं भूयात् ॥¹⁵[५०॥*]

TRANSLATION

Success! Om! Obeisance to Siva!

(Verse 1) Having become a meritorious person's son of righteous deeds, [Siva] who takes delight in blooming lotuses, who abides in venerable Brāhmaṇas, who dwells blamelessly in honoured lustre, and is full of compassion, destroys the

¹ Metre: *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*.

² Metre: *Mālinī*.

³ Metre: *Sragdharā*.

⁴ Metre: *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*.

⁵ Metre of this and the following verse: *Anuṣṭubh*.

⁶ Metre: *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*.

⁷ Some word like रम्यं is omitted after चंद्रमौलेः.

⁸ Metre: *Anuṣṭubh*.

⁹ Metre: *Upajāti*.

¹⁰ Metre: *Upajāti*.

¹¹ Read शशिधरः.

¹² Metre of this and the following verse: *Anuṣṭubh*.

¹³ अलंकरोत् is grammatically incorrect. Read अलंकरोत्ता.

¹⁴ Read संवत् षड्विंशत्युत्तरनवशताब्देपि.

¹⁵ Metre: *Āryā*.

(evil) actions of the enemies of those who take refuge with him, and annihilates the arrogance of demons.

(V. 2) Śiva, who is mounted on the bull, who has the beauty of lotuses

(V. 3) We praise the praiseworthy (Śiva), whom they see

(V. 4) For the realization of their self by the worlds, Śiva revealed his doctrine

(V. 5) Those whose direct knowledge failed

(V. 6) In his lineage in the succession of disciples in course of time

(V. 7)

(V. 8) Having installed his disciple, **Vimalaśiva**, in his own place, he

(V. 9) Whose dear fame

(V. 10) (He) who was named **Vāstuśiva**, who caused great bliss, who
in the country of the lords of **Chēdi**

(V. 11)

(V. 12) His disciple named —**śiva**, who acquired a great excellence of merits and wealth in order to oblige others (and) to attain the aims of human life.

(V. 13)

(V. 14) like multitudes of merits

(V. 15) He, though possessed of equanimity, bore love towards worthy persons, was attached to holy places, followed the path approved by good people (and) was devoted to Śiva

(V. 16) **Purushaśiva**, the best of men, who was conversant with
was his disciple

(V. 17) On account of whom there arose as much abundance—great with prosperity—in religious merit, wealth and enjoyment of **Yaśaḥkarṇa** as that of (Indra) the lord of immortals through **Bṛihaspati**.

(V. 18) His disciple, **Śaktiśiva**, (who augmented) the (two) royal powers of the illustrious king **Gayakarna**, made the circle of regions very bright with the mass of his fame as he did the ocean of learning with the excellence of his intellect.

(V. 19) the prowess of the king **Gayakarna**

(V. 20) The deeds of him, who is pre-eminently counted among good people, and whose wealth is an ornament of his good heart, are sung by wise men like those of the celestial wish-fulfilling tree.

(V. 21) The disciple of him,—a marvellous tree supporting the wish-fulfilling creeping plant of noble fame—(was) **Kīrtiśiva**

(V. 22) He caused the prosperity of the king **Narasimha**

(V. 23) (Unlike Śiva) he had not the earth for his chariot, nor the sun and the moon for its wheels, nor **Brahmā** for his charioteer, nor **Vishṇu** for his arrow.¹ Still he reduced to ashes the cities of the enemies (as Śiva did those of demons). Hence he (was) [clearly] **Kīrtiśiva** (Śiva in glory).

(V. 24) He filled all regions with his glory which he wrested from the enemy and which was as bright as the moon, as with the flowers of discrimination.

(V. 25) Though he had burned the feeling of love in his glances, though his face resembled the bright moon, though he was firmly attached to religion² and was devoted to Śiva (even as Śiva burned the god of love by his glance, has the bright disc of the moon on his forehead,

¹ For the equipment of Śiva in his fight with the demons of the three cities, see *Mahābhārata*, *Drōṇa-parvan*, *adhyāya* 202, vv. 71-78 (Chitraśālā Press ed.).

² There is a play on the word *īṣha* meaning (1) religion and (2) the bull Nandi.

is mounted on the bull, and is attached to Pārvatī¹) he was, (unlike Śiva who is called Ugra² and wears serpents), neither dreadful in appearance, nor attended by informers³.

(V. 26) The great lights . . . the **Kalachuri** family As he, so all his sense-organs were the celestial tree of rest to the goddess of fortune.

(V. 27) In the *gōtra* of Viśvāmitra which is a friend of the world how many Brāhmaṇas adorned with benevolence⁴ and other (virtues) have not attained the pre-eminence of Paramēśhṭhin (God)?

(V. 28) Their . . . with great regard for the understanding of the contents of the Vēdas which they had studied in the right manner Though they were vagrant mendicants, their sacrificial rites and charitable works were performed with abundance of wealth and in a praiseworthy manner like those of kings.

(V. 29) In course of time there was born in that *gōtra* **Madhusūdana** who bore benevolence towards all, had studied the *pada* and *krama* recensions of the Ṛigvēda and understood its meaning.

(V. 30) The rising greatness of him, who was an ornament of the southern regions, led greatly to the awakening of learned men even as the rise of the star Agastya,⁵ the ornament of the southern direction, causes the awakening of the gods (from slumber).

(V. 31) Through him who was an ornament of the foremost among Brāhmaṇas, (his) wife named Umā, who resembled Pārvatī, was adorned by a son even as the three worlds were by Skanda.

(V. 32) Having studied the Vēdas and understood their contents he, observing vows, . . . pleased all people like the southern breeze.

(V. 33) Having paid off his debt to the best of gods and others at **Prabhāsa**, **Gōkarṇa**, **Gayā**, and other holy places, he received (initiation in) the Śaiva vow from **Kīrtiśiva** even as Upamanyu did from Ugra (i.e. Śiva).

(V. 34) (May) this **Vimalaśiva**, who has consequently become the wish-fulfilling tree of the Kali age, live to the end of the world!—(the tree), having come under the shade of which, a multitude of Brāhmaṇas do not indeed feel distressed on the approach of great festivities!

(V. 35) In the case of only this (*Vimalaśiva*) who is solely devoted to exertion, are seen (the following), viz., birth of a caste (viz., Brāhmaṇa) which is honoured by good people, a (handsome) form which can turn back the god of love (in discomfiture), a personality attended by lustre, a large increase of merits accompanied by great tranquillity and excellent austerity, a mode of behaviour which is exceedingly pleasing to good people, political wisdom which is always pleasing to politicians (and) blessed silence.

(V. 36) "The goddess of speech who is fond of proficiency in merits dwells in the lotus which is Brahmā's face, and the goddess of fortune loves to live on the breast of (Vishṇu) who is adorned with Śrīvatsa." This is what people say. But, what a wonder! this pair shines forth so joyfully in him that it has caused . . . in the minds of magnanimous people.

(V. 37) What thing concerning him is not marvellous?—(him) who is the moon to the ocean of learning, a lotus to the goddess of austerities, a pleasure-mountain to the truth and a friend of virtuous conduct?

¹ *Śiv-āvasaktō* is to be interpreted in two ways; (1) *Śivo-avasaktō* meaning 'devoted to Śiva', and (2) *Śivā-avasaktō* meaning 'attached to Pārvatī'.

² *Ugra* is a name of Śiva.

³ *Dvijibha* (two-tongued) means (i) a serpent, and (ii) an informer.

⁴ *Maitrī* is one of the four *bhāvanās* which *yōgins* cultivate.

⁵ The star Canopus which appears on the horizon just before the commencement of *Śarad* or autumn.

(V. 38) At the sight of the best of Brāhmaṇas who approach him as supplicants, his piety increases day and night with the libations of water (*poured at the time of*) making gifts like the creeping plant of religion, in an excellent manner. Vigilant as he is, he confers respectfully on the best of Brāhmaṇas whose splendour has not decreased, hundreds of red cows shining with gold even on new-moon days.¹

(V. 39) Showing exceedingly great vigilance in looking after all royal affairs, the indefatigable leader The foremost among Brāhmaṇas (*viz.*, Vimalaśīva), though proficient in fine arts, shows the play of his power against the enemies²

(V. 40) Though he is ever looked at with great curiosity by the goddess of fortune with sportful glances, he, (*though*) of a forgiving nature, does not at all suffer the sense-organs to have the power of making him vain. Though he is always employed (*by the king*) in many suitable affairs, he nowhere shows slackness in (*the performance of*) obligatory and occasional religious rites.

(V. 41) (*There is*) no discriminating action which he has not performed; (*there is*) no gift which he has not conferred; (*there is*) no deserving person whom he has not honoured many times, (*and*) (*there is*) generally no holy place on the earth which he has not sanctified with marvellous gifts, bathing and austerities.

(V. 42) Of him who is like Siva, the exceedingly good, great and lasting blessings increase like his great lustre.

(V. 43) With what ornaments (*supplied*) by him does not the earth surpass heaven? —(*the earth, which has*) gardens, tanks, charitable feeding houses, temples and houses of Brāhmaṇas?

(V. 44) May that illustrious Vimalaśīva,—who, by his counsel, has made (*even*) the most distant people pay taxes,³ [to whom] the king Jayasimha [*bows*] becoming very humble through devotion,—spread in the three worlds his delightful fame which, like the celestial river is capable of washing away the taint of the Kali age!

(V. 45) He caused a temple of the moon-crested god (*Siva*) to be constructed for the fame and religious merit of his teacher Kīrtiśīva out of reverence for him.

(V. 46) To this god named Kīrtiśvara, Jayasimhadēva, through devotion to Siva and his teacher, has made new grants of villages on (*the occasion of*) the sun's eclipse.

(V. 47) Of these the village called Tēkabhara is situated in the *vishaya* (district) of Navapattalā and two others, (*viz.*), Kaṇḍaravāḍa and Vaḍōha⁴ in (*the district of*) Samudrapāṭa.

(V. 48) The poet Śaśidhara, the son of the illustrious Dharaṇīdhara who is the foremost among Brāhmaṇas born in the family of Maunya, has composed this *prafastī* with pleasure.

(V. 49) Nāmadēva, the son of Mahīdhara, the crest-jewel of artisans, has adorned this slab with excellent letters.

(In) the year nine hundred increased by twenty-six, in figures also 926.

(V. 50) May this temple endure firmly for the fame of the builder as long as the sun and the moon, going and coming, shine in the firmament!

¹ There is a play on the words *dakṣa*, *dvija-pati* and *rāhīṇī*. Dakṣa gave only one Rāhīṇī (*i. e.*, the star Aldebaran) to the Moon and that too on the full-moon day, while Vimalaśīva gives hundreds of *rāhīṇīs* (red cows) to Brāhmaṇas even on the new-moon day. The star Rāhīṇī is personified as the daughter of Dakṣa and the favourite wife of the Moon.

² In this verse also, there is a pun on some words like *dvija-pati*, *kalā*, etc.

³ *Karavartin* means also 'one who is near at hand.' The statement 'Vimalaśīva makes most distant people near' involves contradiction, but it is only apparent, the intended sense being as given above. The figure is *Vīrōdbābhāsa*.

⁴ Or, *Avadōha*.

No. 65 : PLATE LIV

REWA PLATE OF JAYASIMHA: (KALACHURI) YEAR 926

THIS plate was brought to notice by Sir A. Cunningham who found it in the possession of the Rewa Durbar. A brief and, in some respects, incorrect account of it was given by him in his *Archæological Survey of India Reports*, Vol. XXI, pp. 145 ff. The inscription was subsequently edited, with a lithograph, but without any translation, by Dr. F. Kielhorn in the *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XVII, pp. 224 ff. The plate has since been deposited in the British Museum. It is edited here from excellent ink impressions kindly supplied by the authorities of the Museum.

The inscription is on a single plate measuring about 13" by 9 $\frac{7}{8}$ " and inscribed on one side only. The surface of the plate itself is smooth; but for the protection of the writing, strips of copper about $\frac{3}{8}$ " broad are fastened by rivets along the edge of the top and the two sides; and the bottom edge was originally protected in the same way, but the strips have been torn off and lost. The preservation of the inscription is perfect; and there is hardly any letter which is not clear and distinct in the impression.—In the upper part of the plate and secured by a strong rivet passing through the plates, there is a thicker and broader strip of copper, which towards the end projecting above the plate is turned over so as to catch and hold a plain copper ring about $\frac{3}{8}$ " thick and 2 $\frac{1}{8}$ " in diameter. There is no indication of any seal having been attached to the ring.¹—The weight of the plate with the ring is 164 $\frac{1}{2}$ tolas.² The letters in lines 1-2 and 11-12 are much bigger than those in others. Their size consequently varies from .25" to .15".

The characters are Nāgarī. They are somewhat irregularly formed and carelessly incised. Several letters have more than one form; see, e.g., the initial *i* in *iva*, ll. 7 and 8; *j* in *-rājādhirāja-*, l. 2 and *upārjakō*, l. 5; *dh* in *-Gayādhara-*, l. 10 and *-madhūkaḥ*, l. 12, and *g* in *gaṇa-nāyakaḥ*, ll. 1-2 and *-gajapati-*, l. 3. In some places it is difficult to distinguish between *v* and *ch*, and *ś* and *s*. The language is Sanskrit. Except for the opening verse in praise of Hēramba and the usual benedictive and imprecatory verses at the end, the whole record is in verse. It is somewhat carelessly written. Rules of *sandhi* have, in some cases, not been observed. In ll. 8-15 there is a confusion of the active and passive constructions. Besides, there are some mistakes of case-inflections, e.g., in ll. 9-10, the plural is wrongly used in referring to two donees. The wrong number of the compound *chandr-ārka-mēdinī* and the superfluous addition of a second affix in *utkīrṇitam* may also be noted. As regards orthography, we find that the sign for *v* is throughout used to denote *b*; *s* is, in some cases, used for *ś* as in *Kausika-*, l. 9 and *vice versa* in *Vatsarājasya*, l. 14; and *kh* is employed for *sh* in *sa-gartt-ōkharah*, l. 12.

The inscription refers itself to the reign of the king Jayasimha, evidently of the Later Kalachuri Dynasty of Tripurī. He is mentioned here with the same imperial titles as in his Jabalpur plates. He is called a devout worshipper of Mahēśvara and the lord of Trikalīṅga and is said to have meditated on the feet of Vāmadēva who is also given the same imperial titles. The object of the inscription is to record the grant of the village Ahaḍāpāḍa situated in the Khaṇḍagahā pattalā. It was made at Karakēḍi by the Mahārāṇaka Kirtivarman on the occasion of offering oblations to his deceased father, the Rāṇaka³ Vatsarāja. The donees were two Brāhmaṇas, Ṭhakuras Mahāditya and Silaṇa, who belonged to the Kauśika gōtra and had

¹ The seal may have been sliding on the ring as in the case of the Vākāṭaka plates.

² *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVII, p. 224.

³ Vatsarāja is, however, called Mahārāṇaka in the genealogical portion.

the three *pravara*s Audala, Viśvāmitra and Dēvarāta. They were sons of *Ṭhakura* Chaturbhujā, son's sons of *Ṭhakura* Gayādhara and son's sons' sons of *Ṭhakura* Trilōchana. The inscription was written with the consent of *Ṭhakura* Ratnapāla by Vidyādhara the son of *Ṭhakura* Mālḥē, son's son of *Ṭhakura* Dhārēśvara and son's son's son of *Ṭhakura* Rājēśvara. It was engraved by the blacksmiths Kūkē and Kikaka.

Kirtivarman, who made the present gift, was evidently a feudatory of the Kalachuri king Jayasimha. He was the son of Vatsarāja who was himself the son of Jayavarman. All the three princes bore the feudatory title *Mahārāṇaka*. They claimed descent from the Kauravas, the legendary heroes described in the *Mahābhārata*.

The inscription is dated, in line 14, on Thursday, the fourth tithi of the bright fortnight of Bhādrapada in the year 926. The year is again repeated at the end of the record. In both the places it is expressed in decimal figures only. This date must, of course, be referred to the Kalachuri era and falls in the reign of Jayasimha. Dr. Kielhorn, who at first supposed that the Kalachuri era began on the first tithi of the bright fortnight of Bhādrapada in 249 A.C., found by calculation that in 1175 A.C. (corresponding to the expired Kalachuri year 926) the fourth tithi of the bright fortnight of Bhādrapada commenced 8 h. 9 m. after mean sunrise on Thursday, the 21st August.¹ The tithi was not, of course, civilly connected with that day, but as it was the Gaṇēśa-chaturthī, Dr. Kielhorn thought that the religious ceremonies and the gifts to Brāhmaṇas connected with them must have been performed after the tithi commenced on that day.² Later on, even though he shifted the beginning of the Kalachuri era to 248 A.C., he had no difficulty in showing the date of the present grant to be regular; for he had come to the conclusion that the Kalachuri year commenced on the first tithi of the bright fortnight of Āśvina. I have shown elsewhere that the Kalachuri era probably commenced on the first tithi of the bright fortnight of the *pūrṇimānta* Kārttika, but that also does not affect the present date. The date, therefore, corresponds, for the expired Kalachuri year 926, to Thursday, the 21st August 1175 A.C., but the reason why the tithi is mentioned here as *chaturthī* though it was not current at sunrise on that day is not that the ceremonies of the Gaṇēśa-chaturthī were performed in the afternoon on that day as supposed by Kielhorn and Fleet, but that the *śrāddha* of the donor's father, in connection with which the donation was made, was performed in the afternoon when the fourth tithi was current. It is well known that for the performance of a *śrāddha*, the afternoon is preferred to the forenoon.³

Of the place-names mentioned in the present record, Kakkarēdikā is clearly Kakreri (long. 81° 12' E, lat. 24° 55' N.). Khaṇḍagahā, the headquarters of the *pattalā* in which the donated village was situated, is perhaps identical with Kandaihlī, about 6 miles west by south of Kakreri. The village Ahadāpāda cannot, however, be traced in its vicinity.

TEXT⁴

- 1 सिद्धिः⁵ [1*] स्वस्ति ॥ अमोदश्च प्रमोदश्च सुमुखो दुर्मुखस्तदा(था) । अविघ्नो विघ्नकर्ता
च हेल(र)म्बो(म्बो) गण-

¹ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVII, p. 219. According to S. K. Pillai's *Indian Ephemeris*, the tithi commenced 9 h. 20 m. after mean sunrise on Thursday.

² Fleet also confirmed this view, drawing attention to the opening verse which is in praise of Hēramba (Gaṇēśa)

³ See above p. 240, n. 2.

⁴ From ink impressions.

⁵ Expressed by a symbol.

- 2 नायकः ॥¹[१॥*] परमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्व (स्व) रश्रीवामदेवपादानुध्यातपरम[भ*]-
ट्टारक-
- 3 महाराजाधिराजपरमेश्व (स्व) स्परममाहेश्व (स्व) रत्रिकलिङ्गाधिपतिनिजभुजोपाज्जितास्व (स्व)-
पतिगजपतिनरपतिराजत्र-
- 4 याधिपतिश्रीमज्जयसिंहदेवविजयराज्ये ॥ असे²(शे)पविशेषार्थ³समन्वितायां देवद्विजगुप्तपद्वि⁴-
(स्वि)निषेवितायां ।⁵ कक्करेडिकाऽभिधानायां
- 5 नगय्या⁶ कौरव[न्श]⁷संभूत उपार्जको⁸ ज्योषराजगुणालंकृतशरीरः परममाहेश्वरो महात्र(त्र)ह्यण्यो-
जेकदानोदकप्रक्षालितवा-
- 6 मेतरकरप्रकोष्ठः ।⁵ अनेकसंग्रामभूमौ करिधटाकुम्भवि[श्र]वण⁹पंचाननः समस्तक्षत्रियगवं-
हृद्भिः¹⁰ ।⁵ महाराणक[:*] श्रीजयव-
- 7 म्मं(म्मां) नाम आसीत् । एतस्य पुत्रो दुर्वारवैरिवारणसम[र्थ]ः¹¹ ।⁵ कर्ण इव कुण्डलकिरीट-
धारी ।⁵ मह(हा)राणकश्रीवत्सराजोभूत् [।*]
- 8 एतस्य पुत्रो महामाहेश्वरः¹² कल्पवृक्षवत् द्विजार्थी(यि)नां वाञ्छितफलप्रदोज्जुन इव चापेनेक्षु(पु)-
कोटिस¹³मुत्सारितारातिकु-
- 9 लो महाराणक[श्री]कीर्तिवर्मा¹⁴ कौसि(शि)कगोत्रस्यो¹⁵दलविश्वामित्रदेवरात्र(त)¹⁶त्रिप्रवरेश्वरः¹⁷
यजनयाजनाध्ययन(ना)ध्या-
- 10 पनदानप्रतिग्रहवृत्कर्मरतेभ्यः¹⁸ ।¹⁹ ठकुरश्रीत्रिलोचनप्रपौत्रेभ्यः²⁰ । ठकुरश्रीगयाधरपौत्रेभ्यः²¹ ।
ठकुरश्रीचतुर्भु-
- 11 जपुत्राभ्यां ठकुरश्रीमहादित्यसीलणत्रा(त्रा)ह्यणाभ्यां खंडगहापत्तलायां अहडापाडग्रामः²² स्वसी-

¹ Metre: *Anuṣṭubh*.

² Kielhorn read this *akṣara* as शे, but the facsimile accompanying his article clearly shows it to be से.

³ Kielhorn's proposal to alter this expression to विशिष्टार्थ does not appear necessary, as we find similar ones, (e.g., विशेषगुण) in Sanskrit.

⁴ Kielhorn wrongly read गुप्तपद्वि and proposed to alter it to गुरुवर्चः; but the reading तपद्वि(स्वि) is quite clear and suits the context very well.

⁵ This *danḍa* is superfluous.

⁶ Read नगय्या.

⁷ Read कौरववंश-

⁸ Perhaps उपार्जिताशेष- is intended.

⁹ The intended reading may have been विदारण as suggested by Kielhorn.

¹⁰ Some words like शस्त्रैरुपेतः seem to be omitted here. Kielhorn proposed to read -गवंहृत्.

¹¹ Kielhorn read [सव]र्तः, but there is no trace of an *anusvāra* on स, the second letter is probably म and the third an imperfectly incised वः.

¹² The *mātrā* on र is cancelled.

¹³ A superfluous स which was at first incised between स and म is cancelled.

¹⁴ There is a *kākapada* below मां, indicating that the *akṣara* मां incised in the top margin (with the figure 9 to indicate the proper line) is to be inserted here. The resulting form कीर्तिवर्मणा (with the shortening of मां into मं) is intended to be construed with संप्रदत्तः in ll. 14-15. But the cases of other adjectives and words in apposition are not similarly changed.

¹⁵ Read कौशिकगोत्राभ्यामो-

¹⁶ There is no clear indication in the impression of त्र being changed to त.

¹⁷ Read -त्रिप्रवरभ्यां. In some following expressions also the plural is used for the dual.

¹⁸ Read -रताभ्यां.

¹⁹ This and the other *danḍas* in this line are superfluous.

²⁰ Read -प्रपौत्राभ्यां.

²¹ Read -पौत्राभ्यां.

²² This *visarga*, being very faint, was probably added later on.

- 12 मापयन्तश्चतुराघाटविशुद्धः सजलस्थलः साम्रमधूकः सलवणाकरः सगर्तोख(व)रः सनिर्ग—
 13 मं(म)प्रवेस(श): सगोप्रचारः सनिर्घिनि(नि)क्षेपः कल्याणघनः सकरो मातापित्रोरात्मन—
 श्वानंता(त)पुण्ययशोविवृद्धये
 14 संवत् ९२६ भाद्रपदमासे शुक्लपक्षे [च]तुर्थ्या तिथौ गुरुदिने राणकश्रीवत्सराजस्य¹(स्य) निमित्ते
 पिढार्चनस्थाने² संप्र—
 15 दत्तः [1*] ओं स्वस्ति ॥ ये [भ]वंति कुलेस्माकं [शू]रा वीराश्च संगरे [1] ते पालयंतु मे
 दानं यावत् चंद्रार्कमेदिनी³ ॥[२॥*] व(व)हुभिः⁴
 16 भूक्ता वसुधा राजभिः सगरादिभिः [1*] यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फलं(लम्) ॥
 [३॥*] कुशोपग्रहहस्ताभ्यां चेत्तौ राम—
 17 लक्ष्मणौ⁵ [1*] स्वदत्तं(त्तां) वा⁶ परदत्तां वा यो हरेत्(त) वसुंधरां(राम्) [1*] स वि—
 [६॥*]यां कृमि भूत्वा⁷ पितृभिः⁸ सह मज्जति ॥[४॥*] तडागानां श(स)ह—
 18 श्रेण [अ]श्वमे[ध*]शतेन च । गवां कोटिप्रदानेन भूमिहर्ता न सु(शु)ध्यति ॥[५॥*] ठ¹⁰ ।
 श्रीराजस्व(स्व)रूपौत्रेण । ठ । धारेश्वरपौत्रेण
 19 ठ । माल्लेपुत्रेण । ठ । रत्नपालस्य संमत्या ठ । विद्याधरेणालेखि ॥ लोह[कार]कूकेकी—
 क¹¹काभ्यामुत्कीर्णितमिति [1*] संवत् ९२६¹² [॥*]

TRANSLATION

Success ! Hail !

(Verse 1) Joyless and joyful, handsome and deformed, unimpeded and obstructing is Hēramba, the lord of Gaṇas.

(Line 2) During the victorious reign of the *Paramabhaṭṭāraka*, *Mahārājādhirāja* and *Paramēśvara*, the illustrious *Jayasimha*, the devout worshipper of Mahēśvara, the lord of *Trikaliṅga*, who by his own arm has acquired suzerainty over the three kings, (*viz.*) the lord of horses, the lord of elephants (*and*) the lord of men, who meditates on the feet of the *Paramabhaṭṭāraka*, *Mahārājādhirāja* and *Paramēśvara*, the illustrious *Vāmadēva*,—

(L. 4) In the city called *Kakkarēḍikā* which is furnished with all excellent things (*and*) which is resorted to by gods, Brāhmaṇas, preceptors and ascetics,—

There was the *Mahārāṇaka* named the illustrious *Jayavarman* who was born in the family of the *Kauravas*, whose person was adorned with all royal virtues which he had acquired, (*who was*) a devout worshipper of Mahēśvara (*and*) very pious, whose right

¹ Kielhorn read this *akibara* as स्य, but there is no trace of the horizontal stroke joining the two limbs of the letter.

² Originally मे, subsequently altered to ने.

³ The correct reading should be चन्द्रार्कमेदित्यः, but it would not suit the metre. Metre of this and the following verses: *Anuṣṭubh*.

⁴ This *visarga* is superfluous. Besides, the usual expression is *Bahubhir=vasudhā bhuktā*.

⁵ Kielhorn took this to be the beginning of the unfinished verse. Perhaps it is meant to be connected with the following imprecation. Compare तथा चोक्तं रामभद्रेण which occurs in a similar connection. There is one syllable less in the present *pāda*. Read —हस्ताभ्यामूचत् रामलक्ष्मणौ.

⁶ This word is superfluous.

⁷ Here the letters appear to be actually incised as *phibā*.

⁸ Read कृमिभूत्वा.

⁹ Originally पित्रिभिः

¹⁰ ठ in this and the next line means ठकुर.

¹¹ The *mātrā* of के and the *anūvara* on म्या have been cancelled. Read कूकेकीकाभ्यामुत्कीर्णितमिति.

¹² The figure 6, though it has not come out in Pl. LIV, is quite clear in the plate facing p. 226 in *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVII.

fore-arm was washed by (*libations of*) water in making many gifts, who was a lion in breaking open the frontal globes of hosts of elephants on many fields of battle (*and*) (*whose arms*) had deprived all warriors of their pride.

His son was the *Mahārāṇaka*, the illustrious *Vatsarāja*, who was able to turn back the irresistible elephants of the enemies, (*and*) who, like *Karṇa*, wore ear-ornaments and a crown.

(L. 8) His son, the *Mahārāṇaka*, the illustrious *Kīrtivarman*, a devout worshipper of *Mahēśvara*,—who, like the celestial tree, grants their desired objects to the *Brāhmaṇa* supplicants, (*and*) who, like *Arjuna*, has routed multitudes of enemies with the tips of arrows (*discharged*) with (*his*) bow,—has granted, at the place of worshipping the balls (*of rice*) offered in honour of the *Rāṇaka* the illustrious *Vatsarāja*, on *Thursday*, the *fourth tithi* of the bright fortnight of the month *Bhādrapada* in the year 926, for the increase of infinite religious merit and fame of (*his*) mother and father and himself, the village *Ahaḍāpāḍa* in the *Khaṇḍagahā pattalā* extending as far as its limits, with its four boundaries well-determined, together with land and water, together with mango and *madhūka* trees, together with salt mines, together with pits and barren lands, together with the rights of egress and ingress, together with pasture-lands, together with treasures and deposits, with beneficial wealth and together with taxes—to the *Ṭhakura*s, the illustrious *Brāhmaṇa*s *Mahādītya* and *Sīlaṇa*, the sons of the *Ṭhakura*, the illustrious *Chaturbhuja*, son's sons of the *Ṭhakura*, the illustrious *Gayādhara*, son's son's sons of the *Ṭhakura*, the illustrious *Trilōchana*, who belong to the *Kauśika gōtra* and have the three *pravara*s *Audala*, *Viśvāmitra* and *Dēvarāta*, who are (*always*) engaged in the six duties, (*viz.*,) performance of sacrifice for themselves and for others, studying and teaching, making and receiving gifts.

Om! Hail!

(Here follow four benedictive and imprecatory verses).

(Line 18) (*This charter*) has been written by the *Ṭhakura Vidyādhara*, the son of the *Ṭhakura Mālhē*, son's son of *Dhārēśvara* and son's son's son of the *Ṭhakura*, the illustrious *Rājēśvara*, with the consent of the *Ṭhakura Ratnapāla*. It has been engraved by the blacksmiths *Kūkē* and *Kikaka*. The year 926.

NO. 66: PLATE LV

TEWAR STONE INSCRIPTION OF JAYASIMHA: (KALACHURI) YEAR 928

THE stone which bears this short inscription was procured by Dr. F.E. Hall at *Tēwar*, a village about 6 miles to the west of *Jabalpur* in *Madhya Pradesh*, and presented by him to the *American Oriental Society*, in whose cabinet, at *New Haven*, it is now deposited. It is said to be of like character with that of *Alhaṇadēvi*'s inscription. Dr. Hall also first edited the inscription, with a translation, in the *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, Vol. VI, pp. 512 f; and his text was subsequently reprinted in Roman characters, with a photozincograph of the inscription in Dr. Burgess' *Inscriptions from the Cave-Temples of Western India*, p. 110 and his translation in Sir A. Cunningham's *Archaeological Survey of India Reports*, Vol. IX, pp. 95 f.¹ The inscription was next edited by Dr. Kielhorn, with a translation, but without a facsimile, in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. II, pp. 17-19. It is edited here from two excellent photographs kindly supplied by the authorities of the *American Oriental Society*.

¹ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. II, p. 17.

The inscription contains nine lines of writing of which the first eight are written breadthwise, while the last is written along the proper left margin. The writing covers a space 11" in breadth and 7" in height, and is in a state of good preservation. The letters are irregularly formed and carelessly cut. In two places in l. 5 they seem to have been changed subsequently. Their size varies from .5" to .8".

The characters are Nāgarī. The language is Sanskrit and except for the last three lines, the inscription is in verse throughout. As regards orthography, *v* is used for *b* in *Vrahma* and *Vrahm-ādi-* in l. 1, the dental for the palatal sibilant in *narēsvaṛaḥ* l. 3, *aiśvaram*, l. 6 and *Kēśava* ll. 6 and 8 and *n* in place of *anusvāra* in *Jayasinha*, l. 4. The rule of euphony is unnecessarily applied in *Narasimhadēvō*, which occurs at the end of a hemistich in l. 4, while it is neglected in *Samrāt jīyā-* in l. 4.

The inscription is of the reign of the *Samrāt Jayasimhadēva*, the younger brother of the king *Narasimhadēva* who was a son of the king *Gayākarna*, evidently of the Later Kalachuri Dynasty of Tripurī. The object of it is to record the building of a temple of *Īśvara* (Śiva) by the *nāyaka* *Kēśava* of the *Kātyāyana gōtra*, who was the son of *Āladēva*. The latter was probably the son of the *Brāhmaṇa* *Āstaka*. *Kēśava* was a resident of the village *Sikhā* in *Mā[la]vaka*.

The inscription is dated in the year 928, on Sunday, the 6th tithi of the bright fortnight of *Śrāvaṇa* when the moon was in conjunction with the asterism *Hasta*. The year and the tithi are expressed in numerical figures only. This date must, of course, be referred to the Kalachuri era. As Dr. Kielhorn has shown, there were two *Śrāvaṇas* in the expired Kalachuri year 928, corresponding to 1176-77 A.C. The month *Śrāvaṇa* of the present date, though not further particularised, was the first or *adhika* (intercalary) *Śrāvaṇa*¹; for the 6th tithi of the bright half of that month ended 7 h. 30 m. after mean sunrise on Sunday (the 3rd July 1177 A.C.) and the *nakshatra* *Hasta* also ended 16 h. 20 m. after mean sunrise on that day. The 6th tithi of the *nija* *Śrāvaṇa* on the other hand fell on Monday, the 1st August, on which day the *nakshatra* was *Chitrā*. Sunday, the 3rd July 1177 A.C., is thus the date of the present inscription.

The village *Sikhā* may be identical with *Sikhā* which lies about 4 miles north-west of Jabalpur. The territorial division *Mālavaka* in which it was situated I am unable to identify.²

TEXT³

- 1 सिद्धिः⁴[१*] जानानंदं परं ब्र(ब्र)ह्म ब्र(ब्र)ह्मादिसुरसेवितं(तम्) । वंदेम—
- 2 हि महादेवं देवदेवं जगद्गुरुम् ॥⁵[१॥*] श्रीमद्गयाक—
- 3 ण्णनृपस्य सूनुर्रेस्व(श्च)रः श्रीनरसिंहदेवो(वः) । दि(जि)ग्ये घरि—
- 4 श्रीमनुजोस्य सम्राट्⁶ जीयाच्चिरं श्रीजयसिंहदेवः⁷ ॥⁸[२॥*]
- 5 विप्र[स्या]स्तकनाम्नो⁹ भूदालदेवस्तदात्मजः ।

¹ For another instance of the same kind, see the date of the Lāl-Pahād rock inscription, No. 61, above.

² It may have been identical with *Mālā-drūdalaka* named in l. 31 of No. 42.

³ From photographs.

⁴ Expressed by a symbol.

⁵ Metre: *Anuṣṭubh*.

⁶ Read सम्राट्.

⁷ Read श्रीजयसिंहदेवः.

⁸ Metre: *Upajāti*.

⁹ The engraver seems to have cut at first विप्रो योस्तकनामा and subsequently changed विप्रो into विप्र and नामा into नाम्नो. या has not been clearly altered to स्या as required.

- 6 केस(श)वः कारयामास प्रासादममुमेस्व(स्व)रम् ॥¹[३॥*]
 7 सम्बत्² ९२८ श्रावण सुदि ६ रवौ हस्ते ॥
 8 नायककेस(श)वस्ये(स्य) गोत्रं कात्यायनं स्वानं मा[ल?]-
 9 वके सीखाग्रामः ॥

TRANSLATION

Success !

(Verse 1) May we bow to Mahādēva, the god of gods, the father of the world, (who is) knowledge and bliss, the Supreme Brahman, served by Brahmā and other gods !

(V. 2) The illustrious lord of men, **Narasimhadēva**, the son of the illustrious king **Gayākarna**, conquered the earth. May his younger brother, the illustrious **Samrāt Jayasimhadēva**, long be victorious !

(V. 3) The Brāhmaṇa named Āstaka had (a son named) Āladēva; his son **Kēśava** caused this temple of Īśvara to be built.

(Line 7) (In) the year 928, on Sunday, the 6th (lunar day) of the bright (fortnight) of Śrāvaṇa, (the moon being) in (the asterism) Hasta.

The *Nāyaka* Kēśava's *gōtra* is Kātyāyana and (his) place of residence the village Sīkhā in Mā[la]vaka.

No. 67; PLATE LVI

REWA STONE INSCRIPTION OF VIJAYASIMHA; (KALACHURI) YEAR 944

THE stone bearing this inscription was discovered 'in one of the small guard-rooms to the left of the main entrance to the citadel or palace enclosure' at Rewa³ in Vindhya Pradesh. It is said to have been brought over to Rewa from the Kastarā tank in the Rewa *taluk*⁴. The record was first noticed by Mr. R. D. Banerji in the *Progress Report of the Archaeological Survey, Western Circle* for 1920-21. Subsequently he gave a transcript and a translation of it in his *Haihayas of Tripurī and their Monuments*⁵ and finally edited it, with a lithograph, but without a translation, in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XIX, pp. 295 f. It is edited here from inked estampages kindly supplied by the Superintendent of Archaeological Survey, Central Circle, Patna.

The record is incised on an oblong plain slab of sandstone measuring 4' 3½" by 1' 8½". The writing covers a space 4' 2" broad by 1' 7" high. It contains 27 lines, of which the last measures only 2' 7" in length. The inscription is in a state of good preservation. The characters are Nāgarī. They are irregularly and carelessly cut and incised. The letters *th*, *bh*, *ś* as well as the medial *i* in some places present earlier forms; see, e.g., *Thakkurō*, l. 22, *-bhūt* and *Yasahpāla*, both in l. 4, *-yasmīns=tishthē-*, l. 16. Attention may also be drawn to the peculiar form of the initial *i*, e.g., in *iti*, l. 4, and *iv-*, l. 5, the subscript *li* in *prakṛipta*, l. 5, and *-pratikṛipta-*, l. 17, and *th*, of which the upper loop is open, in *yath=ēśa-*, l. 21. In the ligature *nn*, the superscript letter has in most cases the same form as the dental *n*, see, e.g., *-pūrṇa-*, l. 1, *-Karna-*, l. 4; but notice *=Gayākarna*, l. 4, where it appears in its usual form; *t* is looped in some places, see, e.g., *kṛita-gīraṁ*, l. 16; *b*, as distinguished from *v*, is de-

¹ Metre: *Anuṣṭubh*.

² Read संवत्.

³ P. R. A. S., W. C., (1920-21), p. 52.

⁴ See *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIX, p. 295, n. 1. This place is perhaps identical with Kahtarā near Makundpur p. 295, where also there is a large tank.

⁵ M. A. S. I., No. 23, pp. 133 ff.

TEWAR STONE INSCRIPTION OF JAYASIMHA: (KALACHURI) YEAR 928

[illegible]

noted by it proper sign only in the form *babhūva* in ll. 7, 22, 23 etc. The sign of the *upadh-mānīya* occurs, though wrongly, in *niḥpamka-*, l. 7 and *vā(bā)h-paiḥ-*, l. 12. The language is Sanskrit. Except for the customary *svasti* in the beginning, and the date and *maṅgalanī mahā-trīḥ* towards the close, the inscription is metrically composed throughout. The verses, which are 54 in all, are not numbered. The composer of the *prastāvi* (as the record is called in l. 23), though he claims proficiency in the science of word and sense, had but an imperfect command over the Sanskrit language. His style is obscure, his compounds uncouth, and his meaning uncertain¹ in several places. Notice, for instance, the compounds *nītānta-vāhuḥ-*, l. 6 and *Vāstavya-vṛitti-pratham-aika-līnganī*, l. 21, the meaning of which is obscure. He has used verbal forms of the potential mood in the sense of the present tense in several places see, e.g., *rakshēt*, l. 6, *āndōlayēt*, l. 9. His unsuccessful attempt to embellish his style with figures of sense will be pointed out in the notes to the text and the translation. As regards **orthography**, the sign for *v* is everywhere used to denote *b* except in the form *babhūva*, the dental *s* for the palatal *ś* in several places, e.g., in *darsanānt*, l. 2, *śasinaḥ*, l. 7 and *vice versa* in *vāṇ-āmbhaśī*, l. 12; *y* is employed for *j* in *yushtaḥ*, l. 22; one of the two similarly sounding consonants is wrongly elided in *ujvālayē*, l. 13 and *prādā=tripada*, l. 10; similarly the *visarga* is omitted in some places to suit the metre;² finally, the sign of the *anumāśika* is used in place of the *anuvāra*, generally when followed by *v* or *s*, see *śrōṇīm vidhi-* and *-gīrām vasan*, both in l. 16, *śit-āṁsu*, l. 8; but see also *lāmkaṁ* l. 10.

The inscription refers itself to the reign of **Vijayasimhadēva** (called **Vijayadēva** in line 3), evidently of the **Later Kalachuri Dynasty**, who ruled at **Tripurī** on the **Narmadā**. The **object** of it is to record the construction of a tank by **Malayasimha** who was probably a feudatory chief of **Vijayasimha**.

The inscription opens with a verse in praise of **Mañjughōsha**, the Buddhist god of learning. There is, however, nothing peculiarly Buddhist about the present inscription. The composer was not a Buddhist, as he describes himself as always engaged in the study of the **Vēdas**. It is again doubtful if his patron **Malayasimha**, who caused the tank to be excavated, was a follower of Buddhism; for verse 27 speaks of a temple of **Rāma** built by him. Verses 5 and 6 refer to the illustrious **Vijayadēva** (evidently identical with **Vijayasimha**, the lord of **Chēdi**, mentioned in v. 12) who was ruling at **Tripurī** on the **Narmadā**. He was born in the family of **Karṇa**. The poet then turns to the pedigree of **Malayasimha**. The first ancestor named here is **Jāta**, who was appointed the head of a *vishaya* (district), and by the might of whose arms the illustrious (Kalachuri) king **Karṇadēva** is said to have vanquished his foes. His son was **Yaśahpāla** who was a devoted councillor of **Gayākarna**. He had two sons **Padmasimha** and **Chandrasimha**. One of them, probably **Chandrasimha**³ who was the younger of the two, became the pre-eminent Home Minister of the **Chēdi** king **Vijayasimha**. **Padmasimha** had a son named **Kīrtisimha** who was the father of **Malayasimha**. The only historical information that can be gleaned from the lengthy eulogy of **Malayasimha** is that he defeated **Salakshaṇa** and **Vikrama** (**Vikramāditya**?).⁴ The battle in which the former is said to have lost his

¹ See below, p. 356, n. 1.

² See below, p. 353, n. 15.

³ As it stands, the text makes **Padmasimha** the minister of **Vijayasimha**, but this seems improbable because his grandson **Malayasimha** was a contemporary and feudatory of the same Kalachuri king. Perhaps *Chandrasimha-āvarajō* in verse 11 is a mistake for *Chandrasimha=varajō*, and it was **Chandrasimha**, the younger brother of **Padmasimha**, who was the Home Minister. There is not much improbability in his being a contemporary of his elder brother's grandson. Verse 12 would thus contain a description of **Chandrasimha**. This would also satisfactorily explain why **Padmasimha**'s name is repeated in the next verse.

⁴ Banerji took no notice of this **Vikrama**.

arm was fought at **Karkarēḍi**. He is, therefore, identical with the homonymous prince of Karkarēḍi (modern Karkrēri, 28 m. north of Rewa) whose Rewa plate is dated V. 1253 (1195 A.C.). His elder brother Kīrtivarman was a feudatory of the Kalachuri king Jayasimha and he himself in the aforementioned Rewa plate acknowledges the suzerainty of Vijayasimha. He seems, therefore, to have revolted against his liege-lord sometime during the period 1175 A.C. to 1193 A.C., but was defeated by Malayasimha and forced to acknowledge the supremacy of the Kalachuri king. Vikrama, the other adversary of Malayasimha, cannot be identified.

Verse 28 mentions the queen **Talhaṇadēvī** who was probably a wife¹ of Malayasimha and had two sons, the elder of them being named Pṛithvīdhara. The inscription then mentions several officers of Malayasimha. **Garga**, the son of Raṇasimha; was his chief Record Officer, while **Harisimha**, the son of Jagatsimha, was his excellent Councillor. The latter is said to have got the tank excavated, to the description of which eight verses (34-41) are devoted. Malayasimha is said to have spent fifteen hundred *tanīkakas* stamped with the effigy of Bhagavat (Buddha?) on this work. No such coins have yet been discovered.²

The pedigree of **Vidyādhara**, the Superintendent of the excavation of the tank, is next given in vv. 43-46. In the Vāstavya family there was a person named Uddharaṇa. His son was perhaps named Śrīdhara³. The son of the latter was the *Thakkura* Lakshmi-dhara, who was the father of Vidyādhara. Next is mentioned **Purushōttama**, the son of Valhaṇa, who designed the tank. The genealogy of the poet **Purushōttama** begins in verse 48. There was a learned Brāhmaṇa named Rāmachandra, who performed all the five sacrifices. His son was Divākara. The latter's son was Purushōttama who composed the present *prastuti*. He belonged to the Kṛishṇātrēya *gōtra* and was a resident of Banaras. He describes himself as proficient in logic, the science of word and sense, Mīmāṃsā, Vedānta and Yōga and as devoted to the study of the Vēdas. The mason who incised the present record was **Ananta**, the son of Galhaṇa. After the inscription was closed with *maṅgalanī mahā-śrīḥ*, one more verse was added to describe the door-keeper **Ralhaṇa**, the valiant son of Dalhaṇa.

From the contents summarized above, it will be seen that Malayasimha and his ancestors were hereditary ministers and feudatory chiefs of the Kalachuri kings of Tripuri. Of the latter only Karṇa, Gayākarṇa and Vijayasimha are mentioned in the present record, the names of Yaśaḥkarṇa, Narasimha and Jayasimha being passed over. As Mr. Banerji has already observed, Jāta may have flourished towards the close of Karṇa's reign, so that he was a contemporary of both Karṇa and Yaśaḥkarṇa. Jāta's son Yaśaḥpāla was a councillor of Gayākarṇa. Padmasimha and Kīrtisimha may have served Narasimha and Jayasimha. During the reign of Vijayasimha the office of the Home Minister seems to have been held by Chandrasimha, while Malayasimha was ruling over the territory round Rewa. It may, however, be noted that the name of Chandrasimha is not mentioned in the Rewa stone inscriptions of Vijayasimha, the Chief Minister (*Mahāmantrin*) mentioned therein being Haripāla.

¹ Banerji took Talhaṇadēvī to be the mother of Malayasimha and altogether passed over Pṛithvīdhara and his brother mentioned in v. 28. Had Talhaṇadēvī been the mother of Malayasimha, she would have been introduced much earlier along with the latter's father Kīrtisimha (vv. 13-14).

² As the present inscription has been composed in a slipshod manner, *Bhagavan-mudrayā* in l. 20 may be a mistake for *Bhagavati-mudrayā*. In that case the well-known coins of Gāṅgēyadēva, stamped with the effigy of Lakshmi, would be meant.

³ See below, p. 357, n. 6.

The inscription is dated, both in words and numerical symbols, on Friday, the first tithi of the bright fortnight of Bhādrapada in the Sāhasamallāṅka year 944. Though the era is not specified, the date must plainly be referred to the Kalachuri reckoning. It regularly corresponds, for the expired Kalachuri year 944, to Friday, the 30th July 1193 A.C. On that day the tithi ended 22 h. 20 m. after mean sunrise. The importance of the date lies in the data it furnishes for determining the commencement of the Kalachuri year. If the Kalachuri era began in 248-49 A.C. as was finally concluded by Dr. Kielhorn, the present date shows that the years of the era could not have commenced with the bright fortnight of Bhādrapada as was once supposed by him.

The significance of *Sāhasamallāṅkē* is not clear. Mr. Banerji¹ took it to mean 'the *aṅka* named Sāhasamalla' and Dr. Hirananda Sastri² suggested that *aṅka* means *abda* or year; but neither of them has explained how the year was called *Sāhasamalla*. The cyclic year corresponding to the above date was *Piṅgala* according to the northern system and *Pramādin* according to the southern system. Neither of these names can be said to be a synonym of *Sāhasamalla*. According to Dr. D.R. Bhandarkar³ *aṅka* means *ākhyā*. He has suggested that the Kalachuri era was called *Sāhasamallābda* and called attention to two other dates⁴ which are called *Sāhasa* and which, though referred to the Vikrama era, work out all right for the Kalachuri era also. But *Sāhasamalla* does not mean the same as *Sāhasāṅka*. The latter, which is a synonym of *Vikramāṅka*, occurs in many places⁵ as the name of Vikramāditya, the well known patron of Kālidāsa and the reputed founder of the Vikrama Samvat. As Kielhorn has shown, both the dates qualified by *Sāhasāṅka*, which Prof. Bhandarkar proposes to refer to the Kalachuri era, appear quite regular as dates of the Vikrama era also. There is, therefore, no necessity to take them as dates of the Kalachuri era. Besides, if they are referred to that era, the first would fall towards the close of the fifteenth and the second in the first half of the sixteenth century A.C.⁶ The palaeography of the inscriptions is certainly against ascribing such late dates to them. Besides, there is no evidence that the Kalachuri era was current in North India down to the sixteenth century A.C. Even in Madhya Pradesh where petty Haihaya princes continued to rule until their principalities were annexed by the Marathas, the latest date of the Chēdi era known from inscriptions is 969.⁷ Thereafter the Haihaya princes used the Vikrama and Saka eras in dating their records.⁸ There is thus not the least evidence in favour of Dr. Bhandarkar's view that *Sāhasamalla* was a name of the Kalachuri or Chēdi era.

A king named Sāhasamalla is indeed known from several coins with the legend

¹ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIX, p. 295.

² *Loc. cit.*, n. 4.

³ See *I. N. I.*, p. 282, n. 2.

⁴ These dates are (1) V. 1240—Mahōbā (Hamirpur District, U.P.) fort-wall fragmentary inscription noticed by Cunningham, *A. S. I. R.*, Vol. XXI, p. 72 and Pl. XXII. L. 15, *Vyōm-ārṇava-ārṇava-sam-khyātē Sāhasāṅkasya vatsarē*, 1.17 *saṁvat 1240, Āshādha va di 9 Sōmē* (Monday, the 4th June, 1184 A. C.) and (2) V. 1279—Rōntāsgaḍh (Shahabad District, Bihar) rock inscription of the time of king Pratāpa, ed. by Kielhorn, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IV, p. 311 f. L.1, *Navabbir-atba mun-indrair-vāsarāṇām=udhīsaip parikalayati samkhyām vatsarē Sāhasāṅkē | madana-vijaya-jātrā-maṅgalē māsi chaitrē pratipadi sita-kāntau vāsarē Bhāskarasya ||* (Sunday, the 5th March 1223 A. C.).

⁵ *Ind. His. Quart.*, Vol. X, pp. 48 ff. Cf. *Vikramādityaḥ Sāhasāṅkaḥ Sakāntakaḥ* in an old verse cited in Kshirasvāmin's commentary on *Amarakōśa*, II, 8, 2.

⁶ The first date would correspond to Monday, the 22nd June 1489 A. C., and the second to Sunday, the 3rd March 1527 A. C.

⁷ No. 102, below.

⁸ See Nos. 103—108, below.

Srīmat-Sāhasamalla. But as V. Smith has shown, he was a king of Ceylon¹ and therefore could not have had anything to do with the Kalachuri era.

What then does *Sāhasamallāṅkē* mean? Since no other explanation is satisfactory, the conjecture may be hazarded that the expression is intended to signify the year by the system of word-numerals. *Sāhasa* stands for four; for a verse from the *Nārada-smṛiti*² (XII, 2) cited in the *Mitākṣharā* states that *sāhasas* or violent crimes were four in number. *Malla* means 'a wrestler', 'a match for', and therefore conveys the sense of equality. Here it probably signifies an equal number, i.e., four in the present case. *Āṅka*, as is well-known, signifies nine.³ These numerals are to be placed from right to left, i.e., as 944 by the rule *āṅkānāṁ vāmatō gatib*. Thus *sāhasamallāṅkē* means 'in (the year) 944' and this we find is actually the year in which the record was put up.

The geographical names Narmadā, Tripurī and Karkarēḍi, occurring in the present record, have already been identified.

TEXT⁴

- 1 सिद्धिः⁵ [१*] स्वस्ति ॥ अष्टारचक्राकृतिपूर्णचन्द्रं पद्मासनस्थं हिमशैलगौरम् । सव्येतरापा-
णि⁶ गङ्गद्विपुस्तम्बद्वयामि⁷ नत्वा खलु मंजुघोषम् ॥⁸ [१॥*] मलयसिंहकुलानि गुणानय स्वसम-
येन यथोचितशक्तिकः [१] अ[व]तरति पदानि यतः स्वतः सुमह-
- 2 तां ननु केन न कीर्त्यते ॥¹⁰ [२॥*] वाचश्चेमा[*] प्रवृत्ता मे रवेरिव मरीचयः । मलयसिंह-
कुलाब्ज(ब्ज) [स्य*] प्रबो(बो) धाय सहस्रशः ॥¹¹ [३॥*] अतिविमलजलौघैः प्लावयन्ती पवि-
[त्रै]र्मुनिवरपुरलोकात्संस्तुता सिद्धगीर्भिः । अप[न]यति सुवंशाज्जातमात्रा कुमारी कलिजकलु-
षभारं दर्श(र्श) नान्नर्मदा या ॥¹² [४॥*] तस्यास्तटेस्ति त्रिपुरी पुरीति तस्याम-
- 3 भूत्कर्णकुलप्रसूतः । राज्ञां गुरुः श्रीविजयाख्यदेवो राजाधिशस्ता विदिशान्दिशाञ्च ॥¹³ [५॥*]
यस्य प्रतापानलशुष्ककण्ठा रा[ज्ञां] गणा अंगुलिसंज्ञयापि । साशंकमेवं विवदन्ति चित्त्यं¹⁴ सेवा-
फलास्तत्सदसि¹⁵ प्रपन्नाः ॥¹⁶ [६॥*] [तत्पू]र्व्वपूर्व्व भुवि ये [व]भूवुस्तेषां [य]शोवर्द्धनमन्त्र-
मन्त्री ।
- 4 श्रीजाटनामा विषये नियुक्तो वाचस्पतिः [स]र्व्व[गुणै]रिवाभूत् ॥¹⁷ [७॥*] धर्मध्वजानां धुरमत्र
गुर्व्वीम्विधाणनेना¹⁸ वहतो द्विजेभ्यः । यस्यैव वा(वा)ह्वोर[पि] पौरुषे[ण] श्रीकर्णदेवो
जितवाचिपुंश्च ॥¹⁹ [८॥*] तस्माद्गयाकर्णमहीशभक्तो मन्त्रस्य गोप्ता भुवि वन्दिजीवः । जज्ञे
यशःपाल इति प्रतीतस्तारात्मजः

¹ V. Smith assigns the date 1200-1202 A. C. to him. See C. C. I. M., Vol. I, p. 330.

² *Manusya-māraṇam stēyam para-dār-ābbimarśanam | pārushyam=ubhayaṁ ch=ṭi sāhasam syāch=chatur-vidham* || *Mitākṣharā* on the *Yājñavalkya-smṛiti*, ch. II, v. 72.

³ I. P., p. 85

⁴ From an inked estampage.

⁵ Expressed by a symbol.

⁶ Properly सव्येतरापाणि—, but so changed to suit the metre.

⁷ Read पुस्तं वदयामि.

⁸ Metre: *Indravajrā*.

⁹ There is a superfluous ornamental *mātrā* on this *akṣhara*.

¹⁰ Metre: *Drutavilambita*.

¹¹ Metre: *Anuṣṭubh*.

¹² Metre: *Mālinī*.

¹³ Metre of this and the following six verses: *Indravajrā*.

¹⁴ Banerji read चित्त्य which he proposed to alter to नित्यं, but the superscript *n* of *nitya* is quite clear.

¹⁵ Read सेवाफलं तत्सदसि—.

¹⁶ Read गुर्व्वी विधाणनेना—.

- 5 सोम्य इवेन्दुदेवात् ॥[१॥*] त[स्या]य पुत्रोपि वि[शा]लवा(वा)हः स्रष्टा जगद्दीक्ष्य तमोधि-
रुद्धं(दम्) । तद्यो(द्यो)तनायावयवी शुभांशु¹र्दीपः प्रकल्पतः खलु मूर्तिमानिव² ॥[१०॥*]
[प]चं हि पञ्चालयपञ्चसिंहः सत्पत्रशुभ्रांकुरशुद्धगोत्रः । क्षत्रस्य वंशे स निदानवी(वी)जी श्रीच-
न्द्रसिंहावरजो विजज्ञे ॥[११॥*] सर्वत्र दि-
- 6 क्षुख³विसर्पियशःप्रचण्डचेदीन्द्रराट्(इवि)जयसिंहगृहकमन्त्री । यो विप्रवीर्य⁴वरदानव(व)लेन
रक्षेद्दारिद्र्यदन्तिपटलद्विजरुद्धदेहम् ॥[१२॥*] श्रीपञ्चसिंहविदुषोत्र नितांतवा(वा)हः श्री-
कीर्त्तिसिंह इति सिंहव(व)लो विजज्ञे । आरातिचक्रहृदि शंकुरसौ विशंको रामः पुरा दशरथादिव
कोशलेशः
- 7 ॥[१३॥*] सदसि यस्य हिता विविधा वु(वु)धाः सुरपतेरिव मन्त्रविदः सुराः । शुशुभिरे
शसि(शि)नः किरि(र)[णा] गिरः प्रति[ग]ता जगतस्तमसश्छिदे ॥[१४॥*] सामन्तमण्डल-
शिरोरुहधूननेन नि⁵पंक⁶पादवनजो मलयानुसि(सि)हः । श्रीकीर्त्तिसिंहतनयः स बभूव वीरः क्षत्रस्य
वंशजसमुद्धरणकमल्लः ॥[१५॥*] वि-
- 8 द्याधिकारकुमुदाकरवो(वो)धचन्द्रो रत्नाकरोधिमनुजेषु च रत्नदानैः । सर्वे गुणा मलयसिंहनर-
प्रतिष्ठा⁷ दोषोपि सोस्य न मृगांककृतो गुणाकैः ॥[१६॥*] आरातिभिन्नकमलौघविधातवो-
(वो)धस्ताभ्यां ददन्दश⁸दिगम्ब(म्ब)रमुज्ज्व(ज्ज्व)लं यः । शीता⁹ शुरक्कं इव तीक्ष्णसुशक्ति-
हस्त उर्व्यामभूत्स(न्म)लयसिंह इति प्र-
- 9 वीणः ॥[१७॥*] आन्दोलयेद्यस्य कृपाणा¹⁰वायुर्वीचीगतं भानुमिवाम्बु(म्बु)मध्ये । आरातिसे-
नामव(व)लां व(व)लिष्ठः सोभूदिषुम्कमक[रो]¹¹ विशुद्धः ॥[१८॥*] आवर्त्तसुक्ती हरिजे¹²
समुद्रे फेनं मुखे व(मू)र्त्तन पदेपि वीक्ष्य । मग्नारिसेना न व(व)हिर्जंगम यस्याशु सोभून्मलयस्य
सिंहः ॥[१९॥*] व[व]लिर्वी-
- 10 रः प्रादात्रि(त्ति)पदनिमित्तं किं त्रिभुवनं पदं दास्यामीन्दोरवि(पि) हरहरीन्द्राज(दि)सु(पु)
नृणां(णाम्) । अहं जित्वा तेभ्यः सपदि करवालेन प्रक[टं] नृपैः साकं वेति व्यवसितव(व)लो
यः स जयतु ॥[२०॥*] यस्यारिसामन्तशिरोविसर्पिरक्ताज्यदीप्तासिशिखाकृशानुः । सं-
प्राप तावत्तु र[णे]त्र तृप्ति ल¹³ कां
- 11 हि दग्धा(ग्वा)पि न मारुतेर्यः ॥[२१॥*] तुरासाहं जित्वा शसि(शि)नमापि देवान्नणमुखे
महादेवीशच्या विचरति मृगांकस्त्रिभुवने । अहो तेषां [भो]गात्भु(द्भु)जगपतिशेषो विलसितुं
पृथिव्यां देवोयं जनपदजनेरुक्त इति यः ॥[२२॥*] कामं यथाग्निर्भवनेत्रजन्मा क्रोधात्मकः
शत्रुव(व)लं ददाह । वैधव्य-

¹ Banerji read शुभांशु- and proposed to alter it to सुभांशु, but the reading given above is quite clear and appropriate in the context.

² The last *pāda* of this verse has one excess *akṣara*.

³ Read दिङ्मुख-.

⁴ There is no superscript *y* in *rya* as read by Banerji.

⁵ Metre of this and the following verse: *Vasantatilakā*.

⁶ Metre: *Drutavilambita*.

⁷ Read निष्ठाक-.

⁸ Metre of this and the two following verses: *Vasantatilakā*.

⁹ Read दधह-.

¹⁰ The sense requires the reading कृपाणो, but it does not suit the metre. Read the line as आन्दोलयत्यस्य रणे कृपाणो वायुर्गतं भानुमिवाम्बुमध्ये ।

¹¹ Read -दिषोः कमकरो.

¹² Metre of this and the following verse: *Indravajrā*.

¹³ Perhaps the intended reading is आवर्त्तसुक्तीर्हरिजे.

¹⁴ Metre: *Sikharinī*.

¹⁵ Metre: *Indravajrā*.

¹⁶ Metre: *Sikharinī*.

- 12 दुःखेन्धनदीर्घवाः¹ संघुक्षितो रत्नप्रतिकूलवध्वा ॥²[२३॥*] सलक्षणो निर्गन्तलक्षणो-
भवत्सुककर्करेडधामपि यो रणे यदा । विलू[न]वा(वा)द्व्यसनः शिलीमुखैः कराद्विमुक्तैर्म-
लयस्य सिंहजात् ॥³[२४॥*] रे रे विक्रम शूर धावसि वृथा मच्चापवा(वा)णांभशि(सि)
मग्नो यास्यसि ना-
- 13 न किं तव कृते खड्गाग्निमुज्वा(ज्वा)लये । इत्युक्त्वाभिहतो रणे नवदशस्थानेषु वा(वा)णैर्हं दि-
यातोषः परिभूतविक्रमव(व)लो यस्मात्स जीवा[दिति] ॥⁴[२५॥*] प्रासादमाला द्विजदेवतानां
सृष्टा विचित्रा गगनं विलम्बा । येनापि याम्यस्त्ववरोधभीत्या यातीव भानो रथ आशु तिय(यै)क्
॥⁵[२६॥*] तीव्रं तपो दुःखकरं प्रकृ-
- 14 त्य सिद्धा व्रजन्तो दिवमूर्द्धं(ध्वं)मुच्चैः । यद्रामदेवालयवाधिता ये प्रायेण [ते] विश्वपदं⁶ प्रया-
ताः ॥⁷[२७॥*] योयं सुतस्तत्त्वहणदेविदेव्यास्त्रायेत [मि]त्राणि निहन्ति शत्रून् [।] भीष्मो
यथानेकसमानवर्त्तो जीयात्स पृथ्वीधर⁸सानुजोपि ॥[२८॥*] श्रीगर्गनामा रुचिरां[शु]धामा
यस्याभवच्छ्रीरर्णसिंहसूनुः । धर्मस्य विद्याहयकोशले-
- 15 स्त्री सर्वाधिकारैरिव चित्रगुप्तः ॥[२९॥*] ताम्बू(म्बू)लदानाधिकृतिप्रयुक्तः श्रीमज्जगत्सिंहसुतः
सुमन्त्री । यस्याभवच्छ्रीहरिसिंहनामा सर्वाधिसंपत्परिपूरिताशः ॥[३०॥*] प्रौढप्रचण्डारिकरि-
प्रमाथी नाराचपाशांकुशखड्गयोद्धा । वा(वा)द्व्यप्रशक्त्यातिदृढप्रहारः सेनाप्रयायीव रणे कुमारः ॥
[३१॥*] न(न)ह्मणो
- 16 ज्ञानवादेन वेदतत्पा(त्वा)धंयोगिना । निस्तीर्णानि पा⁹षण्डानि यत्र माणवकैरपि ॥¹⁰[३२॥*]
स सोमस्येनाग्नीभ्रयति चयता(ना)न्तर्द्विजगणो महीं कृत्वा यूपै रविकरचपालोद्वंकटकां(काम्)
ततो वेदिश्रोणी¹¹ विधिविहितमन्त्रैः कृतगिरं वसन्त्यस्मिन्तिष्ठेन्नृ[पु]रमिह का[स्था?]लकमिति
- 17 ॥¹²[३३॥*] भुक्त्वापि यस्मिन्वरपाणिपात्रे चक्रास्तु नक्तं स्ववर्धून्विहाय । अंभो निरीक्षा(क्ष्या)-
हृतजीवसंघास्तीव्रं तपो वा मुनयश्चरन्ति ॥¹³[३४॥*] तिग्मांशुतापक्लमनोददक्षैरक्षां विचक्रु-
स्त्रिय आत्मनौगे । प्राणेशहस्तप्रतिकल्पयन्त्रनिर्मृक्तधार¹⁴पयसां कणौघैः ॥[३५॥*] पीत्वा-
लिचक्रैर्मधु-
- 18 मत्तमुघैः पद्माकरालीढमुखै¹⁵भ्रन्दद्भिः । अकण्ठ्यं मुग्धा अनुजापयन्ति गीतं यशो यस्य च नाग-
कन्याः ॥[३६॥*] से(शै)वालकल्हारकरवारिपण्णीसालूकसंघाटकरेवमापैर्भक्षैरभक्षै¹⁶युतमम्बु(म्बु)-
वी(वी)जैर्वप्रेः ससर्जार्थिश(स)रो य इदंक् ॥[३७॥*] क्रीडाप्रवृत्ताः पतिभिः श(स)रोव्यौ(व्यौ)
संय[म्य]

¹ Read -वाणैः.

² Metre: *Indravajrā*.

³ Metre: *Vamīśastha*.

⁴ Metre: *Sārdūlavikrīḍita*.

⁵ Metre: *Indravajrā*.

⁶ Perhaps *विश्वपदं* is meant.

⁷ Metre of this and the following four verses: *Indravajrā*.

⁸ The context requires a reading like *पृथ्वीधरः*, but the *visarga* seems to have been dropped *metris causa*.

⁹ The metre requires the syllable to be short.

¹⁰ Metre: *Amūṣṭubh*.

¹¹ Metre: *Sikharinī*.

¹² Metre of this and the following four verses: *Indravajrā*.

¹³ The metre requires here a reading like -धारैः or धारा-.

¹⁴ This should properly be *आलीढपद्माकरमुखैः*.

¹⁵ Read *संघाटक एवमाद्यैः* । भक्षैरभक्षैः-

- 19 चासू¹न्कथमास्थितानां (नाम्) । तासां भ्रुवोंगानि कुचोरुजंघा दृष्ट्वाक्षसूत्राण्यपतन्मुनीनां (नाम्) ॥
[३८॥*] यस्मिंस्तीरे मरकतशिलारत्नव(ब)द्धासनस्थैर्व्वीचीलोला²रजतस (श) फरीवंचितो-
रुप्रदेशैः । विप्रैस्तृप्ता अमरपितरः सप्त दिव्या मनुष्या आशंसन्ति प्रथि[त]-
- 20 यशसं यं स जीयादमुवीति ॥³[३९॥*] दिव्यांगनांग⁴नवकुंकुमपंकपिगवारिप्रपूरलवचित्रितरो-
ममालाः । श्रीडन्ति यत्र सुखिनो भुवि राजहंसा अंभोनिधानमत(तु)लं प्रश(स)रः ससज्जं ॥⁵
[४०॥*] एतदंभोनिधानाय शतानि दश पंच च । भगवन्मुद्रया योपि टंककानां व्य-
- 21 येकरोत् ॥⁶[४१॥*] सर्व्वार्थं(थि)सार्थं⁷ स्तुतिजैर्व्वचोभिर्व्वदीजनैः संस्तुत एव योभूत् ।
सिद्धार्थयोगी मलयानुसिहस्व(स्त)स्मै भवेयुः शुभदास्त्रिदेवाः ॥⁸[४२॥*] वास्तव्यवृत्तिप्रथमै-
कलिगं नाम्नाप्यभूदुद्धरणो विपश्चित् । उद्धृत्य मह्यं अमृतं⁹गृहीतुं¹⁰ लोकैकनाथोय यथेशमूर्तिः ।
[४३॥*]
- 22 तस्याथ पुत्रः प्रमदाभिरामो यु(जु)ष्टः श्रिया श्रीधरमूर्तिरासीत् येनावनी सर्व्वगुणा गुणोद्यैः
पुण्यैरनेकैश्च कृता पवित्रा ॥[४४॥*] तस्यापि सूनुर्भुवि ठक्कुरो यो लक्ष्मीधरो लक्षणकाव्यवेत्ता ।
विद्याधरस्तस्य बभूव पुत्रः सर्व्वधिकारार्थगुणप्रवीणः ॥[४५॥*] अथंत्रयाणां¹¹-
- 23 मपि तत्त्व(त्त्व)युक्तः कामस्य सारेण तु किंचिदेव । विद्याधरोथास्य श(स)रोधिकर्त्ता हेतुर्यथा-
व्ये(व्ये)ः सगरो बभूव ॥[४६॥*] श(स)रःसंस्थापने¹² विद्वान्वास्तव्यः पुरुषोत्तम । (ः।)
श्रीमद्वल्हणपुत्रोभूदाचार्यश्रीधरो यथा ॥¹³[४७॥*] पञ्च ऋतूनामपि यश्च कर्त्ता श्रीरामचन्द्रोय
बभूव विद्वान् । तस्याथ पु-
- 24 त्रोपि दिवाकराख्यः सर्व्वज्ञकल्पो द्विजमुख्य एव ॥¹⁴[४८॥*] तस्याथ पुत्रो गुरुभक्तिचित्तो देवा-
च्छ्रिया यः परिहीन(ण)जातः ।¹⁵ आत्रेयगोत्रो ननु कृष्णपूर्व्वः काशीनिवासी च परोपकारी ॥
[४९॥*] तर्क्कं ज्ञानमतीव यस्य चतुरः शब्दा(ब्दा)र्थशास्त्रे तथा मीमांसाधिगतो विपश्चिदभव-
द्देवां-
- 25 तयोगाधि(दि)धीः । वेदा[भ्या]सरतः सदा सुविदुषां भूर्द्धिः प्रव(ब)द्धाञ्जलिर्विप्रः श्रीपुरुषो-
त्तमो भुवि महान्वु(न्वु)द्ध्या च वाचस्पतिः ॥¹⁶[५०॥*] तेनेयमिष्टांगसुवृत्तवृत्ता हारस्य यष्टि-
श्च सदर्थगुच्छा [१*] सदृशमुक्ताफलकीर्त्तिसूत्रा शस्ता प्रशस्तिः सुविनिर्मितेव ॥[५१॥*]
उत्कीर्णा सूत्र-

¹ Banerji read चासूक्थ- and proposed to change it to चासन्कथ-, but the second *akshara* is clearly सू. Besides असून् can be properly construed as the object of संयम्य.

² Properly वीचीलोल-, but so changed to suit the metre.

³ Metre : *Mandākrāntā*.

⁴ There is a symbol incised between न and न.

⁵ Metre : *Vasantatilakā*

⁶ Metre : *Anushtubh*.

⁷ Banerji supplied here the *visarga*, but it is properly dropped according to the *vārttika* on Pāṇini VIII, 3, 36.

⁸ Metre of this and the following four verses : *Indravajrā*.

⁹ Read मह्यममृतं.

¹⁰ Read गृहीतुं.

¹¹ This *anusvāra* is superfluous.

¹² The engraver at first cut the first *akshara* of this word as शं and then changed it to सं. The second *akshara* is clearly स्था and not स्वा as read by Banerji.

¹³ Metre : *Anushtubh*.

¹⁴ Metre of this and the following verse : *Indravajrā*.

¹⁵ The sense requires a reading like परिहीनो जातः, but it does not suit the metre.

¹⁶ Metre : *Sārdūlavikrīḍita*.

- 26 धारेण श्रीमद्गल्हणसूनुना । नाम्नानंतेन चन्द्रेयाः¹ शुद्धेयं वंशपद्धतिः ॥²[५२॥*] चत्वारि-
शत्यधिकेन्द्रे (न्द्रे) चतुर्भिर्ब्रवमे शते । शुके साहसमल्लांके नामस्ये प्रथमे दिने ॥[५३॥*]
संवत् ९४४ भाद्रपद सु(शु)दि १ शुके श्रीमद्विजयसिंहदेवराज्ये ॥ मं—
27 गलं महाश्रीः ॥०॥ श्रीः ॥ [घौ]वर्यकार्यक्षमर[ल्हणा]ख्यो यस्याभवद्गल्ह[ण*]सूनुवीरः
द्वारीव न(नं)दी गिरिशस्य युक्तः संग्रामसू(शू)रो रिपुदर्शमर्दी ॥³[५४॥*]

TRANSLATION

Success ! Hail !

(Verses 1-2) Having bowed to Mañjughōsha, who is as white as the snow-mountain, who is (*seated*) on a lotus-seat, who is the full moon resembling a wheel of eight spokes, (*and*) who has a sword and a book in his right and left hand (*respectively*), I shall describe Malayasimha's family and (*his*) excellences duly (*and*) with suitable vigour ; for words occur (*to my mind*) of their own accord. Who, indeed ! would not describe the great ?

(V. 3) These words of mine in thousands are engaged in glorifying the family of Malayasimha even as the rays of the sun are in opening the lotuses.

(V. 4) The Narmadā which flows with sacred and extremely limpid water from the world which is the abode of the best of sages (*like*) a maiden born in a noble family, and which is praised by the words of the Siddhas, removes by (*mere*) sight the weight of the sins due to the Kali age.

(V. 5) On its bank is a city named Tripurī where is a king named the illustrious Vijayadēva, the lord of princes, who is born in the family of Karṇa (*and*) is the ruler (*of regions*) in all directions.⁴

(V. 6) In whose assembly the suppliant kings, whose throats are parched by the fire of his prowess, discuss, through apprehension, the doubtful reward of their service⁵ by signalling with their fingers.

(V. 7) The illustrious Jāta, a minister whose counsel⁶ increased the fame of those who preceded him on this earth, (*and who was*) like Bṛhaspati in all his merits, was appointed to (*this*) *vishaya* ;

(V. 8) Who bore here the heavy yoke of pious people by making gifts to the Brāhmaṇas, (*and*) by the prowess of whose arms alone, the illustrious Karṇadēva conquered his foes.

(V. 9) From him was born (*a son*) known as Yaśaḥpāla as Budha, the son of Tārā, was born from the moon god,—who, a venerable person on the earth, was a devotee of the king Gayākarṇa and the keeper of (*his*) counsel.

(V. 10) His son also, who had large arms, was created as a light incarnate of auspicious rays, by the creator who found the world enveloped in the darkness (*of ignorance*) in order that he might illuminate it.

(V. 11) Padmasimha, the abode of the goddess of fortune, had a spotless and pure family as a lotus has excellent petals and white sprouts. In (*that*) Kshatriya family was born (*his*) younger brother the illustrious Chandrasimha,⁷ the progenitor (*of a family*).

¹ Perhaps चान्द्री या is intended.

² Metre of this and the following verse : *Anuṣṭubh*.

³ Metre : *Indravajrā*.

⁴ *Lit.* in (*all*) directions and sub-directions.

⁵ Banerji, who read *nityam* in place of *chintyam*, translated,—‘in whose assembly kings . . . always spoke by signalling with fingers, out of fear (*for him*)’.

⁶ *Mantra* means here ‘counsel’ not ‘incantation’ as rendered by Banerji.

⁷ See above p. 347, n. 3.

(V. 12) (He),¹ the sole home-minister of the king Vijayasimha, the lord of Chēdi, who is most powerful with his fame spreading to all cardinal points—(he) who by the force of the prowess, conferred by the boons of the Brāhmaṇas, protects² the bodies of the twice-born besieged by a host of elephants of poverty.

(V. 13) In this family, from the learned and illustrious Padmasimha was born the illustrious Kirtisimha of long³ arms, who had the strength of a lion, even as Rāma, the lord of Kōsala, was, in times of yore, born from Daśaratha. Himself fearless, he was a dart in the hearts of a host of (his) enemies.

(V. 14) In his court there shone various learned men who were his well-wishers, versed in policy, as gods do in the assembly of Indra. (Their) words flashed forth like the rays of the moon sent forth for dispelling the darkness (ignorance) of the world.

(V. 15) Malayasimha,⁴ the son of the illustrious Kirtisimha, the hero who was a peerless wrestler in rescuing those born in Kshatriya families, had the dust of his lotus-like feet swept off by the locks of (his) feudatory chiefs.

(V. 16) He is the moon that makes the night-lotuses, that are the learned men, bloom. He is the ocean (the mine of jewels), as he confers jewels on needy men. All excellences have become established in the personage of Malayasimha. On account of (these) excellences he has not even the deer-spot (which is seen in the moon).

(V. 17) Causing the destruction and blooming of the lotuses which are (his) enemies and friends (respectively), he, like the moon (and) the sun, has made the skies of the ten quarters bright. With a sharp pike (śakti) in his hand, there has appeared the skilful Malayasimha on the earth.

(V. 18) He is a flawless Bowman whose sword causes the forces of the enemy (which appeared) weak (before him) to tremble even as wind tosses the reflection of the sun amidst waves of water.

(V. 19) The hostile soldiers being plunged into the ocean of his horses, and seeing the whirls and oysters (in the form of) foam (from the horses' mouths) on their faces, heads and feet, did not soon come out of it!—Such was the lion of Malaya (i.e., Malayasimha)!

(V. 20) 'Did the valiant Bali give the three worlds measuring the three steps (to Vishṇu)? I shall confer on men the rank of the moon (or) that among Śiva, Viṣṇu, Indra and others, by winning it openly (and) at once with my sword or with (the help of other) princes.'—May he (i.e., Malayasimha), who had such confidence, in his prowess be victorious!

(V. 21) The fire, whose flame in the form of (Malayasimha's) sword burned brightly with ghee which was the blood gushing forth from the heads of his feudatories, obtained that satisfaction in battle here, which it had not obtained from Hanumān (even) after burning (the city of) Laṅkā.⁵

(V. 22) 'Having vanquished Indra, gods (and) also the moon, this moon (in the form of Malayasimha) roams about together with Śachī who is the Mahādēvī. Oh! this

¹ I. e., Chandrasimha, *loc. cit.*

² Rakṣhēt 'should protect' is here used for rakṣati 'protects.'

³ Nītānta seems to be used here in the sense of 'long.'

⁴ The text has Malay-ānu simhaḥ which literally means 'Simha following Malaya,' i.e., Malayasimha.

⁵ Banerji's translation 'he (i.e., Malayasimha) . . . obtained (such) satisfaction as the Son of Wind (Hanumān) himself did not obtain by burning Laṅkā' is unacceptable as the text has clearly Mārutīr, not Mārutir=.

(our) king is Sēsha, the lord of serpents, (*created*) to enjoy their pleasures !' So is he described by the people in the country.¹

(V. 23) The fire of his anger being fed by the wife of his enemy with the fuel of tears which she shed for a long time on account of her grief of widowhood, destroyed the forces of the enemy, even as that produced from Siva's eye (*burned*) the god of love.

(V. 24) Salakshana became deformed² when in the battle of the glorious Karkarēdi he had the misfortune of having his arm cut off by the arrows discharged by the lion of Malaya (*i.e.* Malayasimha).

(V. 25) May he (*i.e.* Malayasimha) be victorious !—who, addressing (*Vikrama*) in battle with the words 'O valiant **Vikrama**, thou art vainly running away ! Thou canst not escape being drowned in the flood of the arrows (*discharged*) from (*my*) bow ! Why need I kindle here the fire of (*my*) sword for thy sake ?', struck him in the heart in nine or ten places with his arrows and brought him down, overcoming his prowess and strength.

(V. 26) He erected a marvellous row of mansions touching the sky for gods and Brāhmaṇas, through fear of obstruction from which, as it were, the sun's chariot goes obliquely with speed.

(V. 27) Having performed fierce and painful penance, the Siddhas go to high heaven, (*while*) those, who worship (?) at the temple of Rāma (*built*) by him, generally go to the abode of Viṣṇu.³

(V. 28) May that Prithvīdhara⁴ together with his younger brother be victorious, living for many years like Bhīṣma—(*he*) who, being the son of the queen Talhaṇadēvi, protects friends and destroys enemies !

(V. 29) The illustrious Garga, the son of the illustrious Rāmasimha, the repository of beautiful lustre, who (*was invested*) with all powers, was, like Chitrakṛta, his (*i.e.* Malayasimha's) writer of religious documents and of education, horses and treasury.

(V. 30) His excellent minister was the illustrious Harisimha by name, the son of the illustrious Jagatsimha, who was appointed as the distributor of betel, and fulfilled the wishes of all supplicants with (*gifts of*) wealth.

(V. 31) He killed huge and fierce elephants of the enemy, fought with arrows, a noose, a goad and a sword, dealt a very firm blow with the might of his arm, and marched in the fore-front of the army like Kārttikēya.

(Vv. 32-3) This city of men is an ornament of the region here,—in which even students have refuted heterodox doctrines with discussions about the knowledge of Brahman together with the real import of the Vēdas; (*in which*) the multitude of Brāhmaṇas bring the fires of the Sōma and Śyēna sacrifices to the altars, filling the surface of the earth with the golden rings of sacrificial posts (*touched*) by the rays of the sun⁵; and in which they dwell making the sides of the altar resound with the *mantras* as laid down by (*rules*) (*vidhi*).

(V. 34) Where⁶ the Chakravāka birds, having been fed from the vessels in beautiful hands, and having left their mates at night, practise severe austerities like sages, fixing

¹ This verse does not yield a satisfactory and coherent sense.

² *Lit.* devoid of auspicious marks. As the word *bāhu* occurs in a compound, the sense may be that Salakshana lost both his arms.

³ See above p. 352, n. 6. Banerji, who took *viśva-padam* as the correct reading, translated, 'They mostly obtain the feet of God (*without endeavour*)'.

⁴ Banerji takes *Prithvīdhara* as a common noun in the sense of 'a king' and refers it to Malayasimha. The context shows that *Prithvīdhara* was the name of Malayasimha's son.

⁵ The significance of this expression is not quite clear to me.

⁶ This and the following two verses describe the tank which is mentioned in v. 37.

their gaze on water and doing no harm to the multitudes of (*aquatic*) creatures;

(V. 35) (*Where*) women (*had*) their bodies sprinkled with sprays of water, discharged from the syringes held in the hands of their husbands, which (*sprays*) were efficacious in removing the fatigue caused by the rays of the sun;

(V. 36) (*Where*) beautiful Nāga maidens repeat (*the songs of*) his fame sung by multitudes of humming bees which, with their mouths licking clusters of lotuses, have become intoxicated with the honey they have drunk (*from them*);

(V. 37) He constructed such a tank for the needy (*provided*) with dams, which contains edible and unedible seeds (*growing*) in water such as the *śevāla* (moss?), the white water-lily, water-plants (*vāripaṇṇī*) and lotus-roots.

(V. 38) How did the rosaries fall from the hands of the sages who were sitting (*on the bank of the tank*) curbing their vital airs,¹ when they saw the eyebrows and limbs (*such as*) breasts, legs and thighs of (*the women*) who were engaged in sporting with their husbands in the ocean which is this tank!

(V. 39) On whose bank the gods, the manes, the seven sages and men, being propitiated by the Brāhmaṇas seated on excellent slabs of emerald, whose thighs are touched² by silvery fishes darting through the waves (*of water*), praise him (*i. e.*, Malayasimha) of well-known fame. May he live (*long*) on the earth!

(V. 40) He constructed (*this*) large tank, a matchless reservoir of water, in which flamingos sport in joy, their feathers being coloured with the spray of water yellow with the fresh saffron-paste on the bodies of heavenly damsels.

(V. 41) He spent fifteen hundred *ṣaṅkaka*s stamped with (*the effigy of*) the Bhagavat for (*constructing*) this reservoir of water.

(V. 42) May the three gods³ confer their blessings on that Malayasimha,⁴ the successful *yōgin*, who has been eulogised by all hosts of suppliants and panegyrists with words of praise.

(V. 43) Then there was the wise man, the foremost⁵ of the Vāstavya (family?), (*who was*) Uddharaṇa in name also (*as he was the saviour in reality*), (*and who*) having raised up nectar to the earth, had, as it were, the form of the god (*Vishṇu*), the sole lord of the world.

(V. 44) Then was (*born*) his son,⁶ attractive to young women, who, being served by the goddess of fortune resembled in form Śrīdhara (*i. e.*, Vishṇu), (*and*) who, by the numerous collections of his virtues and abundant religious merit, made the earth pure and possessed of all qualities.

(V. 45) His son on the earth was the *Thakkura* Lakshmīdhara who was conversant with marks⁷ and poetry. His son was Vidyādhara who was proficient in the qualities required for all offices.

(V. 46) Vidyādhara, who is (*fully*) conversant with the principles of the three aims⁸ (*of human life*), but slightly with the essence of love, was the Superintendent and the cause of this tank as Sagara was of the ocean.

¹ The words *saṁyamya eb-āśm* are obviously to be connected with *munḍām* and not with *tāsām* as done by Banerji.

² *Vamchita* (*lit.* deceived) is used here in the unusual sense of 'touched.'

³ *I. e.*, Brahmā, Vishṇu and Śiva.

⁴ Here also the text has *Malay-ānu-simha* for which see p. 355, n. 4, above.

⁵ The sense of *pratham-aika-liṅgam* is not quite clear to me.

⁶ Banerji takes Śrīdhara to be his name. This is possible as a teacher named Śrīdhara is named below in v. 47, but the text is not clear on the point.

⁷ *I. e.*, with the science of palmistry.

⁸ *I. e.*, *dharma* (religious merit), *artha* (wealth) and *mōksha*.

(V. 47) **Purushōttama** (*of*) the **Vāstavya** (*family*), who knows how to measure a tank, was the son of the illustrious **Valhaṇa** and resembled (*his*) teacher **Śrīdhara**.

(V. 48) There was, again, the illustrious **Rāmachandra**, a learned man, who performed all the five sacrifices. His son also, named **Divākara**, being almost omniscient, was the foremost among the **Brāhmaṇas**.

(V. 49) His son, who belongs to the **Kṛishṇātrēya gōtra**,¹ dwelt in **Kāśī**, obliged others and had his mind devoted to his preceptor, was, by fate, deprived of fortune.

(V. 50) (*He*), the illustrious **Purushōttama**, a great **Brāhmaṇa**, whose knowledge of logic is profound, who is adept in the science of lexicography, and is equally versed in **Mīmāṃsā**, whose mind is engaged in (*studying*) the **Vedānta**, **Yōga** and other (*systems*), who is devoted to the study of the **Vēdas** and folds his hands on his head before those who are very learned, is in intelligence a **Bṛihaspati** on (*this*) earth.

(V. 51) By him has been made this excellent *praśasti* (eulogy) which, containing the desired meaning, is composed in good metres, resembling the string of a pearl-necklace (*which contains round pearls*) which has a good theme as the necklace has a cluster (*of pearls*), and which describes the glory of a noble family even as the necklace has the thread passing through the pearls produced from a good bamboo.²

(V. 52) This eulogy of the family, faultless like the moon-beams (?), has been incised by the **Sūtradhāra** named **Ananta**, the son of the illustrious **Galhaṇa**,—

(V. 53) On Friday, the first day of **Bhādrapada** in the year nine hundred increased by forty and four (*denoted by the expression*) **Śāhasa-mall-āṅka**.³

(*In*) the year 944, (*the month*) **Bhādrapada** (*and*) the bright (*fortnight*), on the (*lunar*) day 1, Friday, during the reign of the illustrious **Vijayasimhadēva**.

(*May there be*) bliss and great fortune !

(V. 54) **Śrī**. His (*i.e.*, **Malayasiṃha**'s) door-keeper was named **Ralhaṇa**, the valiant son of **Dalhaṇa**, who is capable of executing a responsible (?) work, is brave in fighting, and destroys the pride of his foes, as **Nandi** is (*the door-keeper*) of **Siva**.

NO. 68 ; PLATE LVII

REWA PLATE OF VIJAYASIMHA : (VIKRAMA) YEAR 1253

THIS plate was brought to notice by Sir A. Cunningham who found it in the possession of the Rewa Durbar. Its contents were briefly and somewhat incorrectly given by him in his *Archæological Survey of India Reports*, Vol. XXI, p. 146. It was subsequently edited with a lithograph, but without any translation, by Dr. Kielhorn in the *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XVII, pp. 227 ff. The plate has since been deposited in the British Museum. It is edited here from excellent ink impressions kindly supplied by the authorities of the Museum.

¹ *Kṛishṇa-pūrvah Ātrēya-gōtraḥ* evidently means 'belonging to the **Kṛishṇātrēya gōtra**' and not 'born in the race of Atri, before whom **Kṛishṇa** was born' as translated by Banerji. The sense is clumsily expressed here as in so many other places in this inscription.

² There is a play on the word *śaśa-malla* which means (1) a good family and (2) a good bamboo. The metaphor in this verse is not properly expressed.

³ See above, p. 350. *Śāhasa*, *malla* and *āṅka* denote the numbers 4, 4 and 9, and according to the rule *āṅkānām vāmatō gatih*, the expression stands for 944.

The plate measures 15½" by 9" and is inscribed on one side only. It is quite smooth, the edges of it being not fashioned thicker, nor turned up, nor protected in any way. As the result, the preservation of the inscription is only fairly good; for the surface of the plate is a good deal worn, especially in the proper left half down to about line 14 and in the right half from about line 8 to 14, so that some *aksharas* here are only faintly visible, and a few others are altogether illegible. . . .—In the upper part of the plate there is a ring-hole; but the ring with any seal that may have been attached to it is not now forthcoming. The weight of the plates is 192¼ *tolas*.¹ The average size of the letters is about .25". The characters are Nāgarī. The technical execution is fair. Except for two opening verses in honour of Brahman and Bhārati (the goddess of speech), the benedictive and imprecatory verses at the end and a stray quarter of the *Indravajrā* or the *Anuṣṭubh* metre here and there, the whole record is in prose. Both the metre and the grammar are faulty in several places. Mistakes of the former are pointed out in the foot-notes to the text. As regards those of grammar, attention may be drawn to the wrong gender in *sāmanta-śirō-ratnō* in l. 6, the faulty compounds in *śuta-dvaṇ* and *mātri-pitrō-* in ll. 6 and 14 respectively and the syntactical blunder in *sō-havi*. . . *samājñāpayati vōdhayati cha* in ll. 7-8. Final consonants, are not properly marked. The writer's carelessness is betrayed by the omission and transposition of words in many verses and the orthographical mistakes such as the use of the dental *s* for the palatal *ś* (e.g., in *sarmanē* for *śarmanē* in several places in ll. 10-12) and *vice versa* (e.g., in *śūkshmā* for *sūkshmā* in l. 2, *śuta-dvaṇ* l. 6 etc.), that of *n* in for *ṇ* in *punya-yasō*, l. 14 and *punya-karmmāṇau*, l. 18. The sign of *v* is used to denote *b* in all places except *babhūva* in l. 5.

As stated before, the inscription opens with two verses, one in praise of Brahman and the other in that of Bhārati, the goddess of speech. The first of these occurs in several copper-plate charters of the Later Kalachuris, while the second with some alterations is met with in three records of the Kalachuri king, Karna.² The inscription then refers itself to the auspicious and victorious reign of the *Paramabhaṭṭāraka*, *Mahārājādhirāja* and *Paramēśvara*, the illustrious Vijayadēva, a devout worshipper of Mahēśvara and the lord of *Trikaliṅga*, who by his own arm had acquired suzerainty over the three kings (*viṣ.*) the lord of horses, the lord of elephants and the lord of men, and who meditated on the feet of the *Paramabhaṭṭāraka*, *Mahārājādhirāja* and *Paramēśvara*, the illustrious Vāmadēva, a devout worshipper of Mahēśvara. Worthy of note is the epithet *Parama-māhēśvara* here applied to Vāmadēva, for it clearly shows that the latter cannot be identified with the god Śiva. As the description of Vijayadēva is closely similar to that of the Kalachuri king Jayasimha in the Rewa plate of Kirtivarman, he is evidently identical with Vijayasimha, the son and successor of Jayasimha. This identification is again corroborated by the agreement of dates. For, as shown below, the date of the present inscription corresponds to 1195 A.C. It is twenty years later than the date of the Rewa inscription of Kirtivarman (*viṣ.*, K. 926 or 1175 A.C.), and this squares with the relation of Vijayasimha to Jayasimha. Again, the date of the present inscription is only two years later than that of the preceding Rewa stone inscription of Malayasimha which belongs to the reign of Vijayasimha.³

The inscription next gives the pedigree of the donor Salakṣhaṇavarman, who

¹ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVII, p. 227.

² Nos. 50, 51 and 54. In these it is in praise of Brāhmī, while in the present record it glorifies Bhārati. *Bhārati* which is here substituted for *Brāhmī* does not, however, suit the metre.

³ As a matter of fact, Salakṣhaṇa is mentioned in verse 24 of that inscription, as one who suffered a defeat in Karkarēḍi at the hands of Malayasimha, a feudatory of Vijayasimha.

was then plainly a feudatory of Vijayadēva. In the capital **Kakarēḍī** there lived a personage named **Dhāhilla** who was honoured by all princes. After him flourished in course of time **Vājūka**, **Dandūka**, **Khōjūka** and **Jayavarman**, whose relation to **Dhāhilla** and to one another is not specified. **Jayavarman's** son was **Vatsarāja** who, again, had two sons **Kīrtivarman** and **Salakshaṇavarman** (or **Salakhaṇavarman**). The former, being the elder of the two, succeeded his father and was himself succeeded by his younger brother **Salakshaṇavarman**.¹

The object of the present inscription is to record the donation of the village **Chhiḍauḍā**, situated in the **Kūyīsambapālisa**² *pattalā*, which **Salakshaṇavarman** made after bathing and worshipping **Siva** at **Kakarēḍī**. The donees were all grandsons of one **Mādhava** and belonged to the **Kauśilla gōtra** with the three *paravaras* **Kauśilla**, **Viśvāmitra** and **Dēvarāta**. It seems that **Mādhava** had four sons **Mahasōṇa**, **Chīthu(?)**, **Pithana** and **Srīdhara**. The village or its revenue was divided into five *padas* or shares of which two were allotted to **Rāmaśarman**, **Gāthēśarman** and **Dāmarāśarman**, the three sons of **Mahasōṇa** and one each to **Pāṇḍu(?)śarman**, **Paitēśarman** and **Haridattaśarman**, the three sons of **Mahasōṇa's** three brothers.

The date the donation is given in line 13 as **Friday**, the seventh *tithi* of the dark fortnight³ of **Mārgaśīras** in the year 1253 (expressed in decimal figures only). No era is specified; but there is little doubt that the date is to be referred to the **Vikrama** era. It is found to be regular for the current **Vikrama** year 1253. The seventh *tithi* of the dark fortnight of the *pūrṇimānta* **Mārgaśīras** of that year ended 6 h. 45 m. after mean sunrise on Friday,⁴ the corresponding Christian date being the 27th October 1195 A.C.

Of the place-names occurring in the present grant, **Kakarēḍī** has already been identified with **Kakrēri** in **Vindhya Pradesh**. I have not been able to trace any place exactly corresponding to **Kūyīsambapālisa**. There are, however, some villages named **Kooiah** in the adjoining territory; the nearest to **Kakrēri** that I have been able to trace is 12 miles to the east by south. **Chhiḍauḍā** I am unable to identify.

TEXT⁵

- 1 [सिद्धिः⁶ ।] स्वस्ति । [निर्गु]णं व्यापकं।[नि]त्यं शि[वं] परमकार[णं](णम्) । भावग्राह्यं पनं(रं) [ज्यो]तिस्तस्म(स्मै) सद्ब्र(द्व)ह्मणे नमः ।⁷[११॥*] शुद्धे हृदय[क्षेत्रे] वल्लीमि[व] ध्या-
- 2 यन्ति⁸ [यां] मुनयः । मोक्षमहाफलजननी भारती शू(सू)क्ष्मा⁹ सा जयति ॥¹⁰[२॥*] परम-भट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरपरममा-

¹ Cunningham wrongly stated that **Salakshaṇavarman** was the grandson of **Kīrtivarman**.

² See below p. 361, n. 13. Cunningham read the name of the village as *Navagrāma*.

³ Cunningham inadvertently stated the date to be the 7th of waxing moon.

⁴ According to Kielhorn's calculations the *tithi* ended 7 h. 35 m. after mean sunrise on that day. Cunningham, who presumably took the **Vikrama** year as expired, stated that the *tithi* fell on Thursday, as indeed it did in 1196 A. C.

⁵ From ink impressions.

⁶ Expressed by a symbol.

⁷ Metre: *Anuṣṭubh*.

⁸ ध्यायन्ति does not suit the metre. Read रोपयन्ति as in the **Goharwa** plates.

⁹ The metre is faulty here also. The **Goharwa** plates read ब्राह्मी सूक्ष्मापि सा जयति ।

¹⁰ Metre: *Arjā*.

REWA PLATE OF VIJAYASIMHA: (VIKRAMA) YEAR 1253

[illegible]

- 3 [हे]श्वरश्रीवामदेवपादानुध्यात ।¹ परममट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरपरममाहेश्वरत्रिकलि-
[ङ्गा]धिपतिनिजभुजोपाज्जिता-
- 4 स्वपतिगजपतिनरपतिराजत्रयाधिपति (त्य)श्रीमद्विजयदेवकल्याणविजयराज्ये ।(॥) ककरे[डचां]
[राजधान्यां] घाहि[ल्लो नामा]भवत्² । स च मा³-
- 5 न्योगवत्सर्वनरेश्वराणां(णाम्) [।*] तस्माद्वाजूको दंदूकदचापि [क्रमतः⁴?] खोजूको⁵ जय-
वर्मा च वभूव [तदनंतरो] [।*] अथ⁶ जयवर्मदेवा[प?]त्यं वत्सराज[:*] सु-
- 6 तोभवत् । सामन्तशिरोरत्नो⁷ येन जातौ सुतद्वौ । कीर्तिवर्मा शु(सु)तो ज्ये[ष्ठ]: प्राप्तपितृ-
पदं⁸ स्व[त:] । श्रीमच्छ[ल्लव]णवर्म[दे]वोपि⁹ क्रमादा-
- 7 जयमवाप सः । सोहं समस्तप्रकृत्योपेत¹⁰समधिगतपंचमहाशब्दा (ब्दा)लंकारविराजमानश्रीसलक्षण-
वर्मदेवो¹¹ विजयी ।¹² कूयीसंव¹³(व)पालिस-
- 8 पत्तलायां छिडौ[डा]ग्रामनिवासिनः समस्तप्रजालोकानन्यांश्च यथास्थानाधिष्ठितान् समाज्ञापयति
वो(वो)धयति¹⁴ च । विदितमस्तु [भ]व[तां*] ग्रा-
- 9 मोयमस्माभिश्चतुरावाटविशुद्ध¹⁵सजलस्थलसाम्रमधूकसगर्तोपरनिधिनिक्षेपाकाशोत्पत्तिसु(स्व)सी-
मापर्यन्तसवनतृणपक्षिखनि-
- 10 गोचरपर्यन्तः ॥¹⁶ कौशिल्ल¹⁶गोत्राय कौशिल्लविश्वामित्रदेवराज(त)त्रिप्रवराय । ठ¹⁷ । माध-
वप्रपौत्राय महसोण¹⁸पुत्राय [राम?]स(श)र्मणे ब्रा(ब्रा)ह्मणाय । त-
- 11 या गा[ठे]स(श)र्मणे ब्रा(ब्रा)ह्मणाय तथा दामरस(श)र्मणे ब्रा(ब्रा)ह्मणाय । एतेषां पद¹⁹
२[।*] ठ माधवप्रपौत्राय । [धीयु?]पुत्राय [पांडु?]स(श)र्मणे ब्रा(ब्रा)ह्मणाय । पद १
[।*] ठ ।
- 12 माधवप्रपौत्राय पीथनपुत्राय पैतेस(श)र्मणे ब्रा(ब्रा)ह्मणाय पद १ [।*] ठ । माधवप्रपौत्राय
श्रीधरपुत्राय [ह]रिदत्तस(श)र्मणे ब्रा(ब्रा)ह्मणाय प-
- 13 द १ [।*] एवं ग्रामस्य पद ५ संवत्त(त्स)राणां स(सं)वत्त(त्) १२५३ मार्गसि(शि)र(रो)मासे
कृष्णपक्षे सप्तम्यां तिथौ शुक्रदिने ककरेडचां स्थाने स्नात्वा शिवं प्र-

¹ This *danḍa* is superfluous.

² This requires only one *akṣara* to become a hemistich of an *Anuṣṭubh* verse. Read नाम योऽभवत् to suit the metre.

³ Here we have the cadence of an *Indravajrā* verse.

⁴ After this word a *danḍa*, which was at first engraved, is cancelled.

⁵ This sounds like the latter half of an *Anuṣṭubh* verse.

⁶ What follows appears to be in the *Anuṣṭubh* metre.

⁷ Read सामन्तानां शिरोरत्नं यस्माज्जातं सुतद्वयम् । to suit the metre.

⁸ Read प्राप्तपितृपदः.

⁹ If this is intended as part of an *Anuṣṭubh* verse, we should have श्रीसलक्षणवर्मपि. The *sandhi* in the text is due to the royal name being taken as सलक्षण-.

¹⁰ The letters are quite clear here. Read -प्रकृत्योपेतः. Kielhorn's reading प्रकृष्टोपेत- does not give a good sense.

¹¹ This name is a corrupt form of श्रीसलक्षणवर्म-.

¹² This mark of punctuation is superfluous.

¹³ Kielhorn read कूयीसंवपालि, but the impression clearly shows an *anusvāra* on स.

¹⁴ Read समाज्ञापयामि and बोधयामि.

¹⁵ Here and in the following expressions the sign of *visarga* is wrongly omitted.

¹⁶ Read कौशिल- This is shown to be derived from कौशिक in Vāmana's *Kāvya-lankārasūtravṛtti*, V, 2, 61.

¹⁷ I. e., ठक्कुर.

¹⁸ The last two *akṣaras* of this name though faint, are legible. The name occurs also in the Sarkho plates of Ratnadēva II, though it refers there to a different individual.

¹⁹ This word is used here and in some places below without a case-affix. Read पदे २.

- 14 पूज्य मातृपित्रो¹रात्मनश्च पुन्य(प्य)यसो(शो)विवृद्धये एत(ते)भ्यो ब्रा(त्रा)ह्मणै(णे)भ्यो ग्रा-
मोयं सासनत्वे² प्रदत्तः । मत्त्वैषा³माज्ञाविधेयीभूय सर्व्वमे-
15 [ते]भ्यः प्रदातव्यं(व्यम्) । यत्प्रदत्तं⁴ मया ममाज्ञावस(श)गैः सामन्तादिभिरपि पालनीया
रक्षणीयाश्चेति⁵ । भवन्ति चात्र पुण्यस्लो(श्लो)काः ।
16 सब्वनितान(न्) भां(भा)विनः पार्थिवेद्रान(न्) भूयो भूयो याचित रा⁶ । सामान्या(न्यो)यं
धर्मः⁷ स(से)तुनू(नृ)पाणां काले काले पालनीयः⁸ । [1३॥*] शंखं(खो) भद्रासनं
17 छत्रं वराश्वं(श्वो) वरवारणाः । भूमिदानस्य चिह्नानि फलम(मे)तत्पुरंदर ॥१४॥* व(व)हुभि-
र्व्वसुधा भुक्ता राजभिः सगरादिभिः । यस्य
18 यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फलं(लम्) ॥१५॥* भूमि यः प्रतिगृह्णा(ह्णा)ति यश्च भूमि
प्रयच्छ(च्छ)ति । उभौ तौ पुन्य(प्य)कर्मणि नियतौ स्वर्गंगा-
19 मिनौ ॥१६॥* स्वदत्तां परदत्तां वा यो हरेद्वसुंधरां¹⁰ । स विष्ठायां कृमिभूत्वा पितृभिः सह
मज्जति ॥१७॥* गामेकं शु(सु)वर्णमेकं¹¹ भूमेरप्येकमंगुलं(लम्) [१*]
20 हरन्नरकमाप्नोति मा(या)वदाहूत¹²संप्लवं(वम्) ॥१८॥* वि¹³ नाणी श्रीकूके तथा पुत्र[ः १*]
वी(वी)जे क्षेत्र पाटी¹⁴ २ [१*]

TRANSLATION

Success ! Hail !

(Verse 1) Adoration to that reality, Brahman, which is attributeless, all-pervasive, eternal and auspicious, the ultimate cause (of the universe) and supreme light conceivable by the mind !

(V. 2) Glorious is that speech¹⁵ on which the sages contemplate¹⁶ as on a creeper planted in the pure field of their heart, and which, (though) subtle, yields the great fruit of final emancipation.

(Line 2) During the beneficial and victorious reign of the *Paramabhaṭṭāraka*, *Mahārājādhirāja* and *Paramēśvara*, the illustrious *Vijayadēva*, the lord of *Trikaliṅga*, who, by his own arm has acquired suzerainty over the three kings, (*viz.*,) the lord of horses, the lord of elephants and the lord of men, (and) who meditates on the feet of the *Paramabhaṭṭāraka*, *Mahārājādhirāja* and *Paramēśvara*, the illustrious *Vāmādēva*, the devout worshipper of Mahēśvara,—

¹ Read मातापित्रो-.

² Read शासनत्वेन, as the expression is generally used.

³ This *akṣara* is quite clear.

⁴ Originally यत्प्रदत्ता.

⁵ Read पालनीयं रक्षणीयं चेति ।

⁶ Read याचते रामभद्रः ।

⁷ Read धर्म-.

⁸ Read पालनीयो भवद्भिः । Metre: *Śālinī*.

⁹ Metre of this and the following verses: *Anuṣṭubh*.

¹⁰ Read हरेत वसुन्धराम्.

¹¹ The metre is faulty. Read सुवर्णमेकं गामेकां.

¹² Read -दामूत-.

¹³ *Vi* also occurs in the Dhurēti plates, below, No. 72, l. 20. *Nāṣi* seems to mean 'an engraver'. *Kūkē* is mentioned in line 19 of No. 65, above.

¹⁴ Perhaps खारी (a measure of grain) is meant.

¹⁵ In the Goharwa and other inscriptions where this verse occurs, it is Brāhmī, not Bhārati which is eulogized.

¹⁶ The use of the metaphor 'the field of the heart' shows that *rāpayanti* (plant), not *dhyāyanti* (contemplate) is the appropriate verb in this relative clause.

(L. 4) There was (*a personage*) named Dhāhilla in the capital of Kakarēḍī. He became venerable to all princes. From him were born in course of time Vājūka and Dandūka, and after them, Khōjūka and Jayavarman. Afterwards was born Vatsarāja, a son of Jayavarmadēva, the crest-jewel of feudatory princes, from whom two sons were born. (*Of them*) the elder son Kīrtivarman himself obtained his father's throne, and the illustrious Salakshhanavarmadēva also obtained the kingdom in course of time.

(L. 7) I, who am that Salakshhanavarmadēva,¹ being possessed of all the powers of the state,² shining with the distinction of having obtained the *pañcha-mahāśabda* (*and*) being victorious, command and inform all the subjects, residing in the village Chhiḍauḍā (*situated*) in the *pattalā* Kūyīsambapālisa, and others established in their respective posts—

(L. 8) “Be it known to you that having bathed at the town of Kakarēḍī and worshipped Śiva, We have given as a grant, on Friday, the seventh tithi of the dark fortnight of the month Mārgaśīras in the year 1253, for the increase of the religious merit and fame of (*Our*) mother and father and Ourselves, this village (*divided into*) the following five *padas*³, with its four boundaries well-determined,—together with land and water, together with mango and *madhūka* trees, together with pits and barren lands, treasures and deposits, open space and products, extending as far as its limits (*and*) together with woods, grass, birds and mineral products,—to the following Brāhmaṇas, (*viz.*) two *padas* to the Brāhmaṇa [Rāma]śarman, the son of Mahasōṇa and the grandson of the *Thakkura* Mādhava, of the Kauśīla *gōtra* with the three *pravaras* Kauśīla, Viśvāmitra and Dēvarāta, the Brāhmaṇa Gāthēśarman and the Brāhmaṇa Dāmara⁴; one *pada* to the Brāhmaṇa [Pāṇḍu]śarman, the son of Chithu (*and*) grandson of the *Thakkura* Mādhava; one *pada* to the Brāhmaṇa Paitēśarman, the son of Pithana (*and*) grandson of the *Thakkura* Mādhava; (*and*) one *pada* to the Brāhmaṇa Haridattaśarman, the son of Śridhara (*and*) grandson of the *Thakkura* Mādhava.

(L. 14) Knowing this, (*you*)⁵ should pay all (*dues*) to them, obeying their orders. What has been granted by me should be preserved and protected by feudatory princes and others who submit to my commands.”

And there are the (*following*) holy verses in this connection:—

(*Here follow six benedictive and imprecatory verses.*)

(*The engravers⁶ were*) the illustrious Vi Nāṇī Kūkē and his son. The field requires two *khāris*⁷ (*of grain*) for seed.

NO. 69: PLATE LVIII

BHERA-GHAT GAURI-SANKARA TEMPLE INSCRIPTION OF VIJAYASIMHA

THIS inscription was first brought to notice by Dr. T. Bloch,⁸ Superintendent of the Archaeological Survey, Eastern Circle, in his *Annual Report* for 1907-08, p. 15.

¹ Properly, *Salakshhanavarmadēva*.

² *Prakṛitis*, are ‘the powers of the state’ or ‘constituent elements of the realm’ which are seven, *viz.*, king, minister, allies, treasure, territory, forts and army.

³ *Pada* seems to be used here in the sense of *bhāga* ‘a share’.

⁴ Gāthēśarman and Dāmara also were evidently sons of Mahasōṇa.

⁵ *I.e.*, the residents of the village.

⁶ See above, p. 343.

⁷ For *khārī*, a measure of grain, see above p. 195, n. 1.

⁸ Cunningham has not noticed this inscription in his account of Bherā-Ghāt. See his *A. S. I. R.*, Vol. IX, pp. 60 ff.

A transcript of its text accompanied by a lithograph was published by Mr. R.D. Banerji in his *Haihayas of Tripurī and their Monuments*, p. 142. The record is edited here from excellent estampages supplied by the Superintendent of Archaeology, Central Circle, Patna.

The inscription is incised on a stone slab let into the front wall, on the right-hand side of the door leading into the sanctuary of the temple of Gaurī-Śaṅkara at **Bhērā-Ghāt**, 13 miles from Jabalpur, the chief town of the Jabalpur District of Madhya Pradesh. The writing, which measures 1' 9" broad by 9" high, contains four lines. It has suffered considerably on the right-hand side owing to the peeling off of the surface of the stone. About six *aksharas* at the end of the first three lines and one *akshara* in the beginning of the last two have been either wholly or partly damaged.

The characters are Nāgarī and the language Sanskrit. The orthography does not call for any remark.

The record is of the time of the king Vijayasimhadēva of the Later Kalachuri Dynasty of Tripurī. Its object is to record the obeisance of the *Mahārājñī* Gōsaladēvī, (her son)¹ the *Mahārāja* Vijayasimhadēva and (the heir-apparent) Ajayasimhadēva to the enshrined god who appears to be named here *Bhagnakhidra* (the Destroyer of diseases).²

TEXT³

- 1 महाराज्ञी श्रीमद्गोसल[देवी⁴] [श्रीमहा]रा⁵—
- 2 जश्रीमद्विजयसिंहदेव [महाकुमार⁶]—
- 3 [अ]जयसिंहदेव⁷ एते [भ]ग्नखि[द्राय] [हिता][य*]
- 4 [नि]त्यं प्रणमन्ति⁸ ॥

TRANSLATION

The *Mahārājñī* the illustrious Gōsaladēvī, the glorious *Mahārāja*, the illustrious Vijayasimhadēva, the *Mahākumāra* Ajayasimhadēva,—these constantly bow to the Destroyer⁹ of diseases for (their) welfare.

¹ Hiralal makes Gōsaladēvī the queen of Vijayasimha. See *I. C. P. B.* (second ed.), p. 37. The Kumbhī copper-plate inscription, however, makes it plain that she was his mother. See Appendix, No. 4, below.

² See below, n. 7.

³ From the original stone and ink impressions.

⁴ These *aksharas* are almost certain.

⁵ Banerji read [महारा]—. The *akshara* रा at the end of the line is quite clear and there is space for three *aksharas* between it and देवी.

⁶ Banerji reads the last two *aksharas* of this line as श्रीम and the first *akshara* of the next as द, but the latter, not being open on the right, cannot be read as द. The title *Mahākumāra* of Ajayasimha occurs in the Kumbhī plates.

⁷ Banerji reads the text from here to the end as -दजयसिंहदेवेनेद(?) श्री[वेचनायचरण] नित्यं प्रणमन्ति. Apart from the ungrammatical construction, there is no sign of the medial *i* on *v* in -*dēvīn*-. The *aksharas* following जयसिंहदेव are certainly एते. As regards the reading भग्नखिद्राय the *aksharas* न्न and खि are almost certain. Lexicons give *khidra* in the sense of 'a disease'. *Bhagna-khidra* may be a name of Śiva who is so called because he drives away diseases.

⁸ Banerji read प्रणमन्ति, but the *anuvāra* is clearly seen at the foot of the vertical stroke of *ba* in *Ajayasimha*, l. 3.

⁹ It is not unlikely that the temple was erected and the image of the god installed by way of thanksgiving after the recovery from illness of the dowager queen or one of her sons.

BHERA-GHAT GAURI-SANKARA TEMPLE INSCRIPTION OF VIJAYASIMHA



No. 70; (NO PLATE)

REWA STONE INSCRIPTION OF VIJAYASIMHA : (KALACHURI) YEAR 96x

THIS inscription was brought to notice in 1936 by Dr. N.P. Chakravarti, Government Epigraphist for India, who found it deposited in the guard-hall of the old palace at Rewa in Vindhya Pradesh. The original provenance of it is not known. A short account of its contents was published by the Government Epigraphist in his report for the year 1935-36.¹ The record is edited here for the first time from inked estampages kindly supplied by him.²

The inscription is incised on a slab of stone which is broken irregularly on the proper left. The extant writing covers a space measuring 2' 1½" in height and from 1' to 1' 1" in breadth. No lines are broken off from the top and the bottom, but on the proper left from three to twelve *aksharas* are lost at the end of each line. The writing has again suffered very much by exposure to weather, several *aksharas* being completely effaced in almost every line. As shown below, the inscription appears to be a public copy of a copper-plate charter. It has a large portion in common with other Kalachuri grants, especially the Jabalpur plates of Jayasimha³ and the Kumbhi plates of Vijayasimha.⁴ Many of the lost or illegible *aksharas* can, therefore, be restored with the help of these latter records; but some names of officials mentioned in lines 9-12 and a few fiscal terms which occurred in lines 13-16 are now irrecoverably lost. The record consists of 19 lines. The size of the letters varies from .8" to 1". The characters are Nāgarī. They resemble in a general way those of the Lāl-Pahād stone inscription. The language is Sanskrit and the whole record is in prose. In style the inscription is in the customary form of a copper-plate charter.⁵ The orthography does not call for any remarks.

The inscription refers itself to the reign of the king Vijayasimha of the Later Kalachuri Dynasty of Tripurī. The object of it is to record the king's grant of the village Dhōṭṭavāḍa in the Rēvā pattalā. The name of the donee, which seems to have occurred at the end of line 13, is lost.

The present record appears to be a public copy of a charter which must have been originally engraved on copper-plates. As in the Kumbhi plates, the royal order is issued here from the capital Tripurī. Again, in lines 6-16 the present record names dignitaries and mentions several rights and privileges after the manner of copper-plate grants.⁶ It seems, therefore, that Vijayasimha caused the charter to be copied and incised on the stone in order to give it full publicity.

Like his predecessors, Vijayasimha is described here as one who meditated on the feet of Vāmadēva and assumed the titles Trikaṇḍādhīpati and others. Among the officers to whom the royal order is addressed there are the Mahāpradhāna Ṭhakkura Kīkī, the Arthulēkhin Ṭhakkura Kēśava, the Sāndhivīgrahika Lakhaṇa the Mahāmantrin Haripāla⁷, the Mahāmāṇḍalika Malayasimha and the Rājaguru Vimala-

¹ A. R. A. S. I. for 1935-36, pp. 89-90.

² The estampages are not suitable for plating.

³ Above, No. 63.

⁴ Appendix, No. 4.

⁵ An analogous instance is furnished by the Deo-Baraṇār inscription of Jivitagupta; see Fleet, C. I. I., Vol. III, pp. 213 ff.

⁶ See especially the corresponding portions of the Jabalpur plates of Jayasimha and the Kumbhi plates of Vijayasimha.

⁷ He is probably identical with the Sāndhivīgrahika Ṭhakkura Haripāla mentioned in L8 of the Dhurēti plates (No. 72, below.)

siva.¹ Malayasimha is probably identical with the homonymous feudatory of Vijayasimha. His inscription² dated K. 944 shows that he was in charge of the territory round Rewa during the reign of Vijayasimha.

The inscription bears in line 17 a date in three digits, the first two of which are probably 9 and 6. The third digit is completely effaced. But as the Dhurēti inscription of Trailōkyamalla shows that the Chandēllas occupied the territory round Rewa in K. 963 the third digit of the date must have been 0, 1, or 2. This date must evidently be referred to the Kalachuri era. The corresponding Christian date will, therefore, range from 1208-9 to 1210-11 A.C.

As for the localities mentioned in the present inscription, the *Rēvā pattalā* must have comprised the territory round the modern town of Rewa. The village *Dhōṭṭa-vāḍa* I am unable to identify.

TEXT³

- 1 सिद्धिः⁴ [1*] स्वस्ति श्रीम[त्रि]पुरीतः परमभट्टारकम[हाराजा*]—
- 2 धिराजपर[मे][श्व*]रश्री[वा]मदेवपादा[नु]ध्या[तपरम*]—
- 3 भट्टारकमहाराजाधिराज[प]र[मेश्व]र[परममाहेश्व*]—
- 4 रत्रिकर्लियाधिपति[निजभुजोपाजिताश्वपतिगज*]—
- 5 पतिनस्पतिराजत्रयाधिपति[त्य][श्रीम]द्वि[जयसिंह*]—
- 6 देवचरणा[ः] अद्येह श्रीम[हाराजी श्रीमहाकुमार श्रीम*]—
- 7 हाप्रधान ठ[क्कु*]र[कीकि]⁶ [अयं*]लेखि[ठक्कुर*]—
- 8 [श्री*][के]स[श]व सांघिविग्रहिकः⁷ । [श्री]लक्षण [श्री][महाप्रती*]—
- 9 हार श्री[म*]⁸हाम[मं][त्रि]ह[रिपाल⁹] [श्रीमहा*]—
- 10 मंडलीक¹⁰ श्रीमलय[सीह] [सिह] [महा]वि
- 11 पाकलित (?) [रा]
- 12 पाल¹¹ राण[क*] [श्रीमद्रा]ज[गुरु श्री] [वि*]मल¹²[शिव*]
- 13 [स?] रे[वा]पत्तलायां घोट्टवाडं [नाम]
- 14 क[र]वि[सेणा]दा[य¹³ भू]मि[जा*]ङ्गल [*] [साम्प्रम*]—

¹ Chakravarti reads the name of the *Mahāpratihāra* as *Bhīmasimha*, but it appears to be a mislection for *Mahāmantri*—. The Kumbhī plates mention *Mahāmantrin* after *Mahākumāra*.

² Above, No. 67.

³ From inked estampages.

⁴ Expressed by a symbol.

⁵ This *akshara* is fairly clear in the estampages. The following four *aksharas* are broken off.

⁶ The name कीकि is faintly seen in the estampages. It occurs in the Kumbhī plates (Appendix, No. 4, below).

⁷ The *visarga* and the following *daṇḍa* appear to be superfluous.

⁸ Chakravarti read these four *aksharas* as श्रीमसिह.

⁹ These *aksharas* are not quite clear, but the Dhurēti plates of the reign of Trailōkyamalla (No. 72, below) mention one Haripāla as *Sāndhinigrabika*.

¹⁰ Read —मंडलिक—.

¹¹ Some official like कोटपाल seems to have been mentioned here.

¹² The *aksharas* म and ल are fairly clear. The preceding *akshara* वि of the *Rājaguru*'s name seems to have been omitted inadvertently. For a similar omission, see श्री[म*]हामन्त्रि—, I, 9, above.

¹³ This seems to correspond to विसेणिमादाय mentioned in the Jabalpur plates of Jayasimha and Kumbhī plates of Vijayasimha.

- 15 धूक[गोप्र¹]तृणो[दिद्रदादि]सक[ल*].....
 16 [कामत]मवाडप्रवणिक[र*][सर्व्वी][दाय*] [स ह(हि)][त*]...
 17 [द्रसि ?]त [च] प्रदते(त्त इ)ति ॥ संव[त्*][९*][६][x].....[म*]²—
 18 हीदत चंडाज्व(?) मंत्रि श्री[मलय ?³].....
 19 श्री[रेवा].....⁴॥

TRANSLATION

(Line 1) Success! Hail! From the famous **Tripurī**,—the *Paramabhṭṭāraka*, *Mahārājādhirāja* and *Paramēśvara*, the illustrious **Vijayasimhadēva**, the devout worshipper of *Mahēśvara*, the lord of **Trikaliṅga**, who by (*the might of*) his arm has attained suzerainty over the three kings, (*viz.*,) the lord of horses, the lord of elephants and the lord of men, (*and*) who meditates on the feet of the *Paramabhṭṭāraka*, *Mahārājādhirāja* and *Paramēśvara* the illustrious **Vāmadēva**, (*commands as follows*):—

(L. 6) Today here⁵ (*in the presence of*) the illustrious *Mahārājānī*, the illustrious *Mahākumāra*, the illustrious *Mahāpradhāna*, *Ṭhakkura Kiki*, the *Arthalēkhin*, the illustrious *Ṭhakkura Kēśava*, the *Sāndhivigrahika*, the illustrious *Lakhaṇa*, the illustrious *Mahāpratihōra*, the illustrious *Mahāmantrin Haripāla* . . . the illustrious *Mahāmāṇḍalika Malayasimha* . . . the [*Kōṭṭapāla*] *Rānaka*, the illustrious *Rājaguru Vimalaśiva*, . . . We have granted a village named **Dhōṭṭavāḍa** (*situated*) in the *Rēvā pattalā*, together with the cess on *Viśēṇa*, together with fertile⁶ and (*other*) lands, together with mango and *mahuā* trees, together with pasture-land, grass *etc.*, together with ...*kāmata*, *mavāḍa*, and the cess on the *pravaṇis*, and all other taxes to . . .

(L. 17) (*In*) the year 96 [x] . . . (the illustrious *Mantrin Malaya*—) . . the famous *Rēvā*....

¹ Read गोप्रचार.

² The first figure of the date is illegible, but it must have been 9 as the *Kumbhī* plates of his reign are dated in K. 932. From its top which alone appears in the estampage, the second figure appears to be 6. The third figure again is completely effaced.

³ Only the first *akṣara* of this name is fairly distinct.

⁴ Traces of five or six *akṣaras* appear here.

⁵ I. e., at *Tripurī*.

⁶ See above p. 331, n. 1.

MISCELLANEOUS INSCRIPTIONS

No. 71 ; PLATE LIX

BESANI STONE INSCRIPTION: (KALACHURI) YEAR 958

THIS inscription was brought to notice by Sir A. Cunningham, who published a transcript and a lithograph of it and drew attention to its date in his *Archæological Survey of India Reports*, Vol. XXI, pp. 101-3, and plate xxvii. The date was subsequently discussed by Dr. Kielhorn in his article entitled 'The Epoch of the Kalachuri or Chedi Era' in the *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XVII, pp. 218-19. The record is edited here from excellent ink-impressions kindly supplied by the Superintendent of Archæological Survey, Central Circle, Patna.

The inscription is incised on a loose broken stone slab near the ruins of a temple at Bēsāni (long. 80° 17' E. and lat. 24° 12' N.) in Vindhya Pradesh, about 14 miles north-west of Jukēhi, a station on the Katni-Manikpur branch of the G.I.P. Railway. The record is fragmentary. The extant portion contains six lines. Nothing is lost at the top and the proper right side. The first four lines seem to be complete on the left side also. But as the lower corner on that side is broken off, the fifth line has lost about six *aksharas*, while the last one shows only the upper fragments of three *aksharas* in the left corner. Besides, an indefinite number of lines has been lost at the bottom. The extant portion has suffered here and there by exposure to weather. The letters were carelessly written or incised. The characters are Nāgarī and the language Sanskrit. The orthography does call for any remarks.

The inscription opens with the date, *viz.*, the year 958 (expressed in numerical figures only), the third tithi of the bright fortnight of the first Āshāḍha. The object of it seems to be to record gifts in *drammas* received from different persons for some purpose not specified in the extant portion of the inscription. The gifts may have been made, as conjectured by Cunningham¹ for some work connected with the temple near the ruins of which the stone was found. It may be noted that the preserved portion of the record does not mention any reigning prince.

The interest of the inscription lies in its date which, on the evidence of its characters, must plainly be referred to the Kalachuri era. Its wording shows that there were two months named *Āshāḍha* in the year 958 and the month in which the inscription was put up was the first or intercalary *Āshāḍha*. We find that in 1207 A.C., which corresponds to the expired Kalachuri year 958, there were two *Āshāḍhas*,² of which the first or intercalary *Āshāḍha* lasted from the 14th May to the 11th June. The third tithi of the bright fortnight of it fell on Thursday, the 31st May 1207 A.C.

¹ See *C. A. S. I. R.*, Vol. XXI, p. 102.

² Kielhorn has shown that *Āshāḍha* was intercalary in 1207 A. C. 'For in that year the solar month *Āshāḍha* lasted from May 26, about 1 h. 40 m. after sunset, to June 27, about 4 h. after sunrise, and during that time there were two new-moons, one on May 28, 9 h. 30 m. after mean sunrise, and the other on June 26, 23 h. 41 m. after mean sunrise'. *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVII, p. 219.

BESANI STONE INSCRIPTION: (KALACHURI) YEAR 958



TEXT¹

- 1 संबत(त्) [९]५८ प्रथम आषढ^२ सु दि ३
- 2 सु(सु)त्रहा(धा)र जगदे[व*]^३गृहीतद्रमा(म्माः) ३० त[था^४]
- 3 [ग]ृहीतद(द्र)मा(म्माः) १० पु[ज]गृहीतद्रमा(म्माः) १०
- 4 [त][था] वंद[वा]लि^५ गृ[ही]तद्रा(द्रम्माः) १० रो-
- 5 कागृहीत द्रा(द्रम्माः) १.....^६
- 6 .[कहंरा(?)].

[The lower part of the stone is broken off and lost].

TRANSLATION

The year 958, (the month) first Āshāḍha, the bright (fortnight), the (lunar) day 3.

From the *Sūtradhāra* Jagadē[va] 30 *drammas* have been taken. Similarly (from . . .) 10 *drammas* have been taken; (and) from *Puja* 10 *drammas* have been taken. Similarly from *Vandadhāli* 10 *drammas* have been taken. From *Raukā* 1⁸. *drammas* have been taken

No. 72 ; PLATE LX

DHURETI PLATES OF TRAILOKYAMALLA : (KALACHURI) YEAR 963

THESE plates were brought to notice in 1936 by Dr. N. P. Chakravarti, Government Epigraphist for India. He first published a brief notice of their contents in his report for the year 1935-36⁹ and subsequently edited them with a lithograph in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XXV, pp. 1 ff. They are edited here from an excellent ink-impression kindly supplied by him.

They are two copper-plates measuring 1' 3.2" broad and 10½" high. They were discovered in 1926 in the village of Dhurēti,¹⁰ about 6 miles south-east of Rewa by a cultivator while ploughing his field. They have raised rims. When discovered they were apparently held together by a ring, but it had already been cut when Dr. Chakravarti examined the charter. This ring has a seal measuring 6¾" × 4½" attached to it, bearing in relief the figure of Lakshmi with an elephant on either side pouring water over her head, and the legend *Śrīmat-Trailōkyamalla* in one line below it. The weight of the plates together with the seal is 419 *tolas*. The record consists of 22 lines, of which eleven are inscribed on the inner side of each plate. The writing is in a state of perfect preservation throughout. The average size of the letters is .5".

The characters are of the Nāgarī alphabet. Attention may be drawn to the closely similar forms of the initial *ē* and *pa*, *t* and *bh*, and *ch* and *v*. The *prishṭha-mātrās* are used

¹ From inked estampages.

² Read प्रथमाषाढ-.

³ Cunningham read जगदे. The second *akṣara* appears more like *ga* than *ma*; the horizontal line which seems to join its two limbs may be accidental.

⁴ Cunningham read here *ta Śrī* which gives no sense. It seems that the name of some person is omitted through inadvertence in the beginning of l. 3.

⁵ Cunningham read this *akṣara* as सु.

⁶ Cunningham read *Prithiva vasiṣi*, but the reading does not appear to be supported by the original.

⁷ Cunningham reads 1000, but the ciphers after the first figure are uncertain.

⁸ The second figure here is lost owing to the peeling off of the stone.

⁹ A. R. A. S. I. for 1935-36, pp. 90-91.

¹⁰ The place-name is spelt as Dhoorēti in the Degree Map 63 H.

here and there to denote medial diphthongs. The language is Sanskrit. Except for three verses in the beginning, the inscription is in prose throughout. The record is very carelessly written especially in lines 18-22. The writer had evidently a very imperfect knowledge of Sanskrit. As shown below, this is a private document. Still the writer states that it was issued from a camp and that the camp was situated at some auspicious place ! It is clear that he has blindly copied the introductory part of the record from some royal charter. The orthography shows the usual peculiarities such as the use of *v* for *b*, of the dental for the palatal sibilant and *vice versa*.

The inscription refers itself to the reign of the king Trailōkyamalla who, as shown below, is identical with the Chandēlla king Trailōkyavarman. The object of it is to record the mortgage (*vitta-bandha*) of a certain village by the Śaiva ascetic Śāntaśiva in favour of one Rāṇaka Dharēka.

The inscription opens with an obeisance to Śiva and Gaṇapati. It has then three verses in praise of Kṛishṇa, Śūlapāṇi (Śiva) and Sarasvatī.¹ It next proceeds to state that during the reign of the illustrious Trailōkyamalladēva, the lord of Kānyakubja, who meditated on the feet of Vāmadēva, had assumed titles commencing with *Paramabhaṭṭāraka* (*i.e.*, *Paramabhaṭṭāraka*, *Maharājādhirāja* and *Paramēśvara*), and had attained supremacy over the lord of horses, the lord of elephants and the lord of men,² the Śaiva ascetic Śāntaśiva, the son of the Rājaguru Vimalaśiva, conveyed by way of mortgage (*vitta-bandha*) at Dhōvahattapattana in the Dhanavāhi *pattalā*, the village of Alaura, to the Rāṇaka Dharēka, the son of Sēvarāja, who was himself the son of the *Thakkura* Rāsala. The deed of mortgage was actually executed by Nādaśiva, a younger son of Vimalaśiva, with the authority of his elder brother Śāntaśiva. Some persons are cited as witnesses at the end of the record. The record was written by the *Paṇḍitas* Viśvēśvara and Gaṅgādhara. It was engraved by Śiruka. There are no benedictive and imprecatory verses at the end of the record, as it is not a land-grant.³

Trailōkyamalla, during whose reign the deed was executed, is evidently identical with Trailōkyavarman (or Trailōkyamalla), mentioned in the Rewa plates of V. 1297 and 1298 of his feudatories Kumārapāla and Harirāja.⁴ He, therefore, belonged to the Chandēlla dynasty. Still the same epithets are here applied to him as were applied to his predecessor Vijayasimha of the Kalachuri dynasty, evidently through the ignorance of the writer, who seems to have drawn upon some Kalachuri record for the description of the Chandēlla king.⁵

Among the officers of Trailōkyamalla mentioned in the present inscription, there is one who deserves special notice⁶. This is the *Mahāmahattaka*, *Mantrin* and *Māṇḍalika* Malayasimha. He is evidently identical with the *Mahāmāṇḍalika* Malayasimha mentioned in the Rewa stone inscription of Vijayasimha. As shown below, the present inscription was incised in K. 963, *i.e.*, within two or three years of the aforementioned inscription of Vijayasimha. During this short interval the rule of the Kalachuris in the Rewa

¹ The verse in praise of Sarasvatī occurs in the *Kāyādarśa* (I, 1) of Daṇḍin.

² In line 12 the king is called *tri-śati-rājy-ādhipati*, 'the lord of three hundred kingdoms.'

³ For a similar instance, see Anjaneri plates (Second Set), of Bhōgaśakti, No. 32, above.

⁴ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XVII, pp. 232 and 236.

⁵ It may, however, be noted that Trailōkyavarman is called here *Kānyakubjādhipati*, not *Trikalingādhipati*. The latter epithet is applied to him in the Rewa plates of Kumārapāla, dated V. 1297 mentioned above.

⁶ Another officer, the *Kōṭṭapāla* Vāhaḍa may be identical with Vāhaḍavarman, the son of Śalakshaṇavarman, the feudatory chief of Karkarēḍī, *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVII, p. 236. The *Sāṇḍivigrahika* Haripāla may be identical with the *Mahāmantrin* of the same name mentioned in No. 70, l. 9.

territory was supplanted by that of the Chandēllas, and Malayasimha seems to have transferred his allegiance to the rising power. Perhaps he was himself instrumental in causing this revolution !

The inscription is dated on Monday, the 7th tithi of the bright fortnight of Jyēshṭha in the year 963 of an unspecified era. This date must, of course, be referred to the Kalachuri era, but the details do not work out regularly ; for in the current Kalachuri year 963 (1210-11 A.C.) the tithi fell on a Friday and in the expired year 963 (1211-12 A.C.) on a Wednesday. It is not, however, unlikely, in view of the careless writing of the present record, that *Sōmē* of the text is a mistake for *Saumyē* (on Wednesday) as suggested by Dr. Chakravarti. The date would in that case regularly correspond, for the expired Kalachuri year 963, to Wednesday, the 9th May 1212 A.C.

Of the places mentioned here, Dhōvahaṭṭa has been identified by Dr. Chakravarti with Dhurēti, but there is not much similarity in their names. It is more likely to be Dhōbhaṭ near Makundapur, about 10 miles south by west of Rewa. Dhanavāhi, the headquarters of the *pattalā* in which it was situated, may be identical with Dhanavāhi which lies 22 miles to the south-west of Dhōbhaṭ. Alaurā I am unable to identify.

TEXT¹

- 1 ओं नमः सि(शि)वाय ॥ गणपतये नमः ॥ जयतु जयतु देवो देवकीनंदनोयं(यम्) ।² जयतु जयतु कुण्डो वृष्णिवंस(श)प्रदीपः ॥(1) ज-
- 2 यतु जयतु मेघश्यामल[*] कोमलंगो जयतु जयतु पृथ्वी[भा]रनाशो(शी) मुकुंदः³ ॥[१॥*] अवतु सकललोकात्री-
- 3 लकंठ[*] स्मरारिस्ति(स्त्रि)पुरदहनसमर्थो⁴ मूर्ध्नि(घ्नि) भास्वच्छ(च्छ)सां(शां)कः । तुहिन-गिरिसुताया वल्लभः शूलपाणिः ।⁵
- 4 सकलजनशरण्यः सर्वलोककनाथः ॥[२॥*] चतुर्मुखमुखांभोजवनहंस(स)वधूमम [1*] मानसे रमतां नि-
- 5 त्वं सध्वंशुक्ला स[र*]स्वती⁶ ॥[३॥*] परमभट्टारक(के)त्यादिसमस्तराजावली⁷विराजमान परममाहेश्व[र*]र अस्व(श्व)पति⁸गजपति-
- 6 नरपतिराजप्रवाधिपतिविविधविद्याविचारवाचस्पतिस्त्री(श्री) वामदेवपादानुध्याता(त)कन्यकुब्जा-धिपतिमही-
- 7 [प्र]वर्द्धमानकल्याणविजयराज्ये स्त्री(श्री)मत्त्रैलोक्यमल्लदेवराज्ये संम(व)त् ९६३ ज्येष्ठ सुदि ७ सोमे दिनं(ने) महा-
- 8 महन्न(त्त)कर्मति(त्रि)मंडलकस्त्रीमलयसिंह¹¹ व्याप्रियमाणे शंघिग्र[ही]क¹² ठक्कुरहरिपाल-कोट्टपालवाहड-

¹ From an ink-impression.

² This *daṇḍa* is superfluous.

³ Metre of this and the following verse: *Mālinī*.

⁴ There is one redundant *akṣara* in this *pāda*. Read स्मरारिः पुरदहन-

⁵ This *daṇḍa* is superfluous.

⁶ Metre: *Anuṣṭubh*.

⁷ The *akṣara* व in राजावली, which was omitted at first, is written above the line.

⁸ Read परममाहेश्वराश्वपति-

⁹ Read कान्यकुब्जाधिपति-

¹⁰ Read सोमदिने, or rather सोम्यदिने.

¹¹ Read -मांडलिकस्त्रीमलयसिंहे.

¹² The vertical stroke of ही is not incised. Read शंघिविग्रहिके ठक्कुरहरिपाले.

The following words also should be in the locative case.

- 9 अर्थलेखी स्त्री(श्री)[चं]दलेठि¹ यथावर्त्तमानसमस्तवणिग्जनव्यवहियमाणं पंचकुलधर्मा-
धिकरण²चितायां
10 घोवहृष्टपत्तने धनवाहिपत्तलायां यत्र वचन शुभप्रदेशसमावासितकटकात्(त्)³ यमनियम[स्वा]-
ध्याय-
11 ध्यानानुष्ठानतपचक्रवर्त्ति⁴पंडितचक्रचूडामणिसै (शै)वाचार्याधिपतिसर्वविद्याकुस(श)ल[*] क-

Second Plate

- 12 लौ दुर्वाशा(सो)वतारः त्रिशति(त) राज्याधिपतिस्त्री(श्री) मत्त्रैलोक्यमल्लपादचर्चनरतः⁵ ध्यानं
कुर्वाणो⁶
13 एकाग्रचित्ततया भट्टारकस्त्री(श्री)मद्राजगुरुविमलशिवसुतो(तः) सां(शां)तशिवचरणाः⁷ वत्सगो-
त्रान्वये⁸ वित्त(त्त)वं(वं)ध-
14 स्वरूपतया ठ रासलसुतसेवराजत(स्त)त्सुतराणकस्त्री(श्री)म[द्व]रेकस्य अलीरा⁹ग्रामस्य भागभो-
गप्रवणि-
15 करसर्वादायसहितं यावधिरण्यस्य दत्तमिति¹⁰ ॥ गुरुणा¹¹मनुज्यां (जां) प्राप्य यमादिगुणोपेत[*]
समस्त-
16 प्रक्रियान्वितत्वि(स्त्रि)कालस्नानदेवाचर्चनरतः अग्निपूजारतश्च(श्च) सर्वभूतदयापरः सर्वेषां
वन्दिजना-
17 नामाधारभूतः जंतूनामास्वा(श्वा)सभूमि[*] सर्वासु कलासु चतुरः ॥¹² शस्त्रशास्त्रविसा(शा)-
रदः भट्टारकस्त्रीम-¹³
18 द्राजगुरुविमलसि(शि)वसु(सु)तः शांतशिवानुजो नादसिवन¹⁴ पट्टस्य [ह](व)र्षरूपतया याव-
दीयते तावदवा-
19 पितमिति¹⁵ धि(वि)त्तवं(वं)धतया किंचित्कार्यकारणतापि वारणे स्त्री(श्री)मद्वरेकस्य याव¹⁶दिच्छा
प्रतिपद्यते¹⁷ ॥ अत्रा-
20 र्थे साक्षिणः ॥ पट(ट्ट)किल मदने तथा सीले तथा ठ सूपट ठ गांगे वि रणचोल वि गांगादेव पट्ट
वि कवित ॥ ठ गोलू-

¹ Read श्लेठि-.

² Read -व्यवहियमाणे पंचकुलधर्माधिकरणे. चितायां seems to be superfluous.

³ This expression seems to be out of place in a deed of mortgage.

⁴ Read तपस्विचक्रवर्त्ति-.

⁵ Read पादाचर्चनरतो; but as the compound stands it means that the Śaiva ascetic was devoted to the feet of Trailōkyamallā.

⁶ Read कुर्वाण एकाग्र-.

⁷ This expression in the plural number does not fit in with the preceding epithets which are all in the singular. Read शांतशिवः.

⁸ वत्सगोत्रान्वयो.

⁹ Chakravarti read अलीरा, remarking that लौ which was first engraved was subsequently corrected into ली. See, however, similar *mātrās* of medial *au* in *Kalan*, lines 11-12.

¹⁰ The correct construction would be अलीराग्रामं . . . सर्वादायसहितं यावद्वरण्यं दत्तवानिति ।

¹¹ Read गुरुणा-.

¹² These *daṇḍas* are superfluous.

¹³ Read भट्टारकस्त्रीम-.

¹⁴ The writer perhaps intended to write नादशिवेन, but it would not suit the several adjectival expressions in the nominative prefixed to it. Read नादशिवस्तेन.

¹⁵ Read यावदादीयते तावदेवापितमिति ।

¹⁶ The *akṣara* व in याव-, which was at first omitted, is written above the line.

¹⁷ The text is very corrupt here. Probably the intended sense is किंचित्कार्यकरणे वारणे वा श्रीमद्वरेकस्य येच्छा ना प्रतिपद्यते ।

DHURETI PLATES OF TRAILOKYAMALLA: (KALACHURI) YEAR 963

i.

1. *विनिमृष्टि...*
 2. *...*
 4. *...*
 6. *...*
 8. *...*
 10. *...*

ii.

12. *लोद्घातता...*
 14. *...*
 16. *...*
 18. *...*
 20. *...*
 22. *...*

Seal



(From a photograph).

- 21 ण इति कृत्वा प्रविष्ये सति गृ(य)हीतव्यं(व्यम्¹)॥ सु(शु)भं भवतु लेखकपाठकयोः॥
स्वल्पवु(बु)ध्या(द्वया) मंदमतिरहं यतु(त्) बाल्याति—
- 22 मु[द्गी]रितं सुद्धमसुद्धं वा² पं विस्वेस्वरेण³ लिखितमिति ॥ पं गंगाधरेण [च] [1*] उत्कीरितं
सीरुकेन⁴ ॥ ॥ ॥

Seal

श्रीमत्त्रैलोक्यमल्लः[1*]

TRANSLATION

Om! Adoration to Śiva! Adoration to Gaṇapati!

(Verse 1) May this god, the son of Dēvakī, be victorious! May this Kṛishṇa, the great luminary of the Vṛishṇi family, be triumphant! May (*this Kṛishṇa*), who has a delicate person dark like a cloud, be glorious! May Mukunda, who removes the burden of the earth, attain victory!

(V. 2) May the blue-throated (Śiva), the enemy of Smara and the dear husband of (Pārvati) the daughter of the snow-mountain, who has a spear in (*his*) hand, protect all people,—(*he*) who was able to burn the three cities⁵; who has the bright moon on his head; who affords protection to all people and is the sole lord of all worlds!

(V. 3) May the all-white Sarasvatī, the female swan (*sporting*) in the assemblage of lotuses which are the mouths of Brahmā, always enjoy herself in my mind!

(Line 5) During the reign of the illustrious Trailōkyamalladēva, who looks resplendent with the complete series of royal titles commencing with *Paramabhaṭṭāraka*, who is a devout worshipper of Mahēśvara (*and*) the supreme lord of three kings, *viṣṇu*, the lord of horses, the lord of elephants and the lord of men, who is the lord of speech through his study of various lores, who meditates on the feet of the illustrious Vāmadēva, who is the lord of Kānyakubja and whose beneficial and victorious rule is augmenting on the earth,—on Monday, the 7th (lunar) day of the bright (fortnight) of Jyēshṭha in the year 963, while the *Mahāmahattaka*, *Mantrin* and *Māṇḍalikā*, the illustrious Malayasimha is present on duty, while the *Sāndhivigrahika* Ṭhakkura Haripāla, the *Kōṭṭapāla* Vāhaḍa and the *Arthalēkhin* the illustrious *Srēshṭhin* Chanda (*are also present on duty*), (*and*) while the affairs in the court of justice of the *Pañchakula*⁶ are being managed by all merchants according to custom,—at the camp fixed at some auspicious place in the *Dhōvahaṭṭa pattana* (*situated*) in the *Dhanavāhi pattalā*, the holy Śāntaśiva of the Vatsa *gōtra*, a son of the *Bhaṭṭāraka*, the holy *Rājaguru* Vimalaśiva,—who has become the sovereign of ascetics through the practice of self-restraint, observances, study of sacred texts, and meditation; (*who is*) the crest-jewel of an assembly of learned people, the lord of Śaiva Āchāryas, proficient in all lores, (*and*) an incarnation of Durvāsas in the Kali (*age*); to whose feet is devoted the illustrious Trailōkyamalla,⁷ the lord of three hundred kingdoms, (*and*) who is (*always*) engaged in meditation with a concentrated mind,—has given, by way of mortgage, the village Alaurā, together with all dues (*such as*) *bhāga*, *bhōga*,

¹ Here also the text is very corrupt. Perhaps the intended reading is इति कृत्वा प्रविष्य गृहीतव्यम् ।

² Read बाल्यादुदीरितं शुद्धमसुद्धं वा.

³ Read विस्वेस्वरेण.

⁴ Read उत्कीर्णं सीरुकेण.

⁵ These are the three cities of the demon Tripura burnt by Śiva.

⁶ The *Pañchakula* (assembly of five persons) corresponds to the *Pañcha-maṇḍalī* or *Pañchaka* mentioned in earlier records and the *Panchāyat* (Village Jury) of modern times.

⁷ See above, p. 372, n. 5.

taxes on *pravāṇis* and inclusive of (*payment in*) gold, to the *Rāṇaka*, the illustrious *Dharēka*, the son of *Sēvarāja* (*who is*) the son of the *Ṭhakkura Rāsala*.

(L. 15) Having obtained the permission of (*his*) elder (*brother*), *Nādaśiva*, a son of the *Bhaṭṭāraka*, the holy *Rājaguru Vimalaśiva*, and a younger brother of *Śāntaśiva*,—who is endowed with self-restraint and other virtues, and possessed of all marks of high rank; who is engaged in bathing three times a day, adoring gods and worshipping fire; who is intent upon (*showing*) kindness to all creatures; who is the support of all suppliants¹ (*and*) the source of consolation to (*all*) creatures; who is skilled in all arts and proficient in all arms and sciences,—has conveyed by way of mortgage the whole annual income of the *paṭṭa*.² In the matter of doing or desisting from doing anything, the wish of the illustrious *Dharēka* is (*to be*) followed.

(L. 19) The witnesses to this deed are—*Paṭṭakila*³ *Madanē*; also *Silē*; also *Ṭhakkura Sūpaṭa*; *Ṭhakkura Gāṅgē*; *Vi*⁴ *Raṇadhōla*⁵, *Vi Gāṅgādēva*; *Paṭṭakila Vi Kavita* (*and*) *Ṭhakkura Gōlūṇa*.

Knowing this, (*the mortgagee*) should enter into and take possession (*of the village*).

May there be well-being of the writer and the reader!

(L. 21) Whatever I, dull-witted as I am, uttered through childishness and weak-mindedness, was written by *Paṇḍita Viśvēśvara* and *Paṇḍita Gaṅgādhara*. (*This deed*) has been engraved by *Sīruka*.

Seal

The illustrious *Trailōkyamalla*.

¹ *Lit.*, 'all panegyrists.'

² *I. e.*, of the village *Alaura*.

³ This seems to correspond to modern *Pāṭil*, the headman of a village.

⁴ *Vi* is evidently an abbreviation, like *Ṭha* and *Paṭṭa*, of some title or official designation. See above, No. 68, l. 20.

⁵ Perhaps *Raṇadhōla* stands for *Raṇadharala* (brilliant in fighting) as suggested by *Chakravartī*, but it is more likely to be a proper name.



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